

of all littleness, and in the uprooting of that ignorance which regards it as a gain that is to be purchased at another's loss. This I know, that no vision of truth can come except in the absence of all sources of distraction, and when the mind has reached the point of rest.

For revealing the inner secrets of life, it was necessary to invent instruments of surpassing delicacy and sensitiveness, which could gain access to the smallest unit of life—a single cell or life-atom—and record its throbbing pulsation. The invention of the microscope, which magnifies only a couple of thousand times, initiated a new era in the advance of biological science. My Magnetic Crescograph, which produces the stupendous magnification of fifty million times, is now revealing the wonders of a new world—the plant itself being made to record the secrets of its inner life. Even in this path of self-restraint and verification, the inquirer is making for a region of surpassing wonder.

In his voyage of discovery, he catches an occasional glimpse of the ineffable, that had hitherto been hidden from his view. That vision crushes out of him all self-sufficiency, all that kept him unconscious of the great pulse that beats through the universe. It was by the combination of the introspective and of the highly advanced experimental methods that it was possible to establish the Unity of all Life. The barrier that divided kindred phenomena is now thrown down, the plant and animal being found as a multiple unity in a single ocean of being.

From the plant to the animal, then, we follow the long stair-way of the Ascent of Life. In the spiritual triumph of the martyr, who willingly sacrifices his life for the cause of humanity, we see the higher and higher expression of that evolutionary process by which Life rises above and beyond all the circumstances of the environment, and fortifies itself to control them.

## TO THE WOMEN OF INDIA

By Mlle. JULIETTE VELLIER

25952

I wonder whether a certain type of recent European literature has reached you, women of India.

I wonder.....and I am afraid of it, because this type has a commercial virtue, if none other, alas: and spreads all over the world, translated in all known languages. (At least, it is advertised in these terms).

That literature, generally taking the form of hyper-sentimental and agitated novels, creates a figure of so-called "modern girl" which accumulates the striking features of the twentieth century, in Europe.

That "modern girl" is manly in all her activities. Does it mean that she has made

hers the qualities men are generally supposed to have, as a monopoly. *i.e.*, faculty of decision, strength—moral and physical—courage, superior intelligence, and so on?

No. To be manly means to adopt the vices that certain men have. Our modern girl is not energetic, she is *ambitious*, *selfish*, of conceit, she is born superior to all traditions, and consequently, born superior to other people; she rejects morals, and the stupid prejudices of love, faithfulness, ideal (empty words for spinsters) and she conceives the relations between men and women, as men have conceived them for centuries past, with

regard to themselves: no duties, but only rights. Let instinct do whatever it chooses, experiment everywhere, anywhere.

And the novelist throws that so-built modern girl in a series of fatal events where her reactions are in conformity with the systematic type adopted.

If you have ever read by chance, or by mischance, one of these books, I beseech you to forget as well the information it gave you as the opinion you formed out of it.

Not that I want you to believe that your sisters of Europe, and France especially, are full of perfections, but I want you to measure exactly our nature, so that you can say in conscience: "Our races are different, our pasts stand to the antipodes, but still, we might become friends with them, not out of mere curiosity, but out of a deeper attraction."

Why do I say that? Why do I want to exact kind feelings from you towards us? It is because I myself feel deeply attracted by your race, by the amount of dream and speculation which takes place in your brains and hearts, by the mystery of your customs which appear as being directed by everything but practical and selfish aims.

This is why I happen to write what I am writing.

It is undoubtedly true that "War" disturbed terribly the conscience of youth.....and its habits. All that had been considered as the commandments of a sacred Code of conventions, broke down to pieces, since it had not prevented war.

Youth trod upon the ritual education accepted generations and generations. And the immediate result of it was the absence of rules.

But this lasted one day. The natural equilibrium of same people brought back the balance and a new generation has now grown.

Instead of little girls with eyes turned to the ground, capable of nothing, except being spoiled by parents, knowing nothing of life until they are married, mere objects of luxury and pleasure, exists now a very general type.

Women have now a sense of responsibility which they almost totally lacked before "The War." They know that life is no longer easy and sure. They know that they almost all of them have to secure a situation in life and be able to make their own living. The type of European girl is no longer the type of a timid girl. She is energetic, combative, develops in enormous proportions her intellectual activities, works hard and with much conscience. She develops also her physical strength by sports of all kinds, she must no longer be weak.

She pretends not to be the "thing" of man, but a companion worthy of him, on equal terms in life. From this basis, imagine the defects and the qualities which can come out of it, according to the different temperaments, and you will be in the right direction.

Don't suppose, though, that, if life is for her, less sentimental than in times passed, there is no place left for dreams and generous speculations.

It is so untrue, that, to-day, in writing as I do, for you, I feel that I express the acting of my fellow-sisters, towards the dream and the philosophical mind which you appear to personify.

Will you reward me?

Let me know who you are and how you live, now that new currents of ideas have penetrated even to your most secret heart.



THE RT. HON. MR. RAMSAY MACDONALD.

An interesting portrait of the Prime Minister, painted by the American artist, Tom Van Oss, on board "The Berengaria," whilst Mr. MacDonald was on his way to the U.S.A.

By courtesy of the "Madras Mail."

# THE ENGLISH MARTYRS

BY THE RT. REV. E. H. M. WALLER,

*Lord Bishop of Madras.*

THIS book\* is a selection of papers read at a Summer School of Catholic studies held at Cambridge in 1928. It contains much that is of



THE RT. REV. BISHOP WALLER

the greatest interest to students of Ecclesiastical politics: and by the general student of history, it will be read as the authoritative view of one party in a controversy which is not yet closed. The purpose of the book must be steadily kept in mind, if justice is to be done to it. It is the story of the English Martyrs of the Roman Catholic Church. Inevitably and naturally, the position of the Roman Church in the whole struggle which

began with William the Conqueror and reached its climax in the reign of Elizabeth is assumed to be fundamentally right. Acts of unwisdom on the part of the Roman Church are admitted in detail. The clergy may have been at times over zealous in stressing rights. Individual Popes may have made mistakes or, by circumstances, been forced into untenable positions. The whole problem of the relation of spiritual to secular authority is extremely difficult. The settlement which gave Western Europe an Emperor directing the secular affairs of a large part of the world and a Pope directing its spiritual affairs, requires that both shall be powerful enough to compel obedience, that both shall be absolutely disinterested and that close friendly relations shall always exist between the two. These conditions were rarely fulfilled and the Pope had to do the best he could under adverse circumstances and to agree to compromises which did not always work. Another difficulty which is fairly faced is the fact that under the feudal system, the Pope was also a Prince; similarly, bishops were barons and, while amenable to the Pope in spiritual matters were amenable to their own secular princes in worldly affairs. And the situation was further complicated by the fact that in spiritual cases which concerned their fellow barons or even their own overlord, bishops were judges of the first instance, though in secular matters they were subject to or were only the peers of the secular lords whom they were judging: moreover, the world is not rigidly divided into sacred and secular. There was room therefore for the greatest confusion, and it came. The device of removing the outside spiritual authority (the Pope) from England and making the King the Supreme Ecclesiastical authority simply reversed the problem. That it did not finally

\* *The English Martyrs*. Edited by the Rev. Dom Bede Camm, O.S.B., M.A., S.S.A., Monk of Downside Abbey. Messrs. W. Heffer & Sons, Ltd., Cambridge.



solve is proved by the Prayer Book controversy to-day. The problem is common to all religions. Turkey has solved it for the moment by the abolition of the Caliphate, but is that a solution? The struggles between the Brahminical claims and the claims of Princes in India, while they took different turns (naturally), may afford another illustration of the fundamental difficulties of the problem. In the light of these considerations, the chapter on the relation of Church and State is supremely interesting.

To one who is not an adherent of the doctrine of the Papal Supremacy, there are gaps in the presentation, which could not, in the nature of things, be filled up in this particular work. There is thus throughout the book no question that the Bishop of Rome is of divine right the Head of the Church and that his authority ought to be acknowledged in all Christian countries. And, again, the particular sacramental doctrine that prevailed at the period is unquestionable: denial of it is simply rebellion against fundamental truth. No mention is made, and could not be expected in this book, of the revolt of many good persons against the 'corruptions' of the truth which had crept into the Church at

that time—corruptions which drove Luther and many with him out of the Church. Nor is any mention made of the fact that the whole of the Greek Church had long before repudiated the authority of Rome and was little concerned with the dilemmas occasioned by a feudal system which was alien to their polity. The absence of these considerations is no reflection on the *bona fides* of the authors of the papers: it merely gives the book its place as a presentation of facts urged in support of one view of a most tangled period of history. For the rest it is the moving story of selected individuals who suffered martyrdom for their religious (and political) convictions. The opening essay on the Theology of Martyrdom is a characteristic production of Father Ronald Knox. A martyr must suffer definitely on an issue of conscience and for his faith in the truth. All who suffered conscientiously for religious beliefs not included in the Catholic Creed are excluded automatically from the roll of martyrs: as are those who suffered on accusations of high treason. The selection of names which survives these definitions is limited, but it includes some great figures and their story will be read with interest.

## My Impressions of Soviet Russia

BY MR. SYED RAZA ALI, C.B.E.

**D**URING my recent travels on the Continent including almost all important European countries I paid a short visit to Russia and spent a few days in Moscow. It would be absurd to claim that in this short period I could see enough to enable me to summarise the conditions obtaining in Russia to-day. All I can claim is that I did not visit that country in any propagandist spirit. I went there with a perfectly open mind determined to judge the Soviet activities on their merits. The experiment of dictatorship of the proletariat on which the Union of the Soviets

prides itself is of special interest to India. Both India and Russia are huge countries. In both about 80% of the population is connected with agriculture. Both have been the victims of illiteracy. Till 1917 both had, and at least India still has, the reputation of being intensely devoted to religion. Each has within its fold so many races with different religions, languages, traditions and manners and customs. It was only within recent years that each of them saw the wisdom of supplementing its agricultural activities by industrial pursuits. Just as the year 1905 marked the

beginning of factory workers' discontent in Russia we in India have had considerable labour troubles—especially in Bombay, Calcutta and Ahmedabad—during the last four years. The present condition of Russia cannot but be a matter of deep concern to us.



Ma. SYED BAZA ALI

You cannot help noticing the change as soon as you get out of your carriage at Negorehnje, a frontier station in Russia, to take train for Moscow. The porter who is not your paid agent for carrying your luggage but a servant of the Communist Government by whom he is paid a fixed salary, carries no more than about one-third of what a porter at a London, Paris, Berlin or Vienna station would. This conduct is natural. Why should he work harder than is barely necessary when he is not going to get the fruit of his labour? The cost of transshipment of luggage from one train to another at this station is about twice as much

as in London. Since it is the Soviet Government that fixes the scale and appropriates the payment this must certainly be a source of some income to it. The same slackness is noticeable at the hotels. I was staying at the Grand Hotel which is supposed to be one of the best Hotels at Moscow. But the service is so slow that one has to set apart 1½ hours for lunch or dinner. You are fortunate if you can get a hurried meal in one hour. The Grand, like almost all other Hotels, is run by Moscow City or, in other words, by the Soviet Government; and you must really be thankful to "Comrade Waiter", a man as good as yourself, if he is disposed to help you to make a saving of half an hour. These matters, too trivial to be mentioned otherwise, show what will happen to Society where the action of the State leaves no incentive for private effort.

In a country which has abolished all social distinctions and confiscated the property of the rich for the benefit of the poor, one would expect the masses to be in buoyant spirits. On the contrary I found the people, on the whole, rather dejected and dispirited. Of course the industrial workers are more than satisfied; but that is because they and their children occupy a privileged position. With higher wages, fewer hours of work, generally speaking one day off for every five days' work, clubs, reading rooms, libraries, museums, cinemas, theatres, operas and gymnasiums, free medical aid and a lot of other advantages arising out of social insurance and without much to bother them about their children, the workers enjoy a position that naturally excites the envy of the Russian peasants. Add to this the fact that in Russia the population of industrial workers is about 29% (3 millions out of a total population of nearly 150 millions) and it becomes easy to realise how heavily this class rule, or dictatorship of the proletariat—to give it its official name—must be weighing on the rest of the population. The same policy of favouring the cities at the ex-

pense of the country is noticeable in the constitution of the governing bodies of a province (ak-rug). While the majority of the members of the provincial Congress, which meets once a year, come from the country districts their number goes on steadily diminishing in the executive Committee and the presidium. The presidium, which generally meets once a week and is composed of 15 to 20 members, is the most important administrative body and the majority of its members come from cities. A visit to a factory and the institutions attached to it for the cultural welfare of the workers is highly instructive. One of such institutions is generally a "home" where a special staff of matrons and nurses looks after the children whose mothers are working in a factory. The arrangements are excellent and the young ones look quite happy. But if the workers' wages and the cost of various institutions attached to a factory for their benefit and the benefit of their children were compared with the value of the factory output, I doubt very much if more than very few factories indeed would be found to be working on a profit earning basis.

At first sight one has some difficulty in understanding why a system which favours the industrial workers at the cost of the peasants should receive the support of the peasantry. A careful study of the conditions would suggest two explanations. In the first place the workers are concentrated in large cities like Moscow and Leningrad, and in the beginning of 1917 they could organise themselves more easily and effectively than the huge agricultural population scattered throughout the length and breadth of Russia. It was extremely difficult for the ignorant, ill-equipped and disorganised peasants at the beginning of the revolution, and of course it is much more difficult for them now, to oppose the workers. Secondly: there is no doubt that the peasants are much better off under the Soviet Dictatorship than they ever were under the Tsars.

True they are not, strictly speaking, the owners of their land, nor can they dispose of their produce as they like since the institution of private property has been abolished and the market is controlled by the Government. It is also true that the prices received by them for their produce are very low in comparison with the prices paid by them for manufactured goods. These inconveniences are, however, more compensated for by low taxation and the protection afforded them by the land laws under which a peasant's land is more his own than if he owned it. These laws irresistibly remind us of the policy followed by the Government of India and some Provincial Governments in passing legislation some years ago against the alienation of land or holdings by peasant proprietors or tenants in certain parts of India. The action of the Soviet Government is not unlikely to revive the interest attaching to the Indian Government's land policy.

The campaign against religion carried on so vigorously cannot escape a foreigner's notice. According to the Soviet theory religion, like marriage and divorce, is a man or woman's private affair with which the State has no concern. While the theory corresponds with the practice in matrimonial matters, the two part company in reference to religion. Every person is supposed to be free to choose whether or not he will follow any religion. But in view of the following law it is difficult to see what scope for choice is really left. The real object of the law, it is hardly necessary to point out, is to secure the undying devotion of the young to the present system.

Teaching of religious doctrines is not permitted in any State or public as well as private educational institution where general subjects are taught. Students can teach and learn religion privately. Teaching of religious doctrines to persons not of age or to minors in State or private educational institutions and in schools is punished by forced labour of not more than a year.

The law is supplemented by an intensive anti-religious propaganda openly conducted in schools, museums, exhibitions, clubs, reading rooms and

theatres and it would be absurd to claim that the liberty of conscience is enjoyed by the people. It is not my purpose to enter into a discussion whether from the Soviet Government's point of view this attitude is right or wrong. The fact is that it is determined to effect a complete break with the past and is making desperate efforts so to revolutionise society as to leave no link between the people and the Tsarist regime. The best hope of accomplishing this object lies in bringing up boys and girls in an atmosphere entirely divorced from religion and impressing upon the adult population the enormities, real or fancied, committed in the name of religion. The propaganda takes the form of painting a vivid picture of how the Church in Russia, and elsewhere generally, had helped the monarchy to exploit and persecute the people. Magnificent cathedrals where thousands used to attend service are visited only by the lovers of art. I did not see anybody taking off his hat or throwing away his half-smoked cigarette before entering a church. In the face of this it is idle to pretend that the State does not interfere with the religious beliefs of the people. A visit to the anti-religious museum would dispel all doubts.

During the three quarters of an hour of my stay at a Registry Office I witnessed one marriage and two divorces. A marriage is a civil contract that requires the presence of only the contracting parties. A divorce can be obtained by either party without assigning any cause whatever. In theory one can marry in the morning and effect a divorce in the afternoon—though I was told that the practical working of the system had not given rise to flagrant abuses. It would be interesting to study the annual statistics for marriage and divorce and see how they compare with the pre-war figures. But, unfortunately, I had no time for this. I may add that, generally speaking, Russian women who are one of the classes that have benefited most by the Revolution, in that they have been granted equal rights with men, conduct themselves in a

manner which reflects credit on the present system.

As I expected I saw no privately owned automobiles except a few running between the city and the Kremlin which houses the Government's administrative offices. Buses and trams convey passengers but both these are extremely crowded. In these everybody thinks it is his privilege to push against you and in sheer self-defence you act likewise. The Russians are a remarkably courteous people but I take it that a departure from the normal standard is permitted because if you stand on ceremonies there is little chance of your getting into a car or bus or getting out of it at your destination. To relieve congestion the Government proposes to build an underground railway. Moscow is almost as costly as London. There are a number of taxis but the fare is much higher than in Paris or Berlin.

Very useful work is being done by the Soviet Government in several directions. Great efforts are being made to banish illiteracy and special care is being taken of the young who are the rising hope of the present system. New hospitals and auditoriums have been established and the people are taught to take care of their health and live cleanly. Fine arts are encouraged and the Government has opened, since the Revolution, a large number of museums and art galleries. Realising that the stability of the present system depends on a continued alliance between workers and peasants large sums of money are spent on improvement of agriculture—including better seeds, better stocks and the introduction of modern agricultural machinery. Permanent agricultural exhibitions have been opened in almost every Volost (group of villages); when the peasants visit important centres they are provided special accommodation at a nominal cost in what are known as "Peasants' Homes" where they are induced to give up old agricultural methods in favour of the new. The declared aim of the

Government is to substitute collective for individual farming but not much success has attended its efforts so far. It is this policy which, for obvious reasons, has failed to secure the approval of the Kulaks (by which name well-to-do peasants are known in Russia). Care is also taken to advertise broadcast all that the Government has done, is doing or proposes to do for the good of the rural population. The Government has laid down a programme of industrial and agricultural development for the next five years and is giving the greatest publicity to it. It is prepared to be judged by the record of its achievement during the last ten years; but in addition to this it knows the art of exalting itself by its profession.

Foreign nations are naturally interested in the measure of political liberty enjoyed by the Soviet citizens. I must frankly say that I saw small signs of it. There was a disinclination on the part of the people whom I met to discuss politics except to stoutly defend their own system. It would be unthinkable to expect any Russian to criticise the Government. Public meetings cannot be held without permission. (Workers' unions, trade unions and the Communist party organisations are exempt from this rule. A speaker who vigorously criticises the Government may find himself arrested. We outside Russia are inclined to think that the Soviet Government's action in arresting and imprisoning its political opponents is arbitrary. This is not so and the Government has taken very wide powers under the law. I would give three quotations from the law which was made much more severe in 1927 after diplomatic break with England. It gives almost unlimited power to the G. P. U.

(58) 1. "A counter-revolutionary action is any action directed towards the overthrow, the breaking or weakening of the power of the workers' and peasants' soviets and of the workers' and peasants' governments of the U. S. S. R. and of the constituent and autonomous republics, elected on the basis of the Constitution of the Union of S. S. R. and the constitutions of the constituent republics, or toward the injuring and weakening of the

external safety of the Union of S. S. R. and the fundamental economic, political and national gains of the proletarian revolution."

59 (10). "Propaganda or agitation, containing a call for the overthrow, breaking down or weakening of the Soviet power or the commitment of separate counter-revolutionary crimes releases 59 2 289 of the present Criminal as well as reading or preparation or keeping of literature of the same content."

59 (11). "Counter-revolutionary sabotage that is conscious non-execution by someone of definite duties or deliberate negligence in their execution with a special aim to weaken the power of the Government and the activity of state apparatus leads to the taking away of liberty with a strict isolation for a period of not less than one year, with the confiscation of all or part of property with an increase, under aggravating circumstances, up to the highest means of social defence—execution with the confiscation of property."

The law is administered with the same relentless rigour in which it is conceived. Naturally enough the measure of political liberty is in an inverse ratio to the extra-ordinarily wide field covered by the law. It is sometimes said that the Russian does not really mind this as he did not enjoy much more liberty under the Tsarist regime. This is partly true. But it is to be remembered that whereas under the Tsars the majority of the people were left pretty well to act as they chose, this is no longer the case. Since most citizens are directly or indirectly also the employees of the Soviet Government, it is impossible for them not to feel the effect of a system which regulates not only their political but also their economic, social and to practice their religious activities. I may mention one fact which would throw some light on what is going on in Russia at present. No Russian would accept hospitality from me and when everybody offered apparently lame excuses I felt interested in discovering the real reason. This I came to know three days before my departure from a perfectly reliable source—though it would obviously be indiscreet for me to disclose it. It appears that in accordance with secret instructions no citizen connected with the Soviet Government and in a place like Moscow almost everybody is so connected is at liberty to accept hospitality from a foreigner without Government's permission. My impression is that the majority of the people

do not like these restrictions but as the result of a propaganda the like of which perhaps the world has not known, they believe that the maintenance of the present system between which and the revival of the Tharist regime there is, in their belief, no intermediate stage, requires them to submit to a curtailment of their liberty. But I saw still less signs of liberty in Italy.

The Russians are extremely suspicious of all capitalist countries. Strange to say, however, I found them the least suspicious of the United States and the most distrustful of Great Britain. The distance in the case of America is probably a reassuring factor. The fears vaguely expressed about England were that if ever the counter-revolutionary movement became strong enough to raise its head, English capitalists would hardly miss the opportunity of helping it with money. But there is no doubt that other causes have contributed to the shaping of Russian opinion. The most important of these perhaps is a constant touch between America and Russia. I met a large number of Americans in Moscow. Some of these were tourists but there were others whom business had attracted there. I also met some Germans and a few people from the countries of Eastern Europe; but I did not see a single Englishman or Englishwoman. Whatever may be the official attitude of the United States Government the enterprising Americans never lost touch with Soviet Russia with the result that they and the Germans have profited most by Great Britain's policy of aloofness. I was in Russia towards the end of October before Parliament decided on Mr. Henderson's motion to resume diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union. The Russians with whom I talked welcomed this idea. I can say from what I saw in Russia that the action taken by His Majesty's Government will go a long way to dispel the mist of suspicion and bring about a better understanding between the two countries. Whether the Soviet authorities will refrain from

carrying on their propaganda is a more difficult question. A Russian Communist is nothing if not a propagandist. He may do it consciously or unconsciously but he is doing that all the time that he is talking to you. At any rate, this is my experience. The Intourist Office at Moscow showed me the courtesy of leading me the services of a good English-speaking guide. She is an intelligent young woman (the word lady is a taboo in Russia) who is taking her degree from Moscow University this month. I must say to their credit that while she and the other Russians whom I came to know through her did not deliberately try to influence my opinion, everything they told me was the word of a missionary earnestly addressed to an erring brother. I do not blame them for this. They honestly believe that the theory of Marx as practised by Lenin is the surest cure of all human ills. The dangerous army of the Soviet Union does not consist of its armed forces but of countless young men and women who believe in their mission of wiping out the bourgeois and setting up a proletarian government in every country in the world. But I feel confident that there is no country within the British Commonwealth which is likely to be lured by the Bolsheviks. They will find India with one of the oldest cultures, civilisations and religions not to offer much prospect for the acceptance of their doctrines. The classes that are generally marked out for the Bolsheviks' attentions are the industrial workers and agriculturists. The Government of India have already done a lot for both these classes. It is to be hoped that while progressive legislation in India for the good of the masses will keep pace with the requirements of modern times, the Government will keep themselves acquainted with the activities of those Russians who go to India either as diplomats or in connection with trade.

Just as the Russian Communists have worked themselves up to a frame of mind which conjures

up the vision of the working classes in other countries getting deliverance through the propagation of the Bolshevik creed, the rest of the world seems inclined to the view that the vast majority of Russians are fed up with the Soviet dictatorship and that they would be glad to put an end to it if they could. Nothing would be greater mistake. Who is there to rebel? Not the workers who are the *de facto* rulers. Not the peasants amongst whom the vast lands belonging to the Tsar, the aristocracy and the Church have been divided. Not even the petty tradesmen who can participate in the new amenities of life by joining trade unions. The dissatisfied class consists, broadly speaking, of former big landlords, rich merchants and priests. Most of the aristocracy have either left or been expelled from the country. The remaining disaffected people are too small in number to make any attempt at overthrowing the Government. Again they know too well the rude methods of the Bolsheviks in dealing with their enemies. The only danger to the Soviet regime lies in its insistence on taking its propaganda to foreign lands. Russia has every right to decide what form of Government suits her best. But it would be the height of folly to deny the arms rights to other countries. I would assume for the time being that the charge preferred against her of countenancing conspiracies and creating trouble in certain countries is unfounded. But what right has she of encouraging a subversive propaganda even by the most peaceful methods in any country? How would she deal with a person who made a public speech in Moscow explaining the hardships and injustice of abolition of private property or the importance of freedom of speech? In all likelihood the speaker would be arrested before he finished his speech. If the Soviet Government feels justified in taking such action in order to protect itself, how can it expect other Governments to sit with folded arms while Bolshevism carries on its propaganda whose pro-

fessed object is their destruction? In my view if Russia imposed on herself the ordinary restraints observed by the diplomatic representatives of a Government in foreign countries, a free contact with her will be all to the advantage of the world at large. A system in which all persons men and women are equal in theory and most of them equal in practice, which has nationalised all important means of production of industrial goods, which buys most of the agricultural produce from the peasants, which controls the prices of almost all necessities of life, which encourages free marriage and free divorce, which has abolished all forms of religion without perceptible disaster to society hitherto, is an extremely fascinating study. On the one hand it is only blind hostility that will exclaim that the history of Russia for the last twelve years is without a lesson to the rest of the world. On the other hand it should not be forgotten that Bolshevik Russia is one of the youngest countries—the Russians in consonance with their doctrine object to being called a nation—which has not quite found its feet yet. Of course she will protest vehemently that she has nothing to learn from any country or nation; yet experience shows that she is not slow to make modifications in her working system whenever the need is established. It is to be hoped that a free contact with the rest of the world will place her in a better position to make the necessary adjustment. Whether such adjustments will in the future extend to the recognition of limited ownership of property remains to be seen.

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# IRELAND AND INDIA

BY

MR. J. T. GWYNN, I.C.S. (Retd.)

THE case of Ireland is frequently cited as a precedent by which British statesmen should be guided in their dealings with India. Undoubtedly much is to be learnt from it. In both countries we see the working of the nationalist spirit reinforced by a pride in the ancient history and traditions of the country and implanted by the British of their political supremacy to enrich great Britain at the expense of the weaker country. In both countries we see how easy it is for the educated classes to feel confident that they could govern the country much more intelligently and righteously than its foreign rulers. We see too how natural it comes to them to persuade the poor and ignorant that all their sufferings can be bound to foreign domination and that they would all disappear with the arrival of Swaraj. Lastly we see both in Ireland and India the power of religious differences to prevent political union. Irish Catholics and Protestants distrusted and still distrust each other as much as Hindus and Mahomedans. Neither will voluntarily accept a political settlement which gives the other community the powers of a majority. Neither P. R. territorial electorates nor communal representation offer a satisfactory solution. So long as religion forbids or discourages the intermarriage of families accepting different creeds as long the political difficulty will remain. In Northern Ireland under the Union with territorial constituencies and the old system of voting the Protestant always voted for the Union because he was sure of a Protestant majority in the British Parliament at Westminster and the Catholic always voted for Home Rule because he reckoned on a Catholic majority in a Parliament in Dublin. By the Government of Ireland Act of 1920 the six

North-eastern countries were given Home Rule with a Parliament in Belfast. This arrangement was not disagreeable to the Protestants of Northern Ireland since they had a majority of 2 to 1 in the six counties which under the system of P. R. introduced in 1920 was pretty faithfully reflected in the Belfast Parliament. The Catholics however—who in the six counties are a "backward community" in point of wealth and education—protested strongly, realizing that they would be in a permanent minority in the Belfast Parliament and therefore powerless. The event has justified their fears. Though P. R. gave them representation nearly proportionate to their numerical strength a permanent minority in Parliament proved unable to influence the policy of the Protestant ascendancy which had a permanent majority. In spite of the fact that there were no communal electorates and that Protestants and Catholics voted together in the same constituency, still it was regarded as certain that virtually all Catholics would vote for Catholics and all Protestants for Protestants. Hence there was no sign of Protestant candidates seeking to conciliate Catholic good will or vice versa. In education the Protestant Government carried through a policy entirely unacceptable to Catholics and in the matter of appointments to public posts and to posts under the county councils and municipalities very scant attention was paid to Catholic claims. This year the P. R. system of election was abolished by the Northern Parliament and though the change did not much weaken the Catholic position it certainly will not be improved.

The Catholics therefore having no hope of early secession with the South of Ireland have settled down in a demoralizing policy of playing the



part of a permanently discontented minority and seeking to get bare justice by raising the loudest possible clamour on every pretext good or bad.

In the Free State the position is different. There the Protestants are too few to have any voting power but they control a great share of the wealth and business of the country. Before the Free State was set up their lives and properties were in danger because of their dislike for the idea of a Dublin Parliament. When the Free State was set up the nationalist leaders saw the need for reconciling these men, the capitalists and the captains of Irish industry, to the new regime and they were careful to be conciliatory to them. When the split between Free Staters and Republicans came the steady supports given by the wealthy Protestants contributed largely to secure Cosgrave's victory over DeValera. The Protestants thus had earned the gratitude of the Free State Cabinet. They on their side having lately been accustomed to be in fear for their lives and their property were at first grateful to find the Cabinet resolute to protect both. Men are first concerned for the safety of their person and their property. But when that has been secured they began to ask freedom in regard to ideals. It was not till law and order had been restored that the Free State Protestants began to think again about their ideals. When they did they found the Cabinet quite resolute to impose its ideal of nationalism through the schools upon the rising generation in Ireland. At the same time the Catholic Church succeeded in spite of the Cabinet in making it plain that in Ireland the ideas of "Faith, nation and language" were indissolubly linked and that a distinctive Irish culture must be a Catholic culture. Hence the communal spirit has during the last year shown signs of gaining strength in the Free State and the Free State Protestant feels more bitterly than ever that he is

condemned to be spiritually a stranger in his native land.

The worst effect of the denial of Home Rule in Ireland, is the diversion of all energy from constructive work into a rather demoralizing form of political agitation. Nationalist agitations may be necessary things but they do not tend to bring the best men to the top—at least not when the agitation is concerned with securing majorities at elections. When it comes to physical force a different type of leader is thrown up. He is according to Irish experience more likely to succeed as a responsible minister when Home Rule comes and nationalists have to face the indigestion and disillusion which follows upon the satisfaction of the nationalist appetite.

But now let us turn to the two main distinctions which must be drawn between the Irish and the Indian case. Firstly there was never any question of a British army or British officers being required for the protection of the Free State. Secondly one often hears the English denied the fitness of the Irish to govern themselves; now they deny the fitness of India for self-government. They have been proved wrong in the case of Ireland. We need not heed what they say about India. This is entirely misleading.

The case urged by responsible British statesmen was not that the Irish were unfit for self-government. It was (a) that owing to the economic and strategic interdependence of the British Isles it would be disastrous both to England and Ireland to have two separate Sovereign Parliaments with the risk of conflicting economic and military policies. (b) that owing to the conflict between Catholic and Protestant ideals it would not be possible to compel the Protestant North-East to go under a Dublin Parliament and Irish nationalists have always contended that Partition would be a crime.

As a matter of fact it was proved impossible to force the North-East corner under a Dublin

Parliament, the prospect of reversion daily appears more distant and it is still doubtful whether the two Sovereign Parliaments within the British Isles will not lead sooner or later to a disastrous clash. The reasoning of Unionist statesmen was sound enough as far as it went. They erred only in failing to take account of the fact that the spirit of nationalism made the continuance of the existing union impracticable. In regard to India the argument of the British statesmen is quite different from that advanced in the case of Ireland. There can be no question of the necessary interdependence of India and England. There is room enough for two separate sovereign authorities beyond a doubt. So the English argument

is frankly that by reason of their traditional social, economic, religious and political systems, and of the prevalence of illiteracy ignorance and superstition the Indian people stand in need of an apprenticeship of many years' duration before they can become fit for self-Government—especially if it is to be Parliamentary self-Government—through the Western system of representation. This argument undoubtedly carries great weight with impartial observers, e.g., with many Irish nationalists. To rebut it India must, I think, either change her traditional institutions and outlook or devise and demand some other form of self-Government more easily reconcilable with them.

## The Locust and its Allies

BY

MR. S. T. MOSES, M.A., F.Z.S., F.R.A.L.

**A**MONG the subjects of discussion at the first business meeting of the recently inaugurated Central Agricultural Research Council was the locust, so age long enemy of human prosperity. As a pest it finds mention in Indian Puranic literature as also in the Bible. The emigration of sage Cakrayana from the Kuru country, the Chandogya Upanishad tells us, was due to famine the result of locust devastations. The Bible records how among the plagues of Egypt the locusts were one. The locusts are terribly destructive and a politician whose 'forts' was not zoology classified birds of passage into 2 groups, one exemplified by the swallow, which left no trace of its sojourn and the other which, like the locust. The Tamils call it a parrot and the Malayalis a bird and even a cow, while to the Canarese it is a horse—left wrack and ruin behind. During this year and the past, South Africa, Egypt, Palestine, Yemen, Turkestan, China and India have all been locust-ridden.

Quite recently locusts followed floods in Sind and have doomed the ragi crops. The matter is indeed so grave that the local government thinks the campaign should be undertaken by an All-India organisation.

Locusts are differentiated from grasshoppers by lexicographers, but zoologists distinguish 2 kinds of grasshoppers, the long-horned Locustids and the short-horned Acridids and the locust is among the Acridids. All grasshoppers are 'injurious to plants. They are star musicians and music here is a factor in courtship. The secret of the music is not a diet of dew as the foolish ass in Aesop's fables believed; it is produced by the friction of hardened surfaces, of one part against another. Though to our ears the music is but a series of discordant chirps, it is charming enough to win or at least enliven the female. The Acridids' 'fiddle, with their legs and the locustids work a pair of taborets in the wingcases. An American locust emphatically asserts ' Katy did, Oh she did, Katy

did'; but what she did seems a profound secret. Female grasshoppers lay the egg clusters in the earth or in the plants. The number of eggs varies with the species. The Rice-grasshopper lays about 60 and the locust 100-120. The latter are said to lay only 99 eggs by the Arabs who read in the dark mottlings on the wings the terrible message "we are the army of the great God. Each of us lays 99 eggs. If we laid the 100th, we should destroy the world." The eggs hatch into wingless hoppers, which grow by frequent molting. Few days after hatching, the hoppers move to cultivated lands in well-ordered battalions. This habit of the nymphs following one another, like sheep, renders their destruction easy. Eggs remain as such for a long time, 8 months to 2 years, but the adult is short-lived. The migratory locust has a long imaginal life; hence, perhaps, is 'old age' symbolised by the grasshopper. The grasshopper is protectively colored, changes being noticed according to age, season etc. Even wings stimulate leaves in colour and details like veins, a device emphasised in the 'Beesinsects' commonly mis-called 'leafwinged locusts.' A curious exhibit in the 'Indian closet' of the 1688 Leyden show was an 'Indian locust or the walking leaf of the cinnamon tree'.

In the war with these pests charms—Atharva Veda contains incantations for the destruction of locusts—are of no avail; Modern science depends on insecticides, now sprayed by aeroplanes, and the pitting of the insect's foes against it. Various insects attack locusts in their different stages. Birds, monkeys and squirrels feed on them. As a swarm is sighted, the first business is to prevent its form slighting and this is attempted by setting up a big hullabaloo, shouting, banging tins etc. When they breed the nymphs are guided—an easy process—into trenches & buried or burnt. Flamethrowing is used for destroying swarms. In the recent Sind troubles the use of poison gas non-injurious to plant life has been suggested.

Arsenic is the poison in Africa and whole colonies of European storks, which winter in Africa, perished by eating the poisoned locusts. Whatever the method adopted in this fight, prompt action is essential. 'Wait' and see won't do; all neighbours must join. Take for instance the Paddy pest which has been doing recently a lot of damage in South Malabar. The eggs are laid in the bunds and the hoppers which hatch with the first rains go into the fields after finishing the weeds in the bunds. If only the bunds are scaped during the hot season, the proper time and over a wide area, a lot of trouble could be easily avoided.

Locusts enter the dietary of various races, Filipinos, Arabs, Negrillos, Hottentots, Chinese etc; dried grasshoppers are said to be an ingredient in many delicious curries in Calcutta. The taste recalls the shrimp. Moses permitted the Jews to eat 4 varieties of locusts and John the Baptist is said to have taken habitually locusts—some commentators think they are the pods of the locustbean (St John's bread)—and honey. Honey is a necessary accompaniment, as it renders the locust more digestible. The Hottentot makes a coffee-colored soup out of grasshopper eggs. Arabs use ground grasshoppers as a substitute for flour. This locustmeal being rich in Protein and fat, when mixed with a food of Carbohydrates is ideal for cattle and pigs. A 5% addition to the usual dry mash given to poultry increases the laying power. South Africa is exporting regularly to Europe locust meal as well as an oil from the locust. This lubricant, because of its ability to retain its liquidity at high altitudes, is in demand for aeroplane engines. Other countries like ours ensnared by the arrival of locust pests, may take a leaf out of South Africa's book and earn from the oil and the meal something as an offset to the losses inflicted by them.

# The Travels of Fahien

BY MR. K. P. S. MENON, I.C.S.

IN these days of swift locomotion when the horse, as a means of transport, has become archaic, and even motor cars are somewhat old-fashioned, when men will be content with nothing less than the conquest of the air, it is interesting to turn to the TRAVELS OF FAHIEN which contain a vivid description of a journey, performed almost wholly on foot over half the continent of Asia. Fahien was a devout Buddhist monk who lived in China in the fourth century; and the object of his journey was to obtain a copy of the Buddhist Scriptures for the use of his countrymen in China. Starting from Central China, he walked across the desert of Gobi, over the Hindu Kush, and through the plains of North India to the mouth of the Hooghly, where he took ship and returned to China via Ceylon and Java after a voyage which proved even more perilous than his journey by land. Fifteen years he took, of which nine were spent in his travels; and the "countries" he passed through amounted to rather fewer than thirty. So long and so hard was his exile that "beholding only my own shadow, I was constantly sad at heart"; and there is an exquisite touch of homesickness where he says that "seeing a merchant offering a white silk fan from China to an image of Buddha in Ceylon, my feelings overcame me and my eyes became filled with tears." If Fahien had lived in the twentieth century, he would probably have preferred to fly from Changan after an early breakfast, lunch hastily in some hotel on the Indian Frontier and reach Calcutta in time to dress for dinner; he might even have produced a book in the approved American fashion; but how different it would be from the account, which he scribbled on bamboo leaves and silk, of his pedestrian travels, before which the most daring flight over the Atlantic pales into insignificance if Fahien's travels make us think; they may even make us pause in our whirlwind rush for speed.

Fahien was, at any rate in the initial stage of his expedition, accompanied by a few friends. Together they proceeded as far as Kara-ahshir, somewhere on the distant Indian Frontier; but there the inhabitants (then, as to-day) were so "rough in habits and mean in the treatment of strangers" that three of Fahien's companions decided to turn back. Another, Hui-Ching, died in Fahien's arms in the Little Snowy Mountains (Safed Koh), where the air is so cold that "it makes one shut the mouth and shiver"; and the only friend who accompanied Fahien to India was so impressed with the grandeur of the Buddhist faith in India, and so dejected at his condition in China that he preferred to settle down in India till he himself became a Buddha. To Fahien, however, no obstacles nor attractions were too great to deter him from his self-imposed mission. And the obstacles were, by no means, small. Right at the beginning of his journey stretched the vast desert of Gobi where, as Fahien puts it, there were neither birds above, nor beasts below, but evil spirits and hot winds, to encounter whom was to perish. No less terrifying were the mountain ranges to the north of India, covered with snow in winter and summer alike, and infested, if not in fact, at least in Fahien's belief, with venomous dragons which, if provoked, spit forth poisonous wind, rain, snow, sand and stones. "Of those who encounter them", says Fahien, "not one in ten thousand escapes". Fahien, indeed, escaped; but he was no ordinary traveller. He was impelled by the power of a faith which can move mountains. Whether on the trackless desert, "where no guidance could be obtained, save from the rotting bones of dead men, which pointed the way", or on the giddy heights of the Hindu Kush, where "the eye becomes confused, and, wishing to advance, the foot finds no resting place"; or, on the great waves, "beating upon one

another and flashing forth light like fire, huge turtles, sea lizards, and such like monsters of the deep", Fahien was guided by

"that inward light which makes the path before men always bright"

—the burning desire to light the torch of true religion in the "outer world" of China.

For, to Fahien, China was indeed the "outer world", as contrasted with the grandeur of Buddhism in India. From Afghanistan in the north (for Afghanistan, in those days, formed part of India's political system) to the mouth of the Hooghly, where Fahien stayed for two years, copying the Sutras and drawing pictures of Buddhist images, the country was covered with a network of monasteries. True, some of the old centres of Buddhism had declined. For instance, in Kapilavastu, the birth place of Buddha, "no king or people are to be found; it is just like a wilderness, except for priests and some ten families. On the roads, white elephants and lions are to be feared". "Travellers", adds Fahien considerably, "must not be incautious." Keshinagara, where Buddha attained Nirvana, was equally deserted. It would seem that in the centuries following Asoka, the centre of Buddhist gravity had shifted northwards. In Afghanistan, there were no less than three thousand priests. A similar number was to be found in Banna, all belonging to the Hinayana sect. In Khotan, there was a great monastery called Gomati; and in Peshawar, Kanishka's Pagoda, "400 feet high and ornamented with all precious things combined", was a special object of attraction. "Of all the Pagodas in the inhabited world", says Fahien, "this one takes the highest rank." But what impressed Fahien even more than the magnificence of these monuments was the dignified deportment of the Priesthood and the good influence of the Faith. If manners make men, good manners seem to have made monks in Ancient India. In the monastery of Gomati, Fahien ob-

served that "when the priests enter the Monastery, their demeanour is grave and ceremonious; they sit down in regular order; they all keep silence; they make no clatter with their bowls; and for the attendants to serve more food, they do not call out to them, but only make signs with their hands". Royal manners were no less impeccable than monastic. Fahien noted with special satisfaction the respect in which kings held priests. "When they make offerings to the priests, they take off their caps of State, and together with their families and officials of the Court, they wait upon the priests at table. At the end of the meal, they spread carpets on the ground, and sit down facing the President, not venturing to sit on couches in the presence of the Priests". This description of the state of Buddhism becomes all the more notable when it is remembered that Fahien visited India in the time of the Gupta Empire, which English historians delight to call "the period of Hindu reaction". Fahien's Memoirs, at any rate, reveal no signs of reaction, much less of persecution. Not that he ignored the existence of orthodox Brahminism: in and around Ajodhya, for instance, he observed "ninety-six heretical sects, all of whom admitted the reality of worldly phenomena". But the essentially European conception of "a jealous god" and of religious intolerance is conspicuous by its absence even in the epoch of Samudragupta and Vikramaditya which saw an amazing revival of Hindu art and culture in North India.

The secret of this religious harmony is not far to seek. It is contained in Fahien's own Memoirs; it is ingrained in Buddhism itself. For, who was Buddha after all, but an eminent Hindu reformer; and what was Buddhism but Hinduism, reformed, refined, restored, in one sharp turn, to its pristine purity? Buddha was essentially not the founder of a new religion, but the interpreter of an old one. All he did was to

pour the new wine of his inspiration into the old bottles of Hinduism; but the wine was so fiery in its action and so magical in its effects that it drenched away the last dregs of superstition and ritual which centuries of Brahmin supremacy had deposited. In other words, what Buddha fought was not Hinduism as a religion, but Brahminism as a profession. But the Brahmins had their revenge. Little by little, they laid their hands on Buddhism, overmastered it, inoculated it with the spirit of idolatry, enveloped it in a cloud of ritual, and twisted and tortured it with such infinite ingenuity that in the time of Fahien, the poor thing appears in all the paraphernalia of orthodox Hinduism, and Buddha himself appears as a Hindu god who was commissioned by Brahma, the Creator, to publish His message to the world. A strange transformation and a strange Nemesis! Buddha had prohibited in no equivocal terms "the low arts of divination, spells, omens, astrology, sacrifices to gods, witchcraft and quackery"; but the Buddhism which Fahien describes is nothing, if it is not miraculous. The footprints, the skull bone, the teeth, the splintoon, the staff and the alms-bowl of Buddha had all become objects of worship; Pagodas sprang up wherever Buddha dried his clothes, shaved his face or cut his toe-nails. *Takhsasila*, which, in Chinese, means "Shaving of the head" was so called because here Buddha gave his body to feed a hungry tiger; at *Kapitha*, Buddha came down from Heaven after a stay of three months, spent in expounding the Faith to his mother; outside *Ajodhya* is a place where Buddha stood in the ground a piece of willow chewing-stick which forthwith grew up to a height of about ten feet; and at *Benares*, five hundred blind men were cured of their blindness when Buddha revealed the Faith to them. No wonder there are no traces of religious animosity in Fahien's book; for by that time, Buddhism had been reduced to a strange, fantastic, version of Hinduism at which,

even in an era of Hindu Renaissance, the Brahmins could afford to smile with contemptuous complacency.

It is a relief to escape from the dense forest of superstition which had grown round the original Bodhi tree to the freer atmosphere of society as sketched by Fahien. The key-note of political life under the Gupta Emperors seems to have been freedom. Fahien's description of it is too illuminating to be abridged. "The people are prosperous and happy, without registration or official restrictions. Only those who till the King's land have to pay rent on the profit they make. Those who want to go away, may go; those who want to stop, may stop. The King in his administration uses no corporal punishments; criminals are merely fined according to the gravity of the offence. Even for a second attempt at rebellion, the punishment is only the loss of the right hand. Throughout the country, no one kills any living thing nor drinks wine, nor eats onions or garlic; but Chandalas are segregated. Chandala is the name for foul men." A kind of Utopia, in fact, marred only by the presence of Chandalas. Contrast this tranquil, almost idyllic Government with the iron despotism, advocated by Kautilya; and one is at once confronted with age-long distinction between socialism and individualism. Kautilya depicts a society "clanking in the deadly grip of a grinding bureaucracy". Five centuries elapse, and we have a State where the maximum of political efficiency was secured with the minimum interference with individual liberty. Was not Buddhism, so graciously expounded by that royal sage, Asoka, responsible for this change? If so, it is some consolation that Buddhism, although its religious aspect was smothered in the weeds of Brahmin theology, sent its roots far and wide into the political field. It humanized Hindu society; it exorcised from Indian politics the evil genius of Kautilya. But Kautilya is a persistent phenomenon in politics. Re-incarnated in Europe as Machiavelli, and transported to the East on the subtle wings of Science, the spirit of Kautilya may again afflict political life, till one, as great as Buddha, arises to redeem it.

# HEALTH ORGANISATION OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

BY DR. S. N. GHOSE, D. LITT. B. Sc.

IN our country it is generally believed that the League\* is a pure and simple *political* organisation; no assumption could be more false. It is a happy augury that from the very beginning the League has taken so active part in non-political enterprises as well. Immediately after its formation this supposed political institution took up the task of fighting disease and pestilence and created a special Health Organisation. Certainly this was one of the best means of fostering goodwill and peace, for it made so immediate co-operation of different nations possible, on a non-political programme and with a common goal for all, namely, complete suppression of epidemics. To-day Health Organisation is one of the more important "Sections" of the League and it is proud to say that it is probably the very first institution that has vividly demonstrated the immediate and practical utility of international co-operation. A few details of its work will interest even the lay readers.

In early 1920 typhus and relapsing fever were ravaging Russia and parts of Eastern Europe and for a time it seemed as though the whole of European Continent was going to be infested with these two terrible diseases. The Health organisation of the League decided at this moment that "something must be done to tackle the problem. It had only a limited budget at its disposal while the task was really a Herculean one! This did not frighten the League for it counted on two things for its success, viz., (i) efficiency of its staff and (ii) international goodwill and co-operation; and both of these proved within a short period worthy of perfect reliance.

To facilitate quick and efficient service a special Epidemic Commission of the League was set up and sent over to Eastern Europe to study the conditions locally and decide on the spot what

immediate steps should be taken. The Polish National Health Administration welcomed this Commission and gladly gave them their active collaboration. The joint effort of these two bodies led to the construction of a large number of regular observation stations on the main routes by which infection was brought from Russia by thousands of expatriated people and political run-aways into Poland, gradually all along the Russo-Polish frontier a sanitary 'barrier' was set up and later on it was extended along the whole western frontier of Russia, covering a vast stretch of more than 1000 miles! In the villages and towns situated along this 'barrier' the Epidemics Commission (collaborating with the local health organisations) constructed temporary hospitals and shelters for the sick and special disinfecting centres for the refugees and others coming over from Russia into Eastern Europe. In those days the Bolshevik Government was not very keen on keeping back the Russian "undesirables" and a steady stream of homeless and famished counter-revolutionaries added in small extent to the already heavy burden of the Epidemics Commission. The specially constructed internment camps were literally crowded out and hospitals and shelters filled with the diseased who on their recovery did not know where to go to. Clearly it was not in the programme of the Epidemics Commission of the League to look after the homeless and the political refugees but they all the same took up the task of solving some of the more urgent problems arising out of the unexpected circumstances. Additional dispensaries and shelters were started and through the timely assistance of International Relief Fund, different National Health Organisations and various Christian (Charitable) Associations—the Epidemics Commission of the League succeeded in procuring for Eastern Europe large quantities of indispensable materials then extremely difficult to

(\* Materials of the present article have been collected from various technical and scientific publications of the Secretariat of the League of Nations.

obtain locally, e.g., drugs, vaccines, invalid and infant-food, clothes etc.

In 1920 the official attitude of the Bolshevik Government was far from being cordial to the League. Their Minister of Foreign Affairs, it is true, had not declared like his American colleague: "He did not know what that Geneva League was about"; but the more important personalities in the Soviets had gone to the other extremity: Some of them went so far as to openly proclaim that the League of Nations was an imperialistic organisation called into existence for the sole purpose of crushing the Workers' Republic. They eyed at first the Epidemics Commission with suspicion..... But the sincerity of purpose and the humanitarian activities of this body soon removed all shades of doubt and disarmed every criticism. As soon as the Bolshevik Government discovered that the Health Organisation of the League was not in the least interested in political institutions they invited the Epidemics Commission to come to Russia and co-operate with Russian Health Board. The invitation was gladly accepted and the Epidemics Commission soon opened offices in Moscow and Kharkova presently with Russian collaboration built a second sanitary 'barrier' along the western frontier of U. S. S. R., so that people getting into Eastern Europe had to pass twice through quarantine centres. By this means all possibility of infiltration of epidemics into the rest of Europe was removed.

This remarkable achievement of the Epidemics Commission brought into prominence the work done in different other fields by the Health Organisation of the League. The Polish Government now invited this body to convene an all-Europe Health Conference in order to formulate an international legislation on sanitation and preventive measures against spread of contagious diseases. The burden on Poland during the fight against typhus and relapsing fever was really

great and she wanted that in future when a pestilence breaks out it should be considered as an international calamity and all the different States should bear portions of the general expense of fighting against the epidemic. Poland's proposal led to the League's calling the Warsaw Conference in March, 1922. This Conference, held under the auspices of the Health Organisation of the League was the first all European Conference held after the World War; and here for the first time a co-ordinated effort was made to create an international united front against humanity's age long enemy—disease.

From July, 1923 it began publishing a Monthly Epidemiological Report, embodying all the informations and reports on the recent researches done in the field of public health and hygiene and general sanitation. Regular publication of this Report of the Health Organisation was assured by an annual grant of (about) Rs. 83,000 from an American institution, namely, the International Health Board of the Rockefeller Foundation. The U.S.A. does not belong to the League, though she, more than any other nation, was responsible for its creation; fortunately she has realised the importance of co-operating with the Health Organisation of the League and has official representatives in this Section. America, however, is by no means the only "outsider" to send officials to this body; countries like Brazil, U.S.S.R., Turkey and Egypt and a number of smaller countries have shown all along a keen interest in the work of the Health Section.

The League's Health Organisation has not confined its activities to Europe only. In 1922 it sent out a special Epidemic Commissioner to the Far East in order to study the local conditions there and report on the measures that might be taken on an international basis to cope with pestilence in Asiatic countries. The report submitted by this Epidemic Commissioner led to a Conference of twelve Far Eastern countries and finally



to the foundation of the first permanent branch office of the League in Asia—namely, the League of Nations Epidemiological Intelligence Bureau at Singapore.

This Singapore Bureau is directly under the Health Organisation of the League. It started work in 1925 and to-day it receives telegraphic information regarding the health condition of some 200 Eastern ports, from Hswali to Alexandria and every Friday it transmits (from the French station at Saigon) the news it has pooled by wireless to Geneva and elsewhere. When a contagious disease breaks out in a port it informs all incoming and out-going vessels of the fact; port-authorities all over the world are also advised either by the Singapore Bureau or by the Health Organisation at Geneva. Further, the Epidemiological Information Bureau publishes a detailed weekly bulletin on Health condition in the East. The League Secretariat distributes this publication to all responsible bodies in every country of the world.

Pooling of Informations by the Health Organisation brought to light the fact that there is a hopeless lack of uniformity in statistical methods in different countries of the world; thanks to the effort of the League, now this anachronism has been superseded by a scientific system. "Units" of vaccines, sera and other medical preparations had also presented a curious anomaly until now in various drug producing countries. Doctors when handling imported vaccines and sera have often been in a fix as to the relative "strengths" of the preparations at their disposal. In the past lack of definite information on this score had led to many fatal accidents. Now through the efforts of the League Health Organisation a general standardisation of the "units" of medical preparations have been arrived at. The significance of this work can hardly be exaggerated. Limitation of space will not permit our going into further details of the other achievements of the

Health Section. Suffice it to give a very bare list. In 1926 it initiated a systematic investigation of Sleeping-sickness at Entebbe (Uganda) and in 1927 it convened an international conference on Infant Mortality at Montevideo (Uruguay).

The Montevideo Conference was the first League meeting ever held in Latin America—the continent of Chucusea, but it did not in the least raise any political issue.

The findings of the Conference convened by the Health Section are of paramount interest to all Public Health Services in the world. They have moreover stimulated further research.

The Cancer Commission, the Advisory Commission on the Traffic in Opium and dangerous drugs, and various other commissions show the manifold and wide spread activities of the League's Health Organisation.

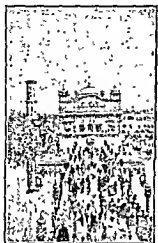
Another important achievement of this body deserves special mention. It has succeeded in introducing the system of interchange of public health personnel. Trained medical and sanitary officers of one country will, through the Health Organisation of the League, be sent into another on the basis of interchange. Groups of medical specialists of various nationalities will temporarily collaborate with their colleagues in different countries and offer criticism on the existing sanitary and medical organisations and propose improvements in general techniques etc. In January and February 1928 India was chosen as the centre of meeting for the interchange of medical personnel of twelve Far Eastern countries.

The Malaria Commission of the League is now in India. This body has already done some remarkable work. Its study tours in the Balkan States, the deltas of the Mississippi, Danube, Ebro, Po and all the rice growing regions of Europe have hitherto been conducive to fruitful results; let us hope that its mission in India will be equally productive and lead on to measures that will eradicate malaria for good.

# The Golden Temple of Amritsar

BY MR. G. R. SETHI, B. A., M. R. A. S. (LONDON).

**F**EW persons are privileged to see the magnificence and glory of the jewellery



GOLDEN TEMPLE ON A FESTIVAL DAY

valued at crores of rupees and dedicated to the Golden Temple at Amritsar for purposes of "Jalao" or the sacred decoration. These valuables are exhibited to the public only four times in a year on the occasions of the four big festivals celebrated by the Sikhs. But the entire jewellery and other articles of "Jalao" are not without historical significance. The "Jalao" is held in deep reverence by the community, and what is more, far greater sanctity is attached by those who had never had the good fortune to have a glimpse of it. But the reverence is no less on the part of those who are privileged to look after it. From one manager to another it has passed various hands and is at present held by the local Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee, which is in charge of the management of the Golden Temple as also certain allied shrines situated within its precincts. When the last of the managers of the Golden Temple appointed by the British Government (the late Sardar Sunder Singh Ramgarhia) made

it over to the present management of the Akalis, he exhibited the entire jewellery to the public and prepared a detailed inventory, which is now a faithful record of the entire trust.

Invaluable as this trust is, it is very carefully preserved in a room just above the Darshai Deorhi or the main entrance to the Golden Temple, which remains very well guarded by the Committee's sentinels. Two massive gates that lead to the Toshia Khana or the room where this jewellery is preserved are well locked by three locks whose



"JALAO" ON THE GOLDEN TEMPLE

keys are held by three members of the Gurdwara Committee. Unless all the three members as also the officials of the Committee are present these locks cannot be opened. Thus access is made rather difficult and the chances of mischief are far remote. When we entered the room we were shown the eight doors covered with thick gold plates, used for four entrances to the main temple. Six of these doors were made in the time of Maharaja Ranjit Singh and the other two are a later addition. All these are carefully preserved in huge wooden boxes, which too are properly locked. But by far the most important is the big piece of velvet covering of a scarlet colour, richly embroidered in gold and embedded with pearls and precious stones of all varieties. This wonder-

destinies and lent their intellect to it, have left it on the ground of its departure from principle. They cannot conceive of the Congress accepting the proverbial "half a loaf," in spite of its avowed intentions. And so they have deserted it.

The Congress sessions were held in Colombo and it was in reality a Congress of the low country Sinhalese. Even as a low country Sinhalese Congress it was not representative, many of the prominent politicians who figured in it in previous years having nothing to do with it.

The President's analysis of the present political situation, although not full of rhetoric, was full of commonsense. But there are frequent passages of stirring appeal in it. In the course of his address the President said:

I sincerely hope that our united efforts will succeed in making use of the great opportunity the new constitution will offer us of creating a legislature that shall be on the one hand a potent means of national regeneration and on the other a powerful instrument of constitutional reform so that, in the not very distant future, the glorious day of Bawaraj may dawn upon the fair Isle of Lanka." \* \* \* "We have given no encouragement to industrial enterprise. Our ignorance in matters industrial is appalling and I appeal to you to introduce into the country a system of industrial education which in conjunction with our agricultural awakening must work for our redemption." \* \* \* "Our fields lie fallow, our lands lie till or are in the hands of foreigners, our island which was once the granary of the East to-day depends for its food on Rangoon and India. We must give an impetus to agricultural activity and raise the cry of back to the land."

The President also made a third party defence of himself in vindication of his support of the Donoughmore scheme of reforms. He said that a Congress Executive Committee decision was not binding on the members and they could not be taken to task for expressing themselves contrarily. He gave a very lucid instance in which some of the Congress Executive members had departed from the expressed intentions of the Committee in the matter of the University Debate. It was withal a convincing plea, but none of the "back sliders" will ever come back. It is even rumoured that those who have sundered themselves from the Congress movement are actively engaged in fostering a new political institution.

The peroration of the Congress President is very noteworthy. He said:

What is in the womb of the future no man can tell. It is however in our power to impregnate that future with the impress of our aspirations and ambitions of our country's welfare. And when our labours bear fruit let it be such that those who come after us shall find endurance and strength in it and our memory shall be beloved of them. Let us then, my countrymen, not hesitate the virgin page upon which our country's story shall be written with anything unworthy or intolerant. Let our labours be inspired by tolerance for all men, fairness in all things and love of our motherland. Let the atomp ring down the ages and echo and reecho in the eternal infinitudes of the future that to-day, when a new epoch in the life of the country commences, there have arisen men imbued with a spirit of selfless service, who will strive in the short span of life allotted to them to write in the book of Ceylon's history, an epic worthy of her fair name.

The President of the Reception Committee this year, (Col. T. G. Jayawardane) a retired Public Works Department Officer and a gallant colonel in the army, has taken to politics late in life, but is nevertheless a keen student. He welcomed the delegates, and in the main his address was concerned with the Reforms scheme. He used every argument in his power to convince his hearers of the need for accepting the Donoughmore Reforms, as a blessing which brought good in its train.

A resolution was passed at this year's sessions of the Congress on the question of the reforms. It was worded thus: "This Congress re-affirms its demand for full responsible government at the next revision of the constitution, but pending such revision recommends the acceptance for a short period of the proposed Donoughmore Scheme of Reforms, as modified by the Secretary of State for the Colonies."

Another resolution to which some importance must be attached is that "The Ceylon National Congress is of opinion that steps should be taken to organise evening or night classes throughout the country with a view to ensuring that all adults, both male and female, should achieve literacy as early as possible."

This resolution is one which will have far-reaching effect on the country, and was passed with unanimity.

# THE DECEMBER GATHERINGS

[The Christmas Week in India has been, as usual, a season of Congresses and Conferences. It is impossible for the lay reader to cope with the flood of literature that has poured through the Press in the shape of speeches and resolutions. An attempt is therefore made in these pages to give a bird's eye view of the proceedings of the National Congress at Lahore, the Liberal Federation at Madras, and various other political, social, economic and other conferences that met at different centres in December last. The writer of this précis, who alone is responsible for the running comments made, has availed himself of newspaper reports of the proceedings of these gatherings and has also drawn freely from the impressions of special correspondents. It is hoped that readers of the INDIAN REVIEW will be glad to have, as usual, a succinct summary of the proceedings of these gatherings, presented in this form. ED. INDIAN REVIEW.]

## The Indian National Congress

THE Congress has at last taken the fatal plunge again. Mr. Gandhi and the Nehrus have had their way and the voice of reason and sobriety seemed to have been drowned in the wild race for extremism that was about the normal feature of the proceedings of this tempestuous session. As might be expected the whole atmosphere was tense with excitement throughout the Congress week, an excitement which grew with the passionate rhetoric of the speakers no less than with the extraordinary decisions of the session. No wonder that the Session was marked by internal dissensions and feuds, albeit Mr. Gandhi won a technical victory in piloting his resolutions. Many leading Congressmen found themselves adrift in this chaos of conflicting opinions.

### THE A.I.C.C. MEETING

The Bengal election dispute figured prominently at the outset of the meeting of the All-India Congress Committee, which began its sittings in the afternoon of the 27th at Lahore with Pandit Motilal Nehru in the Chair.

Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose moved for adjournment of the House to consider the Bengal election dispute, which he characterised as a most important matter.

The President having ruled the adjournment motion out of order, a group of A.I.C.C. Members, numbering about 25, walked out in protest.

### THE SUBJECTS COMMITTEE DISCUSSIONS

Thus the session began with a walk-out and it chanced that it ended with a walk-out too. It

would appear that this sort of non co operation from within is becoming a striking feature of the Congress proceedings. Discord was so rampant in the Subjects Committee that even the resolution expressing sympathy with the Viceroy and deploring the bomb outrage was subjected to severe censure. However, after a heated debate in which opposition was strongly displayed, the Congress Subjects Committee passed by a large majority (voting being one hundred and seventeen for and sixty-nine against) the resolution of the Congress Working Committee deploring the bomb outrage on the Viceroy's train and congratulating the Viceroy, Lady Irwin and party including the poor servants on their fortunate and narrow escape.

Mr. Gandhi's stirring speech materially contributed to the passing of the resolution.

But the one topic on which the Committee laboured for over two full days was Mr. Gandhi's resolution recommending the rejection of the offer of the Round Table Conference, the definition of Swaraj as "complete independence", the boycott of Councils, and the launching of a civil disobedience campaign.

The opposition to this resolution was so strong that almost every moment it threatened to disrupt the Congress. The Subjects Committee was the scene of endless wrangles from many quarters; and the cleavage seemed well nigh irreconcilable. In fact the end of the discussion found the Congress cut in twain, and then each section had further differences of its own to settle. Pandit Malaviya

and Mr. Kelkar drew the Congress on one side while Mr. Subhas Bose and Mr. Srinivasa Iyengar pulled the other way. There were objections to the Council boycott as there were objections to the change of creed. But the Committee, after a prolonged discussion and heated debate passed, by 187 votes to 77, Mr. Gandhi's main resolution on Independence and Council boycott.

By 114 to 113 votes the amendment deleting an appreciative reference to the Viceroy from Mahatma Gandhi's resolution was lost, the majority of a solitary vote saving the Mahatma's resolution from material alteration.

Mahatma Gandhi suffered the first defeat when the Congress Subjects Committee rejected the Working Committee's proposal to set up completely autonomous permanent committees to carry on Congress work in respect of Untouchability, Prohibition, and Khadi. The opposition voiced by Dr. Alam, Mr. Satyamurti and Mr. Aney feared this centralization would be suicidal to the Congress authority and leave the Congress no work except the destructive part, the boycott of Councils.

Mahatma Gandhi suffered another defeat by 111 to 101 votes, when the Subjects Committee was asked to pass the Working Committee's resolution for a reduction in the strength of delegates to 1,000 and that of the All-India Congress Committee to 100.

This was felt as a snub to the Working Committee which had passed the resolutions unanimously and as a sure indication of the Mahatma's waning authority over the Congress.

#### THE WELCOME ADDRESS

The opening of the 44th Session of the Congress at Lahore marked the climax to the scenes of enthusiasm that characterised the proceedings of the week. Dr. Kitchlew, in his welcome address, gave an elaborate history of what he called the economic and political exploitation of India by Britain, and referred to the achievements of the

Non-Co-operation movement of 1921. He favoured the independence ideal and put in a strong plea for communal unity.

He said that the Hindu-Muslim differences were only transitory. They were the result of a tremendous reaction and, if left alone, would have



DR. KITCHLEW

Chairman, Reception Committee.

did their natural death. The All-Parties Conference, he said, had done them no good; on the contrary, by giving status to rank communalists, they had done immeasurable harm to the political movement. He characterised separate representation on communal lines as thoroughly vicious.

Pledged to independence as the immediate goal, Doctor Kitchlew suggested the following programme for the country:—

- (1) The Congress should declare complete Independence;
- (2) Complete boycott of Legislatures;
- (3) Organisation of a National Army of workers with a view to co-ordinate and combine the

different workers, and peasants' organisations as also youth organisations;

(4) Organisation of a permanent body of full-time national workers, paid as well as honorary;

(5) And organisation of mass Civil Disobedience as well as individual Civil Disobedience in selected areas under the direction of a compact and small central committee of action.

Dr. Kitchlew concluded with the following stirring call for action:—

To-day we are again on the eve of a period of dynamic action. I appeal to the Mahatmas: Pray come and lead us. We are ready.

But let there be no repetition of Chauri Chaura; let there be no turning back, once we get our feet onward, let the slogan be:

"Onward, onward until the goal is reached."

#### PANDIT JAWAHARLAL'S PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's Presidential Address was a fine piece of imaginative rhetoric. He put

in a forceful plea for the declaration of the goal of the Congress as independence and the scrapping of the Nehru Constitution, on the ground that the conditions for co-operation mentioned in the Calcutta resolution remain unfulfilled.

The time has come when the All-Parties Report has to be put aside and we march forward unfettered to our goal. It is for this Congress to declare in favour of independence and devise sanctions to achieve it.

"Independence means complete freedom from British domination and British Imperialism," declared Jawaharlal.

Having attained our freedom I have no doubt that India will welcome all attempts at world co-operation and federation and will even agree to give up part of her own independence to a larger group, of which she is an equal member.

And he went on to add:

This Congress has not acknowledged and will not acknowledge the right of the British Parliament to dictate to us in any way. To it we make no appeal. But we do appeal to the Parliament and conscience of the world, and to them we shall declare, I hope, that India submits no longer to any foreign domination.

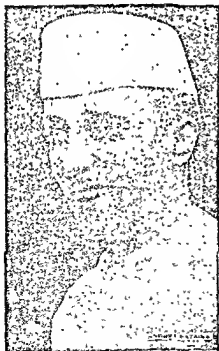
That shall be no gain for ourselves or for our community if all of us are slaves in a slave country. And what can we lose if once we remove the shackles from India and can breathe the air of freedom again? Do we want outsiders, who are not of us and who have kept us in bondage, to be the protectors of our little rights and privileges when they deny us the very right to freedom?

Pandit Jawaharlal thinks it will be unwise to declare a boycott of courts and schools at this stage. As regards the Councils he is for a complete boycott of them.

This boycott will only be a means to an end. It will release energy and divert attention to the real struggle which must take the shape of non-payment of taxes and, where possible, with the co-operation of the labour movement, general strikes. But non-payment of taxes must be well organised in specific areas, and for this purpose the Congress should authorise the All-India Congress Committee to take the necessary action, wherever and whenever it considers it desirable.

The address was throughout impassioned and imaginative and must have appealed to the enthusiasm of the younger and more ardent section of the great gathering. The President wound up with the stirring, but ominous, words:

We have conspiracy cases going on in various parts of the country. They are ever with us. But this time has gone for secret conspiracy. We have now an open conspiracy to free this country from foreign rule, and you, comrades, and all our countrymen and countrywomen are invited to join it. But the rewards that are



PANDIT JAWAHARLAL NEHRU  
President, 44th National Congress.

in store for you are suffering and prison, and it may be, death. But you shall also have the satisfaction that you have done your little bit for India, the ancient, but ever young, and have helped a little in the liberation of humanity from its present bondage.

### THE RESOLUTIONS

The Congress met again in open session on the 31st when Mr. Gandhi moved and Dr. Ansari seconded the first resolution on the Delhi bomb incident. There was some opposition and the house seemed divided, but it was passed, 897 voting for and 816 against.

Introducing the Independence resolution as adopted by the Subjects Committee, Mr. Gandhi characterised it as the *root of the future Congress work*. The resolution declared complete Independence as the meaning of Swaraj for the purposes of the Congress creed and resolved on the complete boycott of the legislatures as a preliminary step towards organising a campaign for Independence.

Pandit Motilal Nehru in seconding the motion made a stirring appeal to the Congress to follow Mr. Gandhi's lead. The resolution was hotly contested and there were in all 14 amendments from such diverse speakers like Pandit Malaviya, Messrs. Kelkar, S. C. Bose, S. Satyamurti, Prakasam Dr. Alam, and others.

All the fourteen amendments were then put to the vote, and those of Pandit Malaviya and others were rejected summarily amidst shouts of "Gandhi-ki-jai." Mr. Subhas Bose's amendment received some support, but the opposition was so overwhelming that a count was not demanded.

The only division that took place was on Dr. Alam's amendment for deleting the appreciative reference to the Viceroy's efforts.

The President declared the amendment defeated by 661 against 763 votes. Dr. Alam, however, challenged a poll. Gandhiji's resolution was then put to the vote and declared carried with only a dozen voting against it. The text of the resolution as adopted by the Congress will be found in another page.

It will be noticed that the only alteration in the Resolution was the deletion of the reference to the boycott of municipalities and local bodies.

### CONCLUDING SESSION

The concluding day of the Congress was held on the 1st January 1930 and perhaps the most debatable motion even in Congress annals, *viz.*, that on the repudiation of debts—was put from the chair and passed. Thus, at the final sittings on New Year's Day, resolutions on the following subjects were passed by the Congress:—

(1) Every obligation to be inherited by "Independent India," is to be subject to investigation by an independent tribunal; obligations found to be other than "just and justifiable" will be repudiated.

(2) Rulers of Indian States are to confer responsible government on their peoples.

(3) An assurance is to be made to the Sikhs regarding a satisfactory solution of the communal problem.

In their concluding speeches Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, President of the Congress, and Dr. Kitchlew, Chairman of the Reception Committee, laid stress on the declaration of Independence.

The meeting of the All-India Congress Committee which followed the conclusion of the Congress session was responsible for a heated discussion concerning the appointment of the 1930 Working Committee. Finally, several members including Mr. Subhas Bose, Mr. Satyamurti and Mr. Srinivasa Iyengar walked out of the meeting. This section has formed a new party, to be known as the "Congress Democratic Party."

Since then the President of the Congress has issued a statement appealing to Congress members to resign their seats on the Legislatures; while another party is busy asking Congressmen on the Legislatures to suspend their action till the meeting of the Congress and Nationalist parties in the Assembly on the 18th January.

# The National Liberal Federation

**I**N sharp contrast to the Congress are the deliberations of the Liberal Federation which met at Madras in Christmas Week. It has been well said that what the Federation lacked in numbers and display, had been more than counterbalanced by the weight of its pronouncements and decisions.

Delegates had come from far and near and on the days were gathered together many who had made their mark in public life, in administrative experience and constructive statesmanship.

## SIR C. P. RAMASWAMI AIYAR'S WELCOME ADDRESS

Thus the twelfth session met at the Gokhale Hall, Madras, on the 29th December. Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar, Chairman of the Reception



SIR C. P. RAMASWAMI AIYAR  
Chairman, Reception Committee.

Committee, opened the proceedings with an address of welcome which was as admirable in tone as it was lucid in exposition. He wisely confined himself mainly to the leading topic of the day, and held that

(1) The Liberal Party, while feeling strongly that a policy of general conciliation is a necessary concomitant of successful political negotiations, is not disposed to make any suggestions as conditions

precedent to the summoning of the Round Table Conference.

(2) The Liberal Party is not either a party of inaction or acquiescence, but a party of progressivists.

(3) The Liberal Party asks for the conferment of Dominion Status, confident in the belief that only thus will India find herself and England and India realise their highest destiny.

Sir Ramaswami Aiyar exposed with lucidity and force the hollowness of the arguments raised by the reactionaries against the grant of self government to India. He emphasised that nothing less than full responsible government will satisfy India, not merely as a political ideal but as a practical necessity. And he looked forward to the Round Table Conference as the best means of realising his hopes for India:

*My own reading of the present situation is that, thanks to a variety of circumstances, the ball is at our feet and that, if only the various Indian parties and organisations could combine together and speak with a united voice on the major issues, England will, and cannot but, accede to our demands. Our unfriends are counting upon the possibilities of disunion and of irreconcilable differences amongst the groups that will be brought together in London, and our object must be to falsify such anticipations. Our motto must be the proud saying of the Kauravas: 'We are a hundred plus five in the family house, but one to the outside world.' Thus alone shall our representatives speak with that authority and nifty which Mr. Wedgwood Benn has very properly hoped for.*

No wonder that with such hopes Sir Ramaswami Aiyar should think of the break-down of the Conference between the Viceroy and Mr. Gandhi as one more instance of wasted opportunity. But the task of the Liberal party is clear. Though it has neither the widespread organisation nor the large membership that distinguishes the Congress, he claimed that many who are not formally enrolled as members of the Liberal Party "are in complete sympathy with our aspirations and our methods."

So long as our party stands inflexibly for the attainment of the fullest measure of autonomy for India in every sphere within the ambit of the British Commonwealth and so long as the objects to be attained are pursued by methods of persuasion, of constitutional opposition and constitutional co-operation, we need have no fear either for the future of the country or of our



Party. The energies of every party and every patriot must, therefore, be applied and the largest amount of patience and mutual comprehension generated and utilised between now and the date of the Conference in London to bring men and groups together and to evolve the greatest common measure of unity not only as to basic principles but in the larger details, so that we may present to the British people and Government not only a united front, but the outlines of a generally agreed scheme which can be accepted and brought into operation like the schemes evolved in the Dominions.

But after saying this, it must also be added that in order to achieve this result a great deal of laborious preliminary work involving mutual consultation and the reconciliation of apparently divergent interests in a spirit of mutual generosity and of give-and-take would be necessary. The revival of a procedure and programme similar to that adopted at the All-Parties Convention is a prime requisite.

The Federation made an earnest effort in this direction and the statement issued and the resolutions passed at the session mark a distinct advance in the matter of co-operation with other groups having the same objective and pursuing the same methods. The aims of the Party were put by Sir Ramsawami with considerable eloquence and force:—

What, however, our party stands for is the vindication of India's right to grow into the larger life of the future in her own way, and according to her own traditions and genius, and to have the opportunity to arrange her own political furniture in her own house of which she feels that she is mistress, combining whole-heartedly with the sister Dominions for common and beneficent purposes in a spirit of mutual equality and not of discrimination or of patronage, and in allegiance and loyalty to a flexible but fully accepted central constitution of which the symbol and spear point is the Constitutional Sovereign. Our Party, in the interests of India and of England and of the Commonwealth, asks for the endorsement of Dominion Status confident in the belief that only thus will India find herself and England and Indians realise their highest destiny.

#### SIR P. C. SETHNA'S PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

Sir Phiroze Sethna's Presidential Address recalled in tone and spirit the best pronouncements of the Congress addresses of pre-Non-Co operation days. Sir Phiroze, after some preliminary observations, declared that the greatest and most important question at the present moment was, "what is to be the future constitution of India"? Then he traced the history of the appointment of the Simon Commission, the boycott that followed and Lord Birkenhead's challenge to India which was accepted with the result that the Nehru

Report was drawn up. Sir Phiroze said that Lord Birkenhead's Indian policy had been a grievous failure. He then reviewed the advent of the Labour Government to power, the visit of Lord



THE HON. SIR P. C. SETHNA  
President, XII Liberal Federation.

Irwin to England, the Viceregal Declaration of October, 31st and the Parliamentary debates thereon and proceeded:—

We, Liberals, stand for Dominion Status, we hold that if Dominion Status is granted without undue delay, there will be no political or ethical justification for India to seek to sever the British connection. Nor can we support a general policy of non-payment of taxes as in our judgment such a policy, like the policy of a general strike, cannot but plunge the country into all the evils and horrors of an open conflict with Government, who, in sheer self-defence and in the discharge of its elementary duties of maintaining peace and order, of carrying on the King's Government, will not hesitate to take, and will be quite justified in taking, every necessary measure for pulling down such a general movement of civil disobedience. But as constructive statesmen whose duty it is to face the Indian problem as a whole in all its aspects and in a proper perspective and who consider that a policy of prevention is better than a policy of cure, it will

not be proper for us, nor for the Government to ignore or belittle the significance of the movement of thought in Congress circles.

### THE ROUND TABLE CONFERENCE

Discussing what India's attitude towards the Conference should be the President observed :

I feel not the slightest hesitation in saying that India will commit a very grave blunder if she rejects the offer. Given sincerity, goodwill and a genuine desire to appreciate and judge different points of view, it is not at all difficult to arrive in the Conference at a solution of the constitutional problem such as may carry behind it the general agreement of political India. We should therefore accept the offer of the Conference in the same spirit in which it has been made.

It must not be supposed that the Liberals are only too anxious to get into any Conference irrespective of its usefulness to serve the needs of India. Sir Phiroze was clear and definite not only as regards the composition of the Conference but of its terms as well.

We cannot agree to take part in the Conference if its terms of reference will exclude the question of the immediate establishment of full responsible government or the immediate attainment of Dominion Status.

Provided the terms of reference to the Conference are satisfactory, we should not insist on any condition being fulfilled as a pre-requisite to our co-operation with Government in this matter of the Conference.

The President also put in a plea for the inclusion among the membership of the Conference one or two constitutional experts. He then referred to the necessity of settling our internal differences and then discussed the question of communal representation and drew attention to its evils, the problem of Indian States, the position of Indians abroad and then declared : "The perpetuation of the British domination now is impossible." After referring to the need for propaganda in England, Sir Phiroze Sethna concluded his address as follows :

The numerical strength of the Liberal Party may not at present be very large, but we are the leaven of the whole national life of India, and our influence upon her development has always been wholesome and abiding. We stand for all-round progress, we have faith in modern civilisation, modern spirit and modern culture. We believe in co-existence, in unity, in synthesis, in harmony. We stand for Dominion Status with the firm conviction that England cannot withhold it from India even if she wished, and that England will not wish it even if she can.

After the Presidential Address, a number of messages from different parts of India, wishing the Federation every success, was read by Mr. G. A. Natesan.

Mr. Yakub Hassan, with leave of the chair, made a short speech appealing to those present and to all parties in India to form an Indian National Union to counteract the independence movement and to promote the cause of Dominion Status.

### THE SUBJECTS COMMITTEE MEETING

The Subjects Committee, which met on the same day after lunch, very closely considered the various aspects of the principal resolutions that were next day adopted by the Federation. In fact the Subjects Committee met each day after the conclusion of the open session and decided upon the resolutions for the morrow. The resolutions were drawn with very great care and precision so that there might be no misunderstanding in any quarter as to the attitude of the Liberals with regard to any point touched in them. It was decided to concentrate attention on the most important question of Dominion Status this year, without discussing, as usual, a variety of subsidiary, though in themselves vital, questions. Besides the resolution on Dominion Status and the connected ones relating to the Indian States and the project of an 'All-Parties' Conference preliminary to the London Conference, the only subjects on which opinion was expressed were the position of Indians in Kenya and Labour.

### THE ROUND TABLE CONFERENCE

Re-assembling on the 30th noon, the Federation unanimously adopted a resolution moved from the Chair condemning the attempt to wreck the Viceroy's train and conveying to their Excellencies its congratulations on their providential escape.

The Federation also adopted the resolution of Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru welcoming the Viceroy's announcement and intimating the willingness of

the choir. The text of the resolution will be found in another page.

The position of Indians in East Africa formed the subject of another resolution which was moved by Mr. S. G. Vaze of the Servants of India Society, seconded by the Hon. Mr. Natesan and supported by Mr. C. Y. Chintamani. The resolution and a brief summary of the speeches delivered on this subject are printed elsewhere in this issue.

By another resolution the Federation invited Government's attention to the necessity of asking the Whitley Commission to expedite their work and take effective action thereon with a view to ameliorate the present situation of labour.

The Federation also appointed a Committee to collect materials and prepare the case for Dominion Status and authorised the President to meet the necessary cost from Party funds.

Sir C. P. Ramaswami Iyer and Mr. G. A. Natesan were appointed Honorary Joint General Secretaries for the coming year. A new Council was constituted for the year 1930.

## The Khilafat Conference

The All-India Khilafat Conference opened in the Islamia College grounds at Lahore in Dec. 31st. Among those who were on the dais were the Ali Brothers, Sir Abdol Qadir and Sir Mahamed Shafi. There was some confusion at the commencement when Mr. Shaukat Ali objected to the revolutionary shouts that rang through the Shamiana.

When order was restored Sir Zafikar Ali Khan, Chairman of the Reception Committee, read his address. He dwelt at length on the effects of the Great War on the situation in the Muslim countries of the world and the problems of Indian Mussalmans. He regretted that the Hindus did not view with equanimity Muslims getting an increased share in the administration of the country. They started the Shuddhi and Sangathan movements with political motives.

It was announced that an anonymous donor had given Rs. 13,000 for the Federation Fund.

A Working Committee was appointed to increase the membership of each local organisation and popularise the ideals of the Federation.

The President, in his concluding speech, made a moving appeal for the union of all parties pledged to constitutional methods for securing Dominion Status, and said:—

To adopt resolutions such as the Congress proposed to-day is to court certain disaster. Whilst we feel no hesitation in condemning the Congress resolution we must once again warn the British Government that it cannot afford to delay any longer the grant of Dominion Status. Their duty at present is to conciliate India to the fullest measure that may be possible.

Concluding, Sir Phiroze Seibna said:

I only hope the British Government, in the words of the late Mr. Gokhale, does not now stand considering, hesitating, receding and debating within itself to grant or not to grant while the opportunity rushes past it never to return.

The vote of thanks to the President was proposed by the veteran Mr. N. Sobha Rau Pantulu and seconded by Mr. G. A. Natesan, and the session of the Federation was then dissolved.

Continuing, he said Indians should all adopt one religion and Hindus should cease to treat non-Hindus as "untouchables."

Nawab Ismail Khao, President of the conference, exhorted the Mussalmans to support the Khilafat Committee with men and money, as that organisation alone was the best fitted to protect the interests of Indian Mussalmans. He said a solution of the communal problems of the country lay in the acceptance by the country of the recommendations of the All-India Muslim Conference. He welcomed the announcement regarding the Round Table Conference, and trusted that Mussalmans would avail themselves of the opportunity of stressing their view-point.

The Conference passed resolutions emphasising the Muslim demands.

## The Ulemas Conference

The Ulemas met in Conference at Cawnpore on the 23rd Dec. Maulana Hasrat Mohani welcomed the delegates.

Mr. Mahomed Ali in his presidential address observed that Mahatma Gandhi and Pandit Motilal

that Muslims would not accept any constitution which did not contain the Muslim demands put forth at the last Delhi All India Conference, and the meeting held in the Jama Masjid after the Muslim League session in Delhi last April.

The conference expressed its faith in the proposed Round Table Conference,

only if such Muslims were selected to represent their community as were really worshippers of the shariat and interpreters of their own community's right and interests.

It also declared

that Muslims were place at the conference with the Viceroy London Conference would be disappointed

A committee to carry on the out materialism past to-day.



## Indian Christian Conference

In refreshing contrast to the seditions of the Ulemas are the resolutions of the Indian Christians who met at Lahore in Christmas week. A large number of Christians from all parts of India attended. The Rev. B. A. Nag, in his presidential address, condemned the bomb outrage on the Viceroy's special train. He welcomed the Round Table Conference and suggested that an All-Parties Conference should be convened as soon as possible after the publication of the Simon Commission's Report to generally consider the recommendations and to appoint an executive committee, representative of all sections of the people, to frame India's national demands.

Proceeding he opposed communal representation, characterising it as harmful to a minority community like that of the Christians. He supported a general free electorate for all. He hoped the leaders would once again meet the Viceroy and come to a decision which would, in

no way, prejudicially affect the gesture made by the Viceroy and His Majesty's Government. The President also suggested the organising of an All India Christian Convention for the purpose of advising the Christian community in religious and semi-religious matters which had no reference to any denominational creed.

The Conference passed an important resolution *inter alia* advising the Indian nation

*to accept the invitation to the Round Table Conference, in being understood that this Conference was to be called to frame a constitution for India on the basis of Dominion Status.*

It further opined that the delegates to the Round Table Conference

*be selected in an All-Parties Conference, to be convened specially for the purpose of arriving at an unanimity, as far as possible, between the various parties in India.*

The Conference also expressed disapproval of the selection of delegates to the Round Table Conference on communal lines, but urged that all interests be represented in the delegation to the Conference.

## The Temperance Conference

The Temperance Conference (otherwise known as the Prohibition conference) was held at Lahore on the 28th December under the presidency of Mr. C. Rajagopalachari. The President explained the economic aspects of the drink evil and pointed out that

*even if there has been no kind of economic loss to the individual or society, drink is brain poison, and man cannot afford to allow the allurement of such poison to have free play among men and women of varying degrees of resistance, even if it were available like fresh air costing nothing in money.*

But in a pre-eminently money civilization he continued, such as that of the Western world

It is natural that the economic aspect of the drink evil is emphasised and is received as conclusive against it and it is well that as the economic run that attaches itself to the drink evil is so great that it is conclusive in itself the economic aspect of drink within a limited sphere casts a greater shadow of misery in our country than in the West £2 9sh. 10d per head in Great Britain is but an eight of the average income per head in Great Britain and involves over Rs. 650 per year for other expenditure, but four annas a day spent on toddy or arrack is half of the wages earned by an Indian family and leaves them the absolute minimum necessary for healthy physical existence.

He tried to show the revenue derived from drink was no revenue. Prohibition might be less taxing in enforcement than the present ticklish regulation of license and the prospect of the enforcement of Prohibition in India was daily improving.

After dealing with the example of America and reviewing the prospect of prohibition in this country he went on to observe :

*"The world situation in respect of alcohol is also in our favour, America is bound to fight against this enemy of man throughout the world, and cannot rest content with internal law. Throughout the civilized world there is an awakening against alcoholism. May God give me strength to rid our land of this monster."*

The Conference concluded after passing the following resolutions *inter alia* (1) opining that the total prohibition of all intoxicants was indispensable for the welfare of the country; (2) appealing to the people to intensify the agitation by forming associations to remove the drink and drug evil and (3) recommending the introduction in schools of a curriculum of scientific instruction etc.

# The National Social Conference

The 42nd Indian National Social Conference met in Lahore during the Congress Week under the presidency of Mr. Harbilas Sarda, the author of the Child Marriage Restraint Act. It was fitting



MR. HARBILAS SARDA

that Mr. Sarda should preside over this Conference this year. His presidential address is very short but is packed with weighty thoughts for the social legislators. Speaking of the ever-changing conditions of life he said :—

In view of this constant change, it is necessary to maintain a proper adjustment of relations between the facts and conditions of existence and our acts and practices in order to secure a healthy life and growth of society. \* \* \* A wise people therefore is always ready for reform, where and when necessary. It will never nail its colours to the product or embodiment of a particular aspect or condition of life and say, 'we are wedded to it, and by it we stand or fall.

A readiness to revise the valuations of facts and standards of life, whenever necessary or called for, is essential to the continuance and growth of social life. Thus, only can a social system be kept as a living and growing organism and thus only can social life lead to a healthy and vigorous national life.

In regard to the *Varnashrama Dharma* he pointed out that in early days the four *ashramas* were not dependent upon birth, nor were they water-tight compartments. He gave instances from the Puranas that in the same family one was a Brahmin, one a Kshatriya and one a Vaishya. He opined that the caste system as it exists to-day is entirely incompatible with progress in any direction. He said :—

In order that those rights may be fully exercised it is necessary to break the bonds of caste and free men and women from the shackles which tie them to the old order of things.

He was of opinion that so long as the caste system existed they must permit, and at times encourage, inter-caste marriages. Mr. Sarda finally advocated widow re-marriage, as they permitted widower re-marriage, and pleaded for the grant of full rights of inheritance to women.

Several important resolutions were passed in the Conference.

Sir Mohammad Shafi moved a resolution, appealing to all communities in India to take steps to promote mutual harmony and concord, which was essential for social solidarity and inter-communal co-operation. Sir Abdul Qadir and Dr. Gokalchand Narang made strong speeches, supporting the resolution. Dr. Satyapal and Kala Duniachand emphasised that the attitude of the communities towards each other had a great deal to do for the country's claim for political freedom.

Considerable discussion centered round the resolution expressing the support of the Conference for the Hindu Widows' Inheritance Bill and Mr. Harbilas Sarda's explanations removed all misgivings about the Bill. Mrs. Shahnawaz, told the audience that although the personal law of the Mussalmans did not debar Mahomedan women inheriting their husbands' property, the customary law in the Punjab did. At her instance the Conference adopted a resolution that the Bill, if passed, should also apply to Mahomedan widows in the Punjab.

The other resolutions passed referred to the abolition of the *purdah*, the promotion of inter-caste and inter-provincial marriages, abolishing polygamy and requesting Government help for a nation wide reform by asking the authorities to impart instructions on the lines suggested by the Conference.

## Suppressed Classes Conference

What is known as the Suppressed Classes Conference met on the Congress grounds at Lahore on December 25. There was a large gathering including a thousand ladies.

### MR. TANDON'S WELCOME ADDRESS

Mr. Purshotamdas Tandon, Chairman of the Reception Committee, declared that one of the fundamental items in the Congress programme was the case of the suppressed classes, but he emphasised that the sympathy of these organisations and the work of the higher classes would not take the suppressed classes very far. He continued:

You must help yourself. Keep your homes and persons clean and see the respect which society pays you at once. I know that this question of cleanly life is bound up with poverty also but this poverty is due to the enslavement of the country owing to which all classes, high and low, are suffering. Therefore ally yourself with the national movement for freedom and do not be misled into the path of opposition by the activities of Christian missionaries and by the pretences of the Government. Beware of this game of political chess. The real government sympathy for you was apparent when it opposed in the Assembly Lala Lajpat Rai's motion for a crore of rupees for your education, and when in the Punjab Council the Finance Member said that the Government will give you police jobs only after the attitude of every community in India changed towards the suppressed classes. This is the cover under which the Government took its stand. You to-day cannot get employment under Government, cannot buy lands under the Land Alienation Act. On the other hand, the Nehru Report gives you equal rights with every other citizen of India.

### GANDHIJI'S EXHORTATION

Mahatma Gandhi, who presided over the Conference, said that he had come to Lahore mostly to function behind the scenes, but had gladly accepted the Chair of this conference. He continued:

As Mr. Purshotamdas Tandon has told you, your regeneration can take place by your own efforts. We cannot get freed up by throwing bombs on innocent Englishmen. I consider this act an act of impudence, of cowardice. Do you think any power can check our liberty, our advancement and progress if we mean to progress? Take for instance, some of your habits. You must give up eating dead-bodies and meat. You must not eat leavings from the tables of the higher caste. You must not spoil the river or the rivulet by dirty habits. Act peacefully. Forceful entry into temples is not satyagraha. Those temples where you are excluded, because of your low birth, have no gods in them, and those who enter them forcibly have no godliness within them. The Congress appointed a small committee last year which has done considerable work in having promoted a solution for this temple question. The Yykom Satyagraha should be your

lesson. For myself, I maintain that if we want Swaraj for the masses and not for the few, we cannot attain it without the removal of "untouchability" and without Hindu-Muslim unity. The key to Swaraj is not in the hands of any Englishman, or the Viceroy. It does not lie in London. It is in your hands.



### MAHATMA GANDHI

Mr. Gandhi was spinning while sitting at the table during the speech of Mr. Purshotamdas Tandon, finally made an appeal for the Lajpat Rai Memorial Fund and collected funds.

### RESOLUTIONS PASSED

The Conference adopted resolutions declaring that public institutions, public streets, public wells and public services should be open to all Indians without distinctions of caste and creed; and according its wholehearted support to the "Untouchability" Bill tabled by Mr. Jayakar in the Assembly. The Conference congratulated the so-called "untouchables" on their firm resolve for their uplift and urged them to remove "untouchability" among their various sects.

## Historical Records Commission

The XII Session of the Indian Historical Records Commission met at Gwalior on the 21st and 22nd December last under the presidency of Sir Frank Noyce, Secretary to the Government



SIR FRANK NOYCE

of India in the Education Department. Shrimant Khase Rao Sahib Pawar, Home Member of the Gwalior Government, in his opening speech welcoming the Commission to Gwalior, dwelt on the historical and architectural treasures of that City whose influence has been felt all over India from Beogal to the Punjab, and from Rajputana and Gujarat to Nagpur and Orissa. He invited the attention of the Commission to a proper scrutiny of *firman*s and *sauads* in the possession of individuals, as well as contemporary letters, diaries and account-books, all of which may supply gaps in the state papers. This need is particularly strong in Gwalior and other states of Central India, in view of the recent origin and incomplete condition of their Government records. He also pleaded for the institution of historical research societies in Northern India, with a centre at Gwalior and for the broadening of the outlook of

the research worker, so as to take in his range all aspects of social activity, economic, religious, etc. He concluded thus:—"Research work in history, if conducted in a scientific spirit, would be a powerful incentive towards this fusion of the various discordant elements in the Nation into a homogeneous whole. All our prejudices have to be shaken off before we can approach the pure and ennobling atmosphere with which the study of history is invested. No sex disabilities can darken it; no communal bias can taint it.

Sir Frank Noyce congratulated the Commission on the useful work it has been doing, and on the record of activity shown by its members like Sir Jadunath Sarkar and Sir Hearn Cotton. On the first day of the session various papers of historical interest and research were read. Sir Jadunath dwelt on the significant part played by the Kachchwahas of Jaipur in the history of the Mughal Empire and on the value of the extant letters and records preserved at Jaipur and on the necessity of preparing a full biography of Mirza Raja Jal Singh. Mr. G. S. Sardesai pointed out the urgent necessity of publishing important selections from Peishwa's *Dastar* at Poona and on the directions in which fresh search for old Marhatta papers is necessary. Several points of interest regarding the history of Gwalior and the famous episode of its capture by Captain Popham in 1780 were supplied by other contributors. The revenue administration of Berar in the reign of Aurangzeb was detailed with the help of contemporary papers, from which we learn that the scheme of revenue collection was copied from Northern India. The light thrown by European records on several contentious points in Shivaji's life, the life of the great Mahadaji Scindia, and the last days of the infamous Nana Sahib were among other subjects of papers read before the Commission. Mr. A. V. Venkatramiah and Prof. C. S. Srinivasachari of Madras sent interesting papers on South Indian History to the Conference.



## The All-India Teachers' Federation

The 5th session of the above Federation was held in the Hindn High School, Triplicane, Madras, on the 27th December and two following days, under the presidency of Sir P. S. Sivaswami Iyer. In the absence of the Rajah of Chettisad, the Chairman-elect of the Reception Committee, Mr. S. K. Yegnanarayana Iyer, the Vice-President, welcomed the delegates. He declared that the aim of the teacher was to live a decent life with no worry or anxiety about security of tenure and with ample opportunities for self-improvement. The problem is complicated by the fact that teachers have so many masters to serve under, including the newly empowered presidents of taluk boards etc. The profession should be looked upon as a state department and all teachers recognised as state servants, as they are in Ceylon. A spirit of brotherhood and solidarity among the members of the profession should be created, and there should be created a regular hierarchical structure, from the humble units of teachers' associations in small towns leading up to the All-India Federation. Such an organisation will get to wield power even in legislatures. The beginnings of organisation among teachers are even now perceived in the South India Teachers' Union; but the ideal should be an efficient All-India organisation commanding 100 per cent. loyalty of its members and playing a great part in the pan-Asiatic and international organisations of the immediate future.

Sir Sivaswami Iyer, in the course of his address, pointed out the importance of the report of the Auxiliary Committee appointed by the Indian Statutory Commission; in spite of the appearance of pre-existing defects in an exaggerated form, the system of education has certainly undergone improvements in the decade 1917-1927 and has certainly improved as a Transferred Subject under the working of the Montford Act. The Auxiliary Committee have observed that literacy is not education, but only a means to education, and in

some cases other means may be found to enable an individual to exercise an intelligent vote.

The main defect of the present system is in the inevitable inefficiency of the Single-School-Teacher system in rural areas. It is further marked by a want of adjustment between the curriculum and the environments of rural life. The problem facing the country is how to secure a real increase of literacy. Secondary education shows hopeful signs of healthy progress; but the boy of the secondary school has been found sadly deficient in many respects; the School Final System must be considered a failure in this province; it has not succeeded in diverting unfit students from the University nor has it enabled them to prepare effectively for any callings by providing any satisfactory preliminary courses.

Even those who go through a successful course in the University, successful in the sense of obtaining a degree, are found to be sadly deficient in many respects. Not merely is there a marked deterioration in his knowledge of English of the average graduates, but there is a lamentable deficiency in the essential elements of a liberal culture. There is a lack of interest in things in general; there is no spirit of intellectual curiosity and no taste for reading. The range of reading of the average graduate seldom extends beyond the local newspapers or a few novels. Freedom from mistakes of spelling and grammar is by no means a very common virtue of graduates. If an attempt is made to widen the subjects of study or to raise the standards of examination, it gives rise immediately to a storm of agitation in the press and even in the Senate. Expert opinion seems to incline to the view that the fault lies not in the system of collegiate education, but in the system of secondary education. How to improve the system of secondary education is therefore one of the most important problems you have to consider. One of the evils of the secondary school course which has flourished almost to this day is the obligation it imposed upon the student to specialize his studies at an age when it is not possible for him to decide wisely. The choice thus made by the student at such an early stage of his educational career very largely determined his optional subjects of study at college also. It is upon questions whether the tendency to specialisation of studies has not been carried too far and whether it is not desirable for the average graduate to acquire a certain amount of the general knowledge of the subjects which are essential to a course of liberal education, in stead of a special knowledge of one subject and ignorance of all others.

The address then dwelt on the urgent problem of unemployment which has reached an acute stage among the educated classes. The improvement of secondary education and the provision of

## The Associated Chambers of Commerce

The 11th annual general meeting of the Associated Chambers of commerce of India and Ceylon was held in Bombay on the 16th December last and the following days, with Mr. G. L. Winterbotham, the President of the Association, in the chair. The session was opened by H. E. Sir Frederick Sykes, Governor of Bombay. H. E., in the course of his speech, surveyed the industrial and financial outlook for the Presidency and referred to the recent protracted textile mill strike in Bombay. He made an appeal to the leaders of business and commerce to confer with the leaders of the cotton mill industry to see what could be done to avert or minimise the injuries of the crisis; and he continued that the workers should be made to understand the situation and be prepared to take their part in the reconstruction of industry. He also said that his Government were striving to frame a budget for the next year which would definitely terminate the series of deficits which had marred the recent financial history of the Presidency.

Mr. Winterbotham, in the course of his Presidential Address, struck an optimistic note on the future of Indian trade and commerce when British and Indian industrialists would work together harmoniously in promoting the economic well-being of the nation. He hoped that the Whitley Commission would inaugurate a spirit of good will between capital and labour. The Banking Enquiry Committee is largely the outcome of the demand for an inquiry into the regulation of banking put forward by the Association. The Trades Disputes Act provides the machinery for avoiding and settling strikes; and the President hoped that Bombay's example in the respect would be quickly followed by other Provincial Governments in determining the merits of industrial and trade disputes at an early stage.

The Association also welcomed the inauguration of the London India Airmail and hoped to see the early starting of internal services which would link up all parts of India with the London-Karachi

airmail. The address concluded with the following words:—

*To the Whitley Commission we extend our welcome and assure them of all the help which we are able to give in their truly herculean task. It is our hope that they will in due course make recommendations which will give to Capital more contented and efficient labour and to labour a better standard of life and a greater appreciation of the fact that this can only be secured by the fruits of better and more efficient work. It is much to hope that Labour Organization on their part will realize that they have everything to gain by co-operating with the Commission and will refuse to allow themselves to be used as tools in the hands of ignorant or ill-intentioned persons for political ends? The crying need is for the newly formed Trade Union movements in this country to grow steadily to healthy maturity under the wise leadership of sober and level headed trade unionists whose one aim will be to promote the common interests of masters and men. I do not despair of this result though the immediate outlook is far from bright.*

Mr. W. T. Watson, Deputy President of the Association, accorded a vote of thanks to His Excellency and hoped that he would exert his influence in encouraging the development of civil aviation.

Among the important resolutions passed by the session are two relating to income-tax. One of these protested against the recent decision of the Government to disallow as a business expense in computing profits for income-tax purposes any sums paid by the employer as bonus or commission or profits unless such payments should be obligatory by virtue of the terms of contract or agreement between employer and employee. Sir George Schuster declared that Government had no objection to accept the resolution and announced that necessary legislation on the lines suggested would be introduced shortly in the Central Legislature.

The other resolution urged Government to recognise, when computing income-tax, the principle of making provision for business losses and to permit an assessee to carry forward such losses for a period of three-years. Sir George Schuster could not however accept the resolution on behalf of Government.



# THE WORLD OF BOOKS



THE "IFS" OF HISTORY. By F. J. C. Hearnshaw, M.A., LL.D. George Newnes, Ltd., London.

It is a pleasant diversion for a historian to build castles in the air out of the might-have-beens of the past. Mr. Hearnshaw has in these sketches, let his imagination play around the hard facts of history and we have a delightful book of fact and fantasy. What would have been the course of things if such and such a thing had not occurred; if such and such a decision had been different; if such and such a person had never been born or died earlier or later.

If, for instance, Socrates had been slain as hundreds of his fellow citizens were, in the great Athenian rout at Delium should we ever have heard of Plato or Aristotle? Would the great stream of Greek philosophy ever have begun to flow? Would not, in any case, the whole course of European thought for the past 2,000 years have been marked by different from what it actually was?

And how much depends upon mere chance and the caprice of men and the accidents of circumstance! And what trivial things have affected the destinies of men and nations?

Such is Mr. Hearnshaw's delightful reading of history, and we at once recognise "the importance of choice in the affairs of men and the influence of chance upon the course of events." In the twenty studies that form the subject matter of this treatise Mr. Hearnshaw has chosen some of the momentous transactions of the past touching the lives of great men and nations.

If Alexander the Great had not died prematurely,  
If Joan of Arc had stayed at home,  
If Columbus had not discovered America,  
If Clive's pistol had gone off,  
If Napoleon had not gone to Moscow.

In these and other Ifs there is ample food for reflection and entertainment and Mr. Hearnshaw handles them with the learning of a scholar and the charm of an essayist.

AT AJANTA. By K. H. Vakil. Tarapurwala Sons & Co., Bombay.

This is a small book of 80 pages which is full of interesting matter about the famous caves of Ajanta. It is divided into four parts of which the first gives general information regarding the various routes to Ajanta, the facilities there for the visitors and so on. The other three parts deal respectively with the Paintings, Architecture and the Sculpture of the caves. The author wields a facile pen and obviously possesses a keen insight into art matters. Art-pilgrims will do well to have a copy of Mr. Vakil's book before they set out for the caves.

**THE WHITE MUTINY.**—A forgotten episode in the History of the Indian Army. By Sir Alexander Gardew, K.C.S.I. Constable & Co., London.

This is an account, as seen with the spectacles of the 20th century, of an episode in the history of the Madras Army that occurred more than one hundred and twenty years ago. It has reference to the attempted mutiny of the European officers of the Army which first began from the abolition of the Tent Contract allowance and from the petulant action taken by the then commander-in-chief in connection with the matter. The parting insult of General Macdowall, made in his farewell General Order to the Army gave the Government of Sir George Barlow a handle to put down the agitators effectively; but it was not used in a restrained and sober manner by Sir George Barlow who unjustly struck at all who were connected with the publication of this ill-omened General Order. The resulting increased tension in the Army produced a situation of great difficulty for Government, which, while dealing harshly with the leaders of sedition, endeavoured to placate the great body of officers by declarations of confidence. The outbreaks of active insubordination at Masulipatam, Secunderabad and Serilogapatam were futile; but the agitation did not die out quickly, though punishments were meted out moderately and after sound judgment.

*The causes of the Mutiny are traceable to the spirit of insubordination which was generally prevalent in the Army and to reactions from the quarrels between the Government and the Supreme Court and to other factors like the large gulf between the King's and the Company's officers.* Sir George Barlow's firmness overshot the mark and was greatly nullified by the leniency shown by the Governor-General Lord Minto; it is too much, as the author attempts to do, to complete-

ly exculpate Barlow from all blame for the occurrence, though events had been largely tending towards it, before he actually took charge of the situation. The appendix, particularly that on the relation between the Supreme Court and Government, are valuable as showing the bad and demoralised plight in which the Government of the Southern Presidency was then situated.

**THOUGHTS ON INDIAN DISCONTENT.** By Edwyn Bevan. Allen & Unwin, London.

On political questions Indians may and do differ from Indians and Englishmen from Englishmen. Each individual may present a view of his own. When however a point is reached when groups repel and move apart, there is a natural tendency for the individual to fall in with his group. It is not a matter for criticism or complaint. Much acerbity of feeling will be avoided if we recognise that there is no just ground for suspecting insincerity in many cases.

The author of this book is friendly to Indian Nationalism and desires to find and suggest a workable plan of Indian administration on which the Indians and the Englishmen can agree. We are afraid that the author has not an adequate grasp of the present psychology of those who are ranged on either side in this controversy or of the magnitude of the difficulties in the way of the co-operation that he suggests. His solution assumes a harmony between them as to the aims and methods that is not there. Each side may charge the other with responsibility for this lack of harmony but it is unnecessary to settle the matter for recognising the facts of the situation and the impossibility of the solution proposed.

We commend the book for its admirable temper and it is worthy of imitation on the Indian side though we recognise the underdog cannot always avoid impatience.

**THE LIBRARY MOVEMENT.** A collection of Essays by diverse hands. With a Foreword by the Rt. Hon. Sastry, P.C. Published by the Madras Library Association, Madras. Price Rs. 2 or 5s.

Within the short period of two years, the Library movement in Madras has made considerable headway. That is due no less to the fact of the great need there is in India for such a movement than to the enthusiasm and energy of the members of the Library Association.

There are fifty-two essays in all by diverse hands and in five different languages current in South India. One recurrent thought runs through all the Essays—that the movement is a great instrument of popular education and an invaluable part of rural reconstruction and therefore a vital factor in nation-building. The movement as it gathers strength must naturally engage itself in many kindred activities; but its success depends entirely on the intelligent co-operation of the public. There yet may arise a Carnegie to scatter libraries with a prodigal hand through the length and breadth of the country so that there could be no village without a public library, but till then the public and the State should take the lead and do all they can to promote the good work of the Madras Library Association.

**SEVEN MONTHS WITH MAHATMA GANDHI.** By Krishnadas. Vol. I. S. Ganesan, Triplicane. Vol. II. Gandhi Kotir, Malkhan Chak, P.O., Dighwara, Behar..

The seven months covered by the events recorded in these pages refer to the period ending with the incarceration of Mahatma Gandhi in the third week of March, 1922. Those were eventful days indeed in the history of modern India: and the records prove again the indissoluble link between biography and history. For, Mahatma Gandhi was doubtless the central figure in all the political transactions of the time: and these inti-

mate, day to-day records of the private life and correspondence and talks of Mahatma Gandhi give an inside view of the Non-co-operation movement such as no other print of the time could give. For Krishnadas has had exceptional opportunities as it fell to him to assist the Mahatma in his correspondence and in the editorial work of *YOUNG INDIA*, as one by one the Mahatma's lieutenants were removed from him by imprisonment during the fateful months of 1921.

The first volume deals with the mass awakening through the Non-co-operation movement and the subsequent preparations for the great non-violent struggle on which the country embarked under Mr. Gandhi's lead. The second volume contains the study of the progress of the movement through its critical stages down to its sudden stoppage after Bardoli and ends with an account of the hectic days of the trial and conviction. Those who remember the days will read it through with a thrilling interest while to the historian of the future, the material herein collected will offer first hand information of a kind rarely to be had in any other contemporary record.

**CONFIDENCE CROOKS AND BLACKMAILERS.** By Basil Tozer. T. Werner Laurie, Ltd., London.

The aim of the author in writing this book is to set the innocent on their guard by describing methods often employed to get money from them by trickery. One would have thought that the trickeries practised by the European crook can have nothing in common with the stock-in-trade of the Indian crook. But strangely enough there is great similarity in their methods, so that a reader knows in any transaction when to smell a rat. But then one cannot help a sneaking admiration for the crook, especially when the victim of his intellect is a member of the idle rich. And might we not also, just for a joke and the cheer fun of it turn a crook at times. But then let us hope that we will not come under the author's wrath.

ANCIENT JAFFNA. By M. C. Rasanayagam.  
Ceylon Civil Service, Everymans Publishers,  
Ltd., Madras.

This book is an attempt to reconstruct the ancient history of Jaffna from the earliest times by a critical examination of ancient traditions, local literature and inscriptions. The author has made an exhaustive study of the materials to hand and has succeeded in producing a succinct account of Jaffna history. The chapter on the ancient civilisation of the country makes very interesting reading. There are conclusions with which Indian historians may not agree, as for example the identification of Indian places referred to in literary work with Ceylonese ones. Dr. S. K. Aiyangar in his introduction points to other inaccuracies also. But the main value of the work lies in the exhaustive references collected by the author, closer study of which will yield even better results.

#### THE INDIAN FERMENT—A TRAVELLER'S TALE.

By H. G. Alexander. Williams and Norgate,  
Ltd., 38 Great Ormond Street, London, W. G.

Every individual is in reality an infinity. You see only a tiny fraction and think you know the whole of his character. The understanding may be wholly mistaken. A group of individuals may have common characteristics and may understand each other in regard to them in a way in which no one outside the group can understand them. These characteristics go back to the early origins of the group and are more or less integrated part of the individual. It is no wonder that groups with these widely divergent characteristics and standpoints coming from afar should not be able to understand each other.

There is therefore justice in the criticism that a cold weather tourist is not sufficiently equipped to write a discerning book on India (or for the matter of that on any country). But the criticism is often the result of an unexpressed assumption

that a man who has been in India thirty years has a much better grasp of things as they are. In truth unless the man who has lived thirty years has had the faculty of entering into the ideas of alien groups, the thirty years will not help him to discern things any better. With discernment much shorter period may do. Without discernment many decades will have brought no more enlightenment than the first year of contact.

The author of this Traveller's Tale shows capacity to enter into other people's skins in an uncommon measure. It is not that he is less of an Englishman or that there are no misunderstandings on his part in his study of ideas foreign to him. But he has humility; he is willing to recognise that there may be sane points of view other than his own. There is no irritating feeling of inherent and unquestionable superiority all along the line about the presentation of his view even when they do not agree with those of Indians. It is due to the tranquillity and detachment of temperament to be characteristic of Quakers generally?

It is an eminently readable book. It will be a recommendation to many to add that Mr. C. F. Andrews has written a foreword to the Book.

BELIEF IN GOD. By Bishop Gore. E. Nash and Grayson, Ltd., London.

This instructive book is one of 'Nash's Famous Modern Books,' which are bringing important literature to the very doors of the book-lover of limited means. In "Belief in God," the author develops his theme with great force and conviction. We are sure that the book will prove especially useful to those who are interested in Christian Theology.

#### THE GAME OF LIFE AND HOW TO PLAY IT.

By Florence Scovel Shinn. L. N. Fowler & Co., London.

A course of stimulating and thought-provoking articles gathered together in book form on the art of living.

**THE ILLUSION OF THE CHARKA.** By Anilbaran Ray. Arya Sahitya Bawan, Calcutta.

In this little book the author examines all the claims of the Charka. The book is of special interest because it is written by one who has worked heart and soul for *khadi* and who is now disillusioned. His criticism of the charka is therefore, neither perverse, nor based on prejudice and ignorance. This is the chief merit of the book.

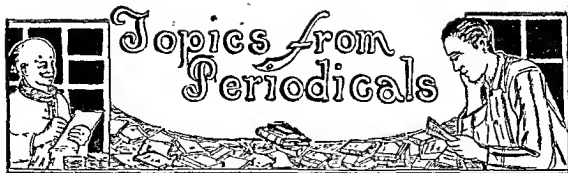
The writer states carefully the economic implications of the charka, its idealism and its achievements. The argument of the book can be briefly stated thus :

That the old ideal that agriculturist should grow his own cotton and spin his cloth as he cooks his food is not applicable to modern conditions; that the proposal that our poor cultivators should work in their leisure hours on the charka to add a few annas to their monthly income is inhuman; that the fact that people are not wanting who are ready to spin even for the most insignificant earning shows only the deep poverty of the masses but not the capacity of the charka to remedy it; that the poverty of the Indian people can be cured only by removing foreign rule and foreign competition and placing the primitive agriculture of the country on a scientific basis, introducing machinery and large scale production supplemented by suitable cottage industries with modern device and methods together with necessary improvements in banking, co-operation and tariff facilities and transport; and that the economic dependence on our country is too deep and complex a matter to be dealt with by such an incredibly simple thing as the *khadi*.

Regarding the claims of the charka as a means for real constructive village work, Mr. Ray states that the charka has no such power of creating life in the villagers. The essence of village work is to bring a new light, a new awakening to rouse in the hearts of the villagers the desire to raise their standard of living, to make them dynamic and to induce them to combine with one another to change and improve their condition in every possible way. All this is not done by the charka, which on the contrary, teaches the virtue of poverty and reconciles them to their lot by adding a few annas to their miserable monthly income. *The charka is truly an opiate, not a renovator.* This philosophy of contentment and helplessness is the curse of the charka cult.

## BOOKS RECEIVED

- LAT THOUGHTS OF A DEAN.** By Dean Inge, G. P. Putnam's Sons, London.
- BUDHISM.** The Religion of Compassion and Enlightenment. Buddhist Mission in England, 41, Gloucester Road, Regent's Park, London.
- LARS RINGHOM: THE RENEWAL OF CULTURE.** Translated from the Swedish by G. C. Wheeler, George Allen & Unwin, Ltd., London.
- PLEASURES AND PRIVILEGES OF THE PEN.** By N. C. Kelkar. Published by K. N. Kelkar, Advocate, Poona.
- NALA, OR THE TRIUMPH OF KARMA (Tamil).** By K. Ramaswami Iyengar, 2, Arumuga Chetty Street, Triplicane.
- ONENESS WITH GOD.** By L. P. Larsen. The Christian Literature Society, P. T. Madras.
- SELECT SPEECHES OF PONNAMBALAM RAMANATHAN.** Ceylon Daily News Press, Colombo.
- GLIMPSES OF LIGHT.** By Swami Dhirananda, 325, W. 75th Street, Los Angeles, California.
- TRIDAL.** By S. R. Pant, Sachiv, Saniwarpeth, Poona.
- AFGHAN AND PATHAN: A Sketch.** By George B. Scott, the Mitra Press, London.
- MANSFIELD PARK.** By Jane Austen, Oxford University Press, Bombay.
- HOW TO LIVE ONE HUNDRED YEARS.** (A pamphlet). Nature Cure Institute, Muttra.
- SUNIAS CHANDRA.** By P. C. Roy. Mitra Brothers, Rajshahi.
- THE LITTLE ENTENTE.** By Robert Machray. George Allen and Unwin, London.
- FORTY YEARS IN BARODA.** By R. B. Govindabhai H. Desai-Pustakalaya Sabayak Sabakor-Mandal Ltd., Baroda.
- CO-OPERATION AND RURAL WELFARE IN INDIA.** By B. B. Mukherjee, M.A., B.L. Thacker Spink & Co., Calcutta.
- GOPAL KRISHNA GOKHALE.** (A Historical Biography). By T. K. Shabani, M.A. Jivande & Sons, Bombay.



## DOMINION STATUS FOR INDIA

In another page (P. 55), we have summarised Lord Sydenham's article on India. We give below the views of Sir Michael O'Dwyer who contributes an article on the above subject in the December Number of the *ENGLISH REVIEW*. Sir Michael, like Lord Sydenham, belongs to the same school of politics and hence one is not surprised when he writes that

If Dominion Status has been found to be an impossible ideal for Ireland's 4½ millions, owing to a single line of cleavage—religious or racial—between North and South, is it not the height of folly to hold it up as an ideal for India's 319 millions, with their infinite diversity of races, languages and cultures and their deep-rooted racial and religious antagonisms? Hitherto we have given India the "Pax Britannica"—perhaps the greatest achievement of our race. Now in its place, are we to offer a sword in "Dominion status"? Is it just to the Indian masses for whose "welfare and advancement" the British Parliament is responsible? Is it fair to the Indian politicians whom we have to train by slow degrees in the difficult care of self-government in their respective provinces, to ask them to follow, in the ideal of an All-India Dominion, a Will-O'-the-Wisp which can only lead India back into the morass of civil war, anarchy and invasion in which we found her 170 years ago? Let us make it clear once for all to the Indian politicians that there is no short cut to self-government; that we are willing to assist them, now as in the past, in "the gradual development of self-governing institutions"; that in the last 180 years they have not made the best use of the opportunities given them; and that, while sympathizing with their reasonable aspirations, we are not prepared to sacrifice to their anti-British ambitions the welfare of the 98 per cent. of the population who have no voice in politics, but desire the maintenance of just, impartial British rule.

Writing on this subject in the *HINDUSTAN REVIEW*, Dr. Bessant 'clearly' advocates India's claims for Dominion status. She says:—

To ensure safety, India must have full and immediate Dominion Status. The conference to be held next year in London, preferably in May and the following month, must be held, not to discuss the granting of Dominion Status, but on the definite establishment of Dominion Status, in the shortest time consistent with adequate

discussion of details. Sub-committees must be appointed by the conference to draft the Bill for submission to the Indian Legislative Assembly and to the British Parliament, after the reports of the sub-committees have been summarised and presented to it.

Mr. Ashoka Chatterjee contributes an article on the same subject in the January Number of the *MODERN REVIEW*. Writing on the Viceroy's declaration he says:

The sum and substance of his declaration was that Britain still had its faith unshaken in any empty promises that it had made in the past to the Indian people. Empty promises because, as everybody with any knowledge of law knows well, enough, a promise which will be fulfilled at or within no definite time is no promise at all. Britain's promise to give India Dominion or any other status is no more hopeful than the words of the polite highwayman who said, while helping himself to his victim's purse, "Allow me, Sir, to borrow from your goodness a few paltry sovereigns."

Mr. Chatterjee sees very little hope of India's getting Dominion status, as a gift from Britain in a very short time. For the attitude of the "die-hards" as well as of the "Liberals" is quite definite; and nothing short of a real crisis will induce the British Parliament to grant Dominion status.

What sort of a crisis will bring about this change of mind is a difficult question to answer. Ever since the dawn of history, statesmen have found a cure for troubles at home in foreign wars. The political waters of Britain are extremely troubled at the present moment and a large scale disturbance in India of any kind will be politically as useful as a foreign war to British statesmen. Therefore, even if we assumed that mass civil disobedience were practical and possible, such a development might not be wholly unwelcome to British statesmen. With the coming of the latest modification of the National Unemployment Insurance, unemployment has become the most acute problem in Britain, both financially and politically. Indian statesmen should keep this fact in mind while discussing the future nationalist policy in India. If the Indian nationalists could make the British feel that the number of their unemployed bore a direct relation to India's feelings of friendliness or otherwise towards Great Britain; then, no doubt the British people will see the moral necessity of restoring to our great country its freedom.



## NATION AND THE STATE

"The nation is not the State, and the State is not the nation," writes Professor Ernest Barber in the MODERN CHURCHMAN. "The nation is the general and given society for all the purposes which a common life can foster—economic, religious, ethical, cultural—the State is a particular and constructed association (composed, it is true, of the same members, but composed of those members in the particular aspect in which they are citizens) for the particular purpose of legal regulation of such areas of the common life as admit such regulation.

"A nation has no charter and acts under no constitution; a State has a charter or constitution, and its action as a State must proceed within the area, and according to the rules, and under the limits, of constitution or charter. A nation becomes also a State when, by national convention, and by the constitutions made thereby, it turns itself into a legal association for the purpose of formulating and enforcing legal rules through organs erected and limited by the constitution so formed. But in becoming a State a nation does not cease to be a nation; nor does it cease, as a nation, to be something broader, more general, more spontaneous than the State which it has also become."

## CREED OF THE CONGRESS

"Why declaration of independence?" asks Mr. S. Satyamurti in the Congress Number of the BOMBAY CHRONICLE. Mr. Satyamurti concedes "that Dominion Status, may be the result of a compromise, but that compromise cannot be and ought not to be among Indians it can be and ought to be only with the rulers." He says:—

Dominion Status is impossible in the case of India. The very size of India makes it impossible as a practical political proposition. Again, the conflict of race, culture, and of interests, between India and Great Britain is so great that it will be good neither for Great Britain nor for India to be tied each to the other, by those delicate ties, by which men and women of the same race can tie themselves, as in the case of the British Dominions, I

can never look forward to India being a Dominion, on the basis, say, of Australia or even South Africa, although I can conceive of an intermediate state, before Indian reaches complete national independence.

Again, Dominion Status cannot be an inspiring ideal to the people of this country. It is a mere lawyer's phrase more calculated to confuse the idea than to clarify it. It follows, therefore, that the declaration by the Indian National Congress of complete national independence as the goal of India will give a new vision to our people and a new courage to them. They will feel that clearly and unambiguously they are no longer asked to change the colour of their masters, but that they are asked to be rulers themselves.

To those who argue that Indians have not done enough work or made enough sacrifice for independence and hence they are unfit to declare Independence, Mr. Satyamurti replies;

If India is fit to ask for independence impliedly, she ought to be fit to ask for it expressly. Similarly, I cannot conceive of Dominion Status, or even of any major reform like Prohibition being attained in this country, if the Government be against it, except by our own strength. And, if India can develop enough strength to achieve Dominion Status, in spite of Great Britain, she can more easily achieve Independence, with that strength.

## THE NEW SCHOOL AGE

Commenting on the EDUCATIONIST on the Government's decision to raise the school-leaving age to sixteen, Mr. Bernard Shaw says:

"The raising of the school age has nothing to do with education directly. It is only a device for reducing unemployment. The reason for doing it is the form of an education measure rather than by simple prohibition of the commercial exploitation of the labour of persons under 15 is that such a prohibition could be evaded by parents, who are often quite as selfish as employers in exploiting child labour. The obligation to attend school would protect the children in this respect.

But, as educationally most of the children will be only marking time tediously for another year and being confirmed in that loathing of everything connected with school books which is so conspicuous and deplorable a result of imprisonment in schools, I foresee a time when school children at 13, if not earlier, will be allowed to choose between school and compulsory service in a national labour corps or noncommercial work of public importance. In this way, the child who is doing no good whatever in school at 13 and after, and the child who has natural academic aptitudes, could be provided for without spoiling the labour market or extending domestic slavery."

## FEAR AND SECURITY

There will be no safety in the world until men have applied to the rules between different States the great principle which has produced internal security, viz., that in any dispute force should not be employed by either interested party but only by a neutral authority after due investigation according to recognised principles of law. When all the armed forces of the world are controlled by one world wide authority writes Mr. Bertrand Russell in THE FORUM we shall have reached the stage in the relation of States which was reached centuries ago in the relation of individuals. Nothing less than this will suffice. The basis of international anarchy is man's proneness to fear and hatred. This is also the basis of economic disputes; for love of power which is at their root is generally an embodiment of fear. Men desire to be under control because they are afraid that control by others will be used unjustly to their detriment. The same thing applies in the sphere of sexual morals. The power of husbands over wives and of wives over husbands which is confirmed by the law is derived from the fear of the loss of possession. This motive is the negative emotion of jealousy, not the positive emotion of love. In education the same kind of thing occurs. The positive emotion which should supply the motive in education is curiosity and the curiosity of the young is safely repressed in many directions—sexual, theological and political. Instead of being encouraged in the practice of free inquiry, children are inducted in some brand of orthodoxy with the result that unfamiliar ideas inspire them with terror rather than with interest. All these bad results spring from a pursuit of security, a pursuit inspired by irrational fears. The fears have become irrational since in the modern world fearlessness and intelligence if embodied in social organisation, would in themselves suffice to produce security.

## NATIONAL PARKS

"Those who are accustomed to public parks in this country (meaning England) and find their shades desirable resorts when the summer suns are beating down, or in the cool of evening, will be surprised to know that most of them could be stowed away in a corner of one of the great parks of Canada and lost sight of," writes Sir Clement Kinloch-Cooke, Bart., in the EMPIRE REVIEW.

"For example, a new provincial park 1,200 miles in area is shortly to be opened by the Quebec Government in the Mount Tremblant district of the Laurentian Mountains, 80 miles north of Montreal. The new park possesses several lakes containing a variety of fish. It will also be a sanctuary for all wild animals. The Jasper Park in Alberta has an area of 5,380 square miles, the Rocky Mountain Park in the same Province covers 2,758 square miles, and the Prince Albert Park in Saskatchewan 1,377."

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## ON VULGARITY

"To me the paramount test of vulgarity in any person is the way in which that person treats his inferior," writes Beverley Nichols in the Christmas LONDON MAGAZINE.

"If a duchess is rude to her maid, even in the privacy of her own bedroom, then that duchess is a vulgar woman, though she may trace her ancestry to the remotest beginnings of history. If, again, an employer is rude to his office boy, and takes advantage of his position to make sarcastic remarks about him in front of his clients, then that man is a vulgar man even if he holds an entire industry in the palm of his hand. Anybody, in fact, who indulges in that cruellest form of blow, the snub, is vulgar."

## RANJIT SINGH &amp; THE N. W. FRONTIER

Mr. N. K. Sinha, writing in THE INDIAN HISTORICAL QUARTERLY examines by a study of records in the Imperial Record Department Ranjit Singh's western frontier policy and finds that he had no desire to expand westwards, though he occasionally spoke in order to keep his sardars and officers in humour and Amir Dost Muhammad on tenter hooks. He was an unwilling partner in the Tripartite Treaty with the English and Shah Shuja. He conquered Peshawar, Dera Ghazi Khan and Dera Ismail Khan but was content to rule them through the local Muhammadan chiefs who acknowledged his overlordship and paid tribute. He interfered with the border tribes only occasionally; he did not look beyond Afghanistan to Russia and did not fear Russian advance. The frontier tribes were not brought under direct sway; and it was not possible under the circumstances to do so. Strong forts were erected at Peshawar and elsewhere along the banks of the Indus was planned. Even the seizure of Dera Ismail Khan was intended more to threaten Dost Muhammad from a new quarter less difficult of access and to protect the flank of the centre of the Punjab. Ranjit met

with a moderate amount of success in his dealing with the frontier problem, and so long as the Sikh kingdom lasted the frontier was defended against Afghanistan. The border tribes are still taxing the ingenuity of the British Government, and on the whole Ranjit may be regarded as having displayed great coolness and skill in the handling of the frontier problems.

## AGRICULTURAL CYCLES AND SUN-SPOTS

Dr. Radha Kamal Mookerjee, writing in THE INDIAN JOURNAL OF ECONOMICS, declares how cyclical variations in pressure depend upon a relation between atmospheric pressure and the cycle of activity through which the sun passes in a period of about 11 years, and how there is a close connection between sun-spots and tropical temperature and between sun-spot minima and deficient Indian monsoon. The causes of the periodic variations of rainfall in India are general, being due to cyclical variations of the weather over a considerable portion of the earth's surface. The year 1917, when the solar constant was at its height, recorded an exceedingly heavy rainfall in Africa and North-Western and Western India. The relations of air-pressure over the tropical regions in South Asia and North-East Africa determine the direction and volume of the South East trades; and the probable intensity of the Indian monsoons may be gauged by the levels of the African lakes and of the rise of the Nile. The cyclical fluctuations in agriculture due to drought and rainfall correspond to solar radiation, and are closer in North-Western and Western India. The index numbers of prices show a eleven-year cycle and this is synchronous with the rainfall cycles. Meteorological, agricultural and vital cycles, correspond in India. The data of sun-spot minima are apparently synchronous with the minima of the crop cycles and with the minima of the cycles of natality and the maxima of the cycles of mortality. They are also approximately synchronous with the cycles in Indian weighted index-numbers.

### INSTALMENT CREDIT SYSTEM

THE CALCUTTA REVIEW for January has an interesting article on "Instalment credit system in America" by O. S. Krishnamoorthy. He compares the conditions in America with those of India and says:—

Purchase by deferred payments or buying on the instalment plan, by the reason of its enormous growth in many countries, and especially in the United States, since the war, is a development which has been watched with interest by economists and financiers. The whole scheme is nothing but a new form of extended credit within the reach of all the people. A study of its methods will well repay the time spent of our employers and workers alike. It is true what is suited to the needs and temperament of the people of one country may be anything but successful when slavishly imitated. But when all allowances are made the fact remains that other countries could gain much by an intelligent application of what is best in the system. We are told by eminent financiers and economists that the instalment system is doing much good to the whole population of the United States of America. The people are enjoying the 'fruits of the present wave of prosperity. The poverty is practically non-existent. The people are well-paid, well-clothed and well-fed. Others who were not very enthusiastic about this scheme say that it is something like inflation of currency during the war.

For a progressive cheapening of the products by ever-increasing production there should be a constant demand for the goods. Otherwise there will be a set back if the market were to reach the saturation point. The writer continues:—

This should be avoided by an accurate observation of the market conditions. Another thing is about finance. If the instalment credit is not controlled it will be very dangerous and will help to lead panics and depressions. The instalment system is an important contribution to the modern economic organization. It will in due course of time change the hearts of those conservative sections, who are looking with disfavour on the movement.

To ameliorate the economic and social condition of our poor and middle class workers and employees of this country, it will not be an enormous task if our financiers and industrialists keeping watch over the pitfalls sincerely introduce this system.

### ENGLISH MANNERS

Mary Borden, the Anglo-American novelist, writing, in the HARPER'S MAGAZINE on "Manners," says:

In England people care less about good manners than good form. The English people are in general too insensitive and too lacking in curiosity to have really good manners; for the lack of curiosity means lack of sympathy and a wide indiffer-

ence to what others feel or think. Being very modest people or, what is the same thing, excessively proud but not vain, and with an intense positive dislike for showing off, their manners on the whole are better than one might expect; for, though they don't care a rap about pleasing, they don't care either about showing their displeasure, and so probably they show little or no sign of any kind. Indifference is their prime social quality; that it does not make for the gaiety of nations goes without saying.

I repeat again, the Englishman does not care what strangers think of him. He assumes that he is better than they are, and in any case he knows that he is self-sufficing. His black classic stare means that he wouldn't care a rap if the whole of Europe and the Americas sank under the sea, so long as the British Isles and, incidentally, the British Dominions, survived the cataclysm.

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## THE MIDDLE YEARS

"The middle years are virtually the battleground of the individual life," writes James Kerr in CHAMBER'S JOURNAL.

"From the standpoint of service these or the most valuable years, and certainly ought to be the most productive. Standing midway between the morning and evening of life, the period possesses the key of control, may in fact be a veritable Gibraltar—and consequently should be made impregnable by all the upbuilding and strengthening of character which religion and psychology afford.

"These years need not be colourless and uninteresting—far from it. The buoyancy and light of the preceding years may be so projected that life may advance in a more or less rhythmic measure until the Western Slope is reached, when the pace must necessarily be slower, and more suggestive of reflection."

## JAPAN'S SPORTING WOMEN

A writer in the JAPAN MAGAZINE—Kiker Kindai—draws attention to the great interest that Japanese women take in games. Their aptitude for outdoor recreations is no less keen than that of the women of the West.

In athletics, too, the women of Japan are becoming no less prominent. At the Olympic games in Amsterdam last year Miss K. Hitomi won international fame; and there are other runners among the young women at home no less fleet of foot, like the Terano twins who have done marvels in field and track events, while Miss Hayashi of Tokyo won the highest award in the Basket Ball contest in the United States. In swimming, too, women are becoming conspicuous, though none have aspired to swim the straits to Korea, nor has any newspaper deigned to induce such foolhardy attempts. In tennis Miss Moriwaki took the championship in Honolulu three years in succession.

Golf, being regarded as pastime only for the idle rich, has made but slow progress among Japanese women so far; but there are already some good players, led by such distinguished persons as H. I. H. Princess Chichibu who acquired the art at Washington; and she is ably supported by Princess Asaka and Princess Kanin as well as the Marchioness Kachio. In Kobe and Osaka more women may be seen on the golf links with their husbands than in Tokyo and the north generally; and some of these, like Mrs. Sasabe, have become quite distinguished wielders of the historic club.

## THE QUEST OF GOD

"We cannot hope to comprehend God, but without God we cannot hope to comprehend anything else," writes Professor J. E. Boodin of the University of California in the pages of the HIBBERT JOURNAL. He says:—

Our concept of God, like our concept of matter, is the result of a long trial and error process to meet the requirements of experience. But acquainted with reality must precede our theories of reality. This is true equally in the realm of sense experience—our relation to the external physical world—and in the realm of spiritual experience—our relation to other minds and God. If what is meant is that, in genuine religious experience, we have an immediate experience of the quality of the divine as we have an immediate experience of colour, then I believe it is true. To say that religion starts in a unique immediate experience of the divine does not mean that we immediately understand the divine any more than our experience of the sunset or the green grass or our fellow men means that we immediately comprehend these facts as propositions. We live in integral relations, but we comprehend but little what we live. The conviction for a larger reality—the reality of the physical environment, the reality of our fellow-men, the reality of the divine—is immediate. It is born of our inmost needs. It is of the issue of the life of the race.

The quality of divinity is present everywhere to him who is qualified to experience it—as the quality of the artist is present in his work, as the quality of the soul, is the quality of the behaviour of the organism. But the immediate experience of reality in any case needs to be further cultivated by intelligent analysis for us to enter consciously into its meaning. And this is a long and arduous process. Knowledge does not come as a gift, but the communion with the divine comes as a gift, as the experience of colour is a gift. We may never in all the ages comprehend God, but the quality of God's influence as the plant flowers open to the morning dew. As we speak of life, being geotropic—orienting itself to gravity—and heliotropic—orienting itself to light—so we should speak of it as theotropic—orienting itself to the divine.

## SCIENCE IN CIVILIZATION

Mr. J. B. S. Haldane writing on the "Place of Science in Western civilization" in the November REALIST shows that Western Civilization rests altogether on applied Science. Science, he says, has furnished the material basis of our civilization and he points out how every aspect of modern progress in politics, in health, even in psychology has its roots in Science. He puts his arguments in the concluding paragraph which runs:

"The scientific point of view is the point of view which has taken up by scientific men, first, about their own problems and later about the problems of the world in general: a point of view which is finding every day a wider and wider applicability. Now the scientific man, as well as being intellectual, is a highly skilled manual labourer, and his point of view is probably not quite strange to other manual workers. I think it ought to find a very much greater sympathy among manual workers than the points of view which have been put forward by various groups of intellectuals in the past. He is a manual worker, but he is pursuing an ideal end, namely, Truth. The scientific point of view is lofty enough to satisfy any of the aspirations of the human spirit. I believe that the future of Western civilization depends upon whether or not it can assimilate that scientific point of view."

## THE FUTURE OF INDIA

Writing under the above caption in the pages of the EMPIRE REVIEW for December Lord Sydenham says that Dominion Status for India is obviously impossible until conditions, now totally absent according to him, are fulfilled. What dominion status represents to Indian politicians is illustrated by the derisory Nehru Constitution says the noble Lord, evolved by clever brains devoid of all essential knowledge and experience. He writes:—

This amazing effusion, which all thoughtful Moslems at once realized would subject them to permanent subjection to Hindus, and especially to Brahmans, postulated

government by the narrowest caste oligarchy the world has ever known, Pandit Motilal Nehru, its titular author, who in the Assembly, when opposing the ordinance required to check murderous anarchy in Bengal, described the British Government as "the most powerful terrorist organization in the country," evaded the whole question of the defence of India: "The problems of defence are not considered at all.

Voicing forth his as well as his compatriots' view, if India is to be granted Dominion status he, says:—

There are no "moral grounds" for the suggested surrender.

It is obedience to theories of "self-determination" we abandon India to "red ruin and the breaking up of laws," we shall perpetrate an unparalleled act of national immorality. Should this happen, the doom of the Empire would be sealed. The economic results to our working classes would be disastrous, and the political effects throughout the Far East would be catastrophic, involving other Powers who would bitterly resent the cowardly surrender of our sacred responsibilities to 325 millions of people. In all probability, India, after a spell of anarchy, would again be conquered, and the mild rule which we have exercised since 1858 with immense advantages to Indians, who have tasted true liberty for the first time in their long history, might be replaced by a sterner regime.

If this is, by the weakness and irresolution of our democracy to be the fate of India the *causa causans* would be ignorance of the political and social conditions of the mediate masses of the real nature and pretensions of the forces arrayed against us; of the views of responsible Indians and of British elements which are now relied by the intimidations we have permitted; and of the absolute dependence of security of life and property upon British authority.



HEAD OFFICE:—ESPLANADE ROAD, FORT, BOMBAY.  
E Sept. '30.

## THE MANDATES

THE REVIEW OF REVIEWS for October explains the Mandate system which was created after the World War. Under this system, certain territories in the Near East, Africa, and Oceania, with a total population of about 15,000,000 are administered by various Mandatory Powers in the name of the League of Nations and as a "sacred trust of civilization."

The Mandatory Powers furnish to the Council an annual report on each of the Mandated territories. These reports are examined and commented upon by the permanent Mandates Commission.

Mandated territories are divided into three categories: A, B, and C, according to their stage of development.

### "A" MANDATES

These territories have reached a stage of development where their existence as independent nations can be provisionally recognised, subject to the rendering of administrative advice and assistance by the Mandatory, until such time as they are able to stand alone.

### "B" MANDATES

These territories are at such a stage of development that the Mandatory Power must be responsible for the administration of the territory under certain specific guarantees for the welfare of the natives, and for the interests of other countries.

### "C" MANDATES

These territories are to be administered under the laws of the Mandatory as integral portions of its territory, under similar guarantees for the welfare of the natives.

## SIGNIFICANCE OF TENURIAL SYSTEM

Prof. P. J. Thomas explains in the *INDIAN JOURNAL OF ECONOMICS*, the significance of ownership as a factor contributing to the prosperity of land and the necessity of ownership in all cultivation which entails capital expenditure on substantial improvements whose returns will accrue only after a long time. There are, of-course, certain good tenants' crops in which tenancy may lead to as efficient cultivation as ownership, though even here the latter has more advantages great efficiency will result from tenancy where garden cultivation is resorted to. From actual observation the writer declares that, in the case of fully developed paddy-fields, there is no appreciable difference between freehold and tenancy lands in regard to the extent of cultivation or the state of productivity: In case of fields requiring substantial improvements, the position is not so simple; and in the case of garden lands the difference is even greater.

In England and elsewhere specific statutory legislation provides for compensation effected by tenants.

## INDIA IN PERIODICALS

*INDIAN RAILWAYS, 1925-28.* By Nalinaksha Sastry, M.A., Ph.D. [The Calcutta Review, December, 1929].

*STUDIES IN THE IMAGERY OF THE RAMAYANA.* By Prof. K. A. Subrahmanya Iyer, M.A. [The Journal of Oriental Research, December, 1929].

*SOCIAL LEGISLATION AND THE QUEEN'S PROCLAMATION.* By Mr. A. Ramaswami Mudaliar, B.A., B.L. [The Madras Law College Magazine, November, 1929].

*BRITISH INDIA AND INDIAN INDIA.* By Dewan Bahadur M. Ramachandra Rao. [The Hindustan Review, December, 1929].

*INDIA AND 1930.* [The Round Table, December, 1929].

## THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE REPORT

The Report of the Committee of the Central Indian Legislature co-operating with the Simon Commission, which has been issued recently, recommends the rapid advance of India towards Dominion Status, the proposals including Self-Government in the provinces, and responsible Cabinet Government in the Central Government with the reservation of Defence, and Relations with Foreign Powers and the Indian States.



SIR C. SANKARAN NAIR  
Chairman, Central Committee.

Despite the fact that the main report was signed by six members, most of these have submitted minutes of dissent and separate memoranda. While the majority recommend joint electorates with reservation of seats, Sir Zulfikar Ali Khan and Dr. Sahrawardy insist on separate electorates for Muslims, while Sir Arthur Froom agrees to their continuation for the present.

Mr. Kikabhai Premchand suggests that if the Muslims insist on communal electorates they should agree to them for a definite period of years on condition that at the end of that period joint electorates with reservation of seats should be introduced.

The Committee's Report is divided into two main sections, one dealing with the Provinces and the other with the Central Government. Dealing with the Provinces, they recommend that Sind should be separated from Bombay, but that Burma's demand for separation from India should not be conceded until all the questions at issue have received full and careful consideration.

## VICEROY'S CONFERENCE WITH LEADERS

H. E. the Viceroy met the Indian leaders on the 23rd at Delhi in conference. It broke down after three hours' discussion. The following official *communiqué* was issued: "The Viceroy met Gandhiji, Pandit Motilal, Mr. Patel, Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru and Mr. M. A. Jinnah at the Viceroy's House, New Delhi, this afternoon. Discussion was limited to the function of the proposed Conference in London. It was pointed out that any member of the Conference would be free to advocate any proposals and that any measure of unanimity at the Conference would necessarily carry weight with British opinion. On behalf of the Congress Party the view was expressed that unless previous assurances were given by His Majesty's Government that the purpose of the Conference was to draft a scheme for Dominion Status which His Majesty's Government would undertake to support, there would be grave difficulty about Congress participation. His Excellency made it plain that the Conference was designed to elicit the greatest possible measure of agreement for the final proposals, which it would be the duty of His Majesty's Government to submit to Parliament and that it was impossible for him or for His Majesty's Government in any way to prejudge the action of the Conference or to restrict the liberty of Parliament. Conversation then concluded."



## Utterances of the Day

### MR. BENN'S SPEECH IN THE COMMONS

The House of Commons has unanimously passed a resolution, which was moved by Mr. Fenner Brockway, welcoming the evidence of Indian co-operation and urging the Govt. of India to encourage good will by sympathetic administration.

Events have moved so rapidly in India that even the freshness and inspiration of Mr. Wedgwood Benn's speech have been lost on the public. For, the break up of the Viceroy's Conference with the leaders and the extraordinary decisions of the Congress have altered the situation altogether and the atmosphere is once again charged with excitement and anticipation. Still it would be well to recall the splendid utterance of Mr. Benn.

Mr. Wedgwood Benn, in the course of a long speech, emphasised the importance of the Round Table Conference which, he declared, was not a mere sop to Indian opinion, a sort of "donneur" to please India, but an attempt to bring the light of Indian opinion to bear upon the problem of India's future and help Parliament in its solution.

"We are entering a new era," he said:

a free and voluntary association of a great self-respecting nation in partnership with the British Commonwealth for the promotion of the good of the world.

The Secretary of State invited the co-operation of Indian opinion at the Conference, observing:

"The wincing card is argument, the losing card is non-co-operation." He added: "We desire to see the Conference called at the earliest possible moment." Mr. Benn declared that the conference would be fully and fairly representative of all sections of political opinion in India. It would meet with free hands and the British Cabinet would not decide, settle or propose anything to the Conference. There would be no Bill and no draft proposals.

In deeds as well as in words, the Secretary of State pointed out, Britain had tried to prove the sincerity of her faith when she said she desired to see India reach Dominion Status. He referred to the representation enjoyed by India on the

League and imperial meetings and Conferences and declared that, in fiscal matters, India was acquiring attributes of Dominion Status.

Mr. Benn concluded:—

"In the meantime do not let us miss the moral of what I am saying, that, just as in the history of every Dominion, it has not been a matter of legislative change but of usage, custom, wont and tradition which have built up these powers, the same procedure is proceeding rapidly in the case of India to-day and therefore I think I can say and I am not speaking of our own administrations but of other administrations as well, that, in deeds as well as in words, we have tried to prove the sincerity of our faith when we say we desire to see India reach Dominion Status.

"People often ask, 'has there been a change in policy?' To some extent I have answered that question in what I have just said. There is of course the great change in procedure to which reference has been made by the Right Hon. Gentleman and many others. I mean to say the calling of the conference. In one sense there is no change. When the Prime Minister replied to the Leader of the opposition in some correspondence, he stated quite clearly that so far as the Statute is concerned there is no change. The Statute remains and it is outside the power of anyone, except Parliament, to change a policy which is embodied in a Statute.

"Let me make one thing clear about Conference. It is partly in reply to the same question put by Right Hon. Gentleman opposite. The Conference is to be fully and fairly representative not of one section but of all sections so that we may have there real representation of political opinion as it finds itself in India. The conference will meet with free hands. Someone asked whether they would consider a bill. They will not even consider it. They will not consider draft proposals. They will meet absolutely free and the Cabinet will certainly decide to settle and propose to conference nothing. The Conference is intended to be a free Conference which permits every section of opinion to come forward and express itself and support its views with whatever argument may appear to the speaker to be most impressive.

"There is one concluding word. There are many difficulties to be faced. There are great differences of opinion, wide gulfs and divergencies, not here but in India. We regret these. They are obstacles on the path which we wish to pursue. We cannot solve them and I express a devout hope that, when the time comes for the Conference it may have been found possible amongst Indians themselves to compose their differences so that we may have gentlemen coming here speaking with authority and speaking with unity. It is only in that way that we may get the maximum assistance and guidance for this House in its difficult task. It is not too much to say that in this matter we are entering on a new era. We are attempting to write what may be the greatest chapter in the history of the British Commonwealth, namely, a free and voluntary association of a great self-respecting nation in partnership with the British Commonwealth for the promotion of the good of the world."

## PUNJAB STATES' PEOPLE'S CONFERENCE

The Punjab States' People's Conference met at Lahore on December 27.

Mr. P. L. Chudgar, President, in the course of his address, said, with the exception of Mysore, Travancore and Cochin, all States were under the absolute despotism of the Princes and of the Agents of the Political Department of the Government of India.

While the Princes found plenty of money for self-indulgence in all sorts, for building palaces after palaces reminiscent of the scenes in the Arabian Nights for frequent European travels, for races, shikar parties and lavish entertainments to Viceroyal visitors, for dog-shows, for fleets of most expensive motor-cars, for gambling, for speculation, and what not, every department of public utility was starved, and even elementary needs like education, sanitation and medical relief were denied to the people.

In answer to questions as to why this state of affairs was allowed to continue the President said it was mainly due to the everchanging policy of the British Government, which was dictated neither in the interests of the Princes nor the people, but solely in Imperialistic interests aiming at the weakening and dependence of both the Princes and the people.

These actions of the Princes were possible simply because the British Government protected the Princes. Else, the States' people would put an end to this most scandalous state of affairs at once.

He warned the Princes not to continue their present policy as even the Labour Government, which had a socialist wing were opposed in their own landed aristocracy whom they would soon wipe out. The President continued:

The Butler Report's recommendations aimed at the continuance of the parasitism of Indian States and said that if any decisions prejudicial to the States' people were reached at the Round Table Conference without giving the States' peoples any chance of expressing their views, the States' people would not be bound by them and would do everything in their power to upset them. This remedy for the present state of affairs was that the States' peoples should have complete responsible government at once in internal administration. If their demands were not satisfied within a reasonable time, they must take in the matter in their own hands, and adopt all means to secure their goal.

## INDIAN STATES AND DOMINION STATUS

The following resolution which was moved by the Hon. Sir Phiroze Setlwa from the chair was unanimously passed at the last Session of the National Liberal Federation at Madras:

This Federation notes with gratification the acceptance by prominent Rulers of Indian States of the implications of the announcement of the Viceroy and recognises that in any future constitution based upon Dominion Status suitable guarantees should be provided for a continuance of their rights and obligations. Regarding the internal autonomy of Indian States, this Federation trusts that the Rulers of Indian States will themselves reorganise the system of administration in States as far as appropriate to the form of government prevailing in British India.

## THE VICEROY IN KOLHAPUR

With the traditional pomp and splendour, typical of an Indian State, Kolhapur accorded a great welcome to Their Excellencies, Lord and Lady Irwin. State troops in old Mahratta style marched in procession, escorting the visitors. Elephants, camels, horses and cheetas formed part of the pageant.

His Excellency had an interesting and busy time of it at Kolhapur where he opened the Lord Irwin Agricultural Museum and unveiled the statues of the Dowager Maharanee Saheb of Kolhapur and Sir Leslie Wilson, ex Governor of Bombay.

## HYDERABAD PEOPLE'S CONFERENCE

The Hyderabad State Subjects' conference was held in Bombay on the 18th Dec; Mr. Jamnadas Mehta presided. One of the resolutions requested the Congress to include States peoples' representatives in the coming Round Table Conference. Another protested against the recent increase in postal rates in Hyderabad.

## THE WADHWAN CONFERENCE

The Wadhwan State Peoples' Conference, which met in Wadhwan on the 18th of last month demanded abolition of all sorts of compulsory labor and total Prohibition of liquor.

# Indians Outside India

## INDIANS IN EAST AFRICA

The XII Session of the National Liberal Federation which met at Madras adopted the following resolution which was moved by Mr. S. G. Vaze of the Servants of India Society:—

This Federation views with great alarm the recommendation in the report of Sir Samuel Wilson for an increase in the proportion of representatives of the European community in the Legislative Council of Kenya to the serious detriment of the interests of African natives as well as the Indian community in that Colony and is strongly of the opinion that no constitutional advance be sanctioned in any of the East African Colonies till the natives are able to take an effective share in the representation by means of election on a common franchise in common electorates. The Federation, therefore, supports the recommendation of the Hilton-Young Commission in favour of the substitution of common, for the existing separate, electorates and calls upon the Imperial Government to start inquiries with a view to establishing a common roll in the interest of not only the Indian community but of the whole Colony.

Mr. Vaze, in moving the resolution said, that like the question of constitutional reform in India, the East African question had now become a major issue in the Imperial policy and was fast reaching a crisis. Though the Hilton-Young-Commission had said there could be no responsible government in East African territories until the natives themselves could share in the responsibility, it had still made recommendations, which, if given effect to would increase both the number and the power of the European community in the Kenya Council. He referred to the Wilson Report and stated that it virtually amounted to the total rejection of the Hilton-Young Report. The adoption of the Wilson Report would be tantamount to the complete abandonment of the principle of native trusteeship. Mr. Vaze declared that the interests of natives and the Indian community were identical and the Indian problem was, to a large extent, only a part of the native problem. The Wilson Report was so flagrantly unjust that he had no doubt that the Labour Government would turn it down. They should also turn down the recommendation in the Hilton-Young Report for the relinquishment of the official majority.

Mr. G. A. Natesan, seconding the resolution, said that the Indian Government saw eye to eye with Indians abroad and advocated the Indian point of view with great force and consistency. He looked forward to a satisfactory solution of the problem ere long. To-day, it was essential they should claim Dominion Status to remove the stamp of political inferiority.

The President, speaking on the resolution, recalled that during the Indian deputation's visit to Africa they had first-hand opportunities of seeing the situation in Kenya. Sir Phiroze Sethna said it was unfair on the part of the White settlers to carry on the present agitation. He acknowledged the help consistently given in this connection by the Indian Government and expressed the hope that the Imperial Government would approach the problem in a spirit of justice.

The resolution was carried unanimously.

## INDIANS OVERSEAS

The importance and urgency of the overseas question is thoroughly brought out in the following striking observations of Pundit Hriday Nath Kunzru, M. L. A. whose paper on the Indian Problem in E. Africa is published in THE HINDUSTAN REVIEW. The Pundit says:—

"The Indian question in East Africa touches not merely Indians abroad but the 320 millions of Indians in India. Our position abroad is judged not merely by the position that we occupy in our own country, but by the status that is accorded to us in small colonies like Kenya, Tanganyika and Fiji. If therefore, we are solicitous of our national self-respect, if we desire that we should be able to meet the citizens of all other nations on terms of equality, it behoves us to realise the importance of this question and to combine all our energies in order to secure opportunities for our honourable existence for Indians overseas. The question of East Africa is a crucial question. It is as true to-day as in 1923, when Mr. Sastri said that "if Kenya is lost, all is lost." If we let this opportunity go by, not merely may it not recur, but the Indian community might be submerged for ever in East Africa."

## THE INDIAN ECONOMIC CONFERENCE

The 13th session of the Indian Economic Conference met at Allahabad on December 23 and the two following days; it was presided over by Mr. N. S. Subba Rao, Director of Public Instruction, Mysore. The President delivered an interesting address in the course of which he pleaded for the enlargement of the existing Tariff Board and for broadening the openings of industrial and vocational training. He claimed to have received his economic training at the Cambridge Triveni, at the feet of his three masters, Marshall, Pigou and Keynes, the last of whom has definitely obtained for the academical economist a prominent place in the world of affairs. Mr. Subba Rao pleaded for more adequate facilities in the Universities for advanced studies and for greater co-ordination between the various Universities and for the publication by them of summaries of new doctrines and modifications of old that are put from time to time. He pointed out the fitful character of economic inquiries started by Government, rather on account of political expediency than out of solicitude for the economic welfare of the country. India should imitate America in starting permanent economic bodies like the Tariff Commission and the Federal Trade Commission which make investigations as the result of a comprehensive plan of campaign. The Indian Tariff Board should be set the task of reviewing its own work in relation to Indian economic development without limiting itself merely to the field of tariff changes. The way should be paved for the establishment of a department charged to devise the necessary social and industrial adjustments that would prevent a long period of involuntary wagelessness.

He proceeded to warn that events have brought about the inexpediency of a country's exclusive dependence on agriculture and that the present world disparities in respect of industrial production are not all due to insurmountable disparities in respect of power, raw materials or labour, but due

to initial momentum, habit, inertia and other causes. There is no reason why a considerable part of the present international division of labour should not take place within the nation itself, when the country is large and its resources varied. It is a danger that agriculture and industry should be looked upon from a parochial and provincial point of view. Efficient production in certain lines in the face of keen competition can only be carried on by very large units in localities where the natural and other advantages are very pronounced.

It is of great importance to a community what proportion of its occupied population is in the ranks of its soft handed group, and even more, what proportion of its national income goes to this group. The tendency is for the present educational system to encourage the diversion of recruits to soft handed occupations from the other group and to give a bias away from manual work, skilled or unskilled. This has produced, especially when the bias is directed towards clerical occupations and Government service, a sort of economic stasim, reproducing a well-known feature of the ancient world, the contempt of the free citizen for every form of productive occupation in favour of agriculture.

The most imperative duty of this present generation is to provide for the young the best education for the work they have to do as producers. The extension and development of secondary education is but a stage in the development that democratisation of education implies. Side by side care should be taken to avoid waste of training and misfits of employment. It is in the realm of economic change and educational adjustment that our country really requires guidance, and for effecting this great task, no more competent guide can be found than a trifle alliance between the educationist, the psychologist and the economist.

## Agricultural Section

### ALL-INDIA VETERINARY CONFERENCE

The sixth sessions of the All India Veterinary Conference was opened on the 27th December at the Veterinary College, Hall, Madras, by the Hon. Mr. M. R. Seturatsnam Aiyar, Minister for Development, before a large gathering of delegates and visitors. Several Professors and Veterinary practitioners from different parts of India attended the Conference, and Mr. P. T. Saunders, Director of Veterinary Services, Madras, presided.

#### WELCOME ADDRESS

Mr. K. Kylasau Aiyar, Chairman of the Reception Committee, welcoming the delegates to the Conference said :

"Signs are not wanting that the public are beginning to realise the importance of an efficient veterinary service adequate enough to deal with the ravages of cattle diseases. According to modern conceptions the control and prevention of infectious diseases of animals in all countries are State problems. The report of the Royal Commission on Agriculture in India has helped a great deal to stimulate thought in this direction."

Prof. Phadke of Bombay in a short speech proposed Mr. P. T. Saunders to the chair. Prof. Udhai Singh of Agra and Mr. Vinayaka Mundaliar seconded and supported.

#### PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

Mr. P. T. Saunders then delivered his presidential address, in the course of which he said :—

"It is said of all specialists that they magnify the importance of their own subjects to the exclusion of all others, but if we can take a broad conception of the views and the difficulties of other workers, it can hardly be said that we lay ourselves open to this charge. If one is old-fashioned and if one is fond of animals one regrets the passing of the horse, but whether we wish it or not the age of mechanisation has come. Here in India, the working ox will not be ousted from his essential task for a very long time, perhaps he will never be replaced by mechanical methods of agriculture. In Europe, however, the case is different. I have in mind the Veterinary College at Brussels, where the larger animals are seldom seen and their stalls and byres are almost always

empty. Happily, this does not mean a cessation of Veterinary activities. The small animals' clinic is very large and two important industries have sprung up in their stead. I refer to poultry and to rabbit breeding, the latter being now-a-days of considerable magnitude on account of the value of the fur. It is of great interest to note, too, that the State supply of small-pox vaccine and anti-diphtheria serum is made at the college by veterinarians, a fact which gave me considerable personal pleasure when it was brought to my notice, and which gentlemen, should be equally gratifying to you. I have instanced Brussels, but a similar tendency was to be served in other places, and it was very evident that public health work was everywhere in the ascendant and that treatment of the individual was being relegated to the back-ground. \* \* \*

Particularly, perhaps, are we prone to see in every new discovery the panacea for all ills, and not to realise their limited application. Instances that spring to the mind in this connection, are to be found in radium and insulin both of which are extremely valuable in their limited spheres. \*

Concluding he said :—

"It must be emphasised, however, that, look where we will for assistance in our work, the greatest help can come only from ourselves. Let us then continue to put forth our best efforts in our chosen walk of life, and let us remember always the words of Addison "Tis not in mortals to command success, but we'll do more—deserve it."

Mr. K. S. Nair proposed a vote of thanks to the President and the Hon. Mr. Seturatsnam Aiyar, after which the Conference adjourned.

Papers were read on the following days on several professional subjects followed by magic lantern demonstrations. The Conference passed several important resolutions bearing relevance on Veterinary Science.

## THE MEDICAL CONFERENCE

Dr. B. C. Roy presiding over the All-India Medical Conference which met at Lahore on the 27th December referred to some of the problems which face the independent medical profession and the public to-day regarding medical aid. As regards medical education he said that the standards of education have to be enquired into and brought up to the highest level possible; but this should be done, Dr. Roy said, by the Indian universities on their own initiative and by agencies appointed by themselves and not at the dictation of outside bodies. Dr. Roy in this connection examined the claims of the General Medical Council of Britain to supervise and control medical education and mercilessly exposed that body's pretensions. He pointed out how no great advance in research or improvement in instruction is possible unless sufficient clinical material is available. Hence the importance of organising the administration of State hospitals in such a way as to make the necessary clinical material available for the practitioner and the students. If research is to be fruitful, he went on to say, it must be carried on in co-operation with the practitioners. The President finally referred to other aspects of the medical organisation and relief as well.

The Conference concluded after passing thirty resolutions. In one of them it condemned "the present attitude of the British General Medical Council towards Indian doctors."

The Conference considered the advisability of establishing an All-India Medical Council, largely representative of Universities and suggested

that the constitution of powers and functions of such a Council should be determined by a Committee including representatives of the Universities, Medical Institutions and of Independent Medical profession.

The Conference through other resolutions urged that appointments in the Medical research department be reserved for members of the Indian Medical Service, that suitable facilities be given by Hospital authorities throughout the country for Indian women to qualify as nurses,

## THE AYURVEDIC CONFERENCE

The twentieth session of the All-India Ayurvedic Conference was held at Karachi in the first week of January, Vaidya Ratna Paudit Ramprasad Sharma, of Patiala State presiding. The Conference aroused great public interest in the Ayurvedic system of medicine.

### THE PRESIDENT'S SPEECH

The presidential address, after dealing with the history and principles of Ayurveda deplored the lack of recognition by the present Government; also the practice of conferring bogus degrees such as Vaidya Raj, Bishaga Charya, etc. The address pointed out that the methods of diagnosis adopted in Ayurveda caused great surprise to present day scientists. The President then paid a high tribute to the Maharaja of Patiala for his patronage to Ayurveda and advocated the establishing of a large number of Ayurvedic dispensaries.

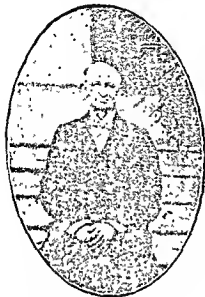
### INDIAN BOARDS OF MEDICINE

Among the resolutions adopted at the Conference one authorised the Standing Committee of the Provincial Committees of the Conference to provide the drugs necessary for Ayurvedic doctors. Another urged upon the members of the Conference to establish Indian Boards of Medicines in all Provinces like the one in the U. P. and requested private bodies and the Government in the different provinces for help in achieving the object. Another resolution requested the Bombay Government to establish Ayurvedic Colleges, one in Sind and the second in Gujerat to train up efficient doctors. It also urged upon the Government the establishment of Ayurvedic Research Institutes in India to serve as an impetus to the progress of Ayurveda.

The Conference requested to Government of India to include some Ayurvedic Vaidyas in the Central Medical Research Institute to be established shortly.

## THE SCIENCE CONGRESS

The Seventeenth Session of the Indian Science Congress was held on Jan. 2, at the Senate House of the Allahabad University. Sir Malcolm Hailey opening the Congress laid stress on the



H. E. SIR MALCOLM HAILEY

value of science in everything and the need for public help to encourage research work.

The President, Col. Christopher, delivered his address taking as his subject "The Science of Disease" which he said was at the very root of medical research.

A large number of delegates including distinguished scientists from various parts of the country attended the Congress.

The subject matter of the Presidential Address of Colonel S. R. Christophers, Director-General of the Research Institute, Kasauli was what he called the "Science of Disease", in the course of which he gave a brief sketch of the nature of the field covered by Medical Research. At the bottom of all questions of health of curative or

preventive medicine or of medical art lay, the President said, the necessity of the knowledge of the causes of disease. The science of disease was therefore in his opinion, the very root of medical research.

Sir Malcolm Hailey in the course of his opening address at the Science Congress referred to the growing appreciation by the public of all that the applied sciences can do for its welfare and progress. He gave instances of the benefits derived by the agriculturist and the vastly increased output that the cultivator could expect to obtain. Again in the sphere of public health increasing appreciation was noticeable of what the scientists were achieving. His Excellency enquired whether some more conscious co-ordination among research workers and Universities was not possible.

Turning to another side of the subject His Excellency reminded economists of the need for turning their attention to a practical study of economic facts of the province. One would have expected, said Sir Malcolm, that with all the Schools of Economics in the Universities they should have found ready hands for supplying most of the material to which the Banking Committee was setting itself to collect.

Concluding the Governor said: "You could, I think, touch the public imagination on a new side. You must touch its imagination before you can effectively appeal for its aid. I believe that a closer union if it could be achieved would make an effective appeal to the public and in turn secure provision for extension of scientific work at large. If so we shall have achieved far more than ready means of assisting the solution of some provincial problems, but we shall have made it possible to add fresh names to that band of workers which is securing for India a new position and a new reputation among the nations."

Sectional meetings under the chairmanship of their respective presidents were held till the 8th January.

### THE LIBRARY CONFERENCE

The Library Exhibition which was held under the auspices of the Library Conference in Lahore was opened by Sir Abdul Qadir on December 26.

The Exhibition was the first of its kind in the Punjab. In it were exhibited literary and other



SIR P. C. RAY

books, rare manuscripts, charts, library requisites and maps and pictures bearing on education in all grades and stages.

After the opening of the exhibition, the All-India Library Conference commenced.

Doctor Motisagar, Chairman of the Reception Committee, welcoming the delegates said that of all forms of wealth a well equipped library was the most valuable possession of any nation. In every civilised country with any claim to culture, it was an obvious duty of the State to maintain public libraries. He urged the full use of libraries.

Referring to the kind of books to be kept in a library, he said no one could deny there were in libraries a large number of absolutely dead books which no human being, save one out of a mad-house ever asked for. He concluded that appetite for reading was growing, and hoped that with a growth of this appetite a sense of discrimination would also grow and that we would be able to judge for ourselves what was not to our advantage, what books should and what books should not find a place on the shelves of our libraries.

Sir P. C. Ray, the President, quoted the names of the world's celebrities to show that a very few of them studied in the Universities. Of the seventeen Cabinet Ministers of the present Labour Government, he believed only five were graduates of Universities. The remaining twelve colleagues of Mr. Ramsay MacDonald had to work hard for earning their livelihood, and perhaps it is only by dint of their perseverance in reading in spare moments in the evenings that they have risen to the position which they now occupy. A good library was no doubt a national asset. He was glad to find that in India the library movement had taken root. There was an organisation of district and taluk libraries and associations in Andhra districts. In Bengal almost every village, not to speak of the district town had a small library of its own.

The Conference concluded the next day after passing sixteen resolutions.

These inter alia recommended the opening of libraries in all towns and villages, the starting of correspondence courses in various subjects by colleges and Universities, and the provision of adequate facilities by the management of public libraries for the promotion of adult education.

### JOURNALISTS' CONFERENCE

Important resolutions concerning the future of journalism and welfare of journalists were passed by All-India Journalists' Conference held at Lahore on 2nd January.

M. Zaffar Ali Khan, Editor ZAMINDAR, welcoming those present, hoped that out of this small gathering would spring up well-organised annual Conferences more representative of the profession. In the case of journalists, numbers did not matter for a journalist always spoke for millions.

Mr. S. A. Brechi, Editor, BOMBAY CHRONICLE president, emphasised that the disabilities under which the Indian journalists had to work were more numerous and greater than those of the members of any other profession.



## ALL-INDIA STUDENTS' CONFERENCE

The All-India Students' Convention met at Lahore on the 30th December under the presidency of Pandit Malaviya. It was attended by over four hundred delegates from different parts of India.

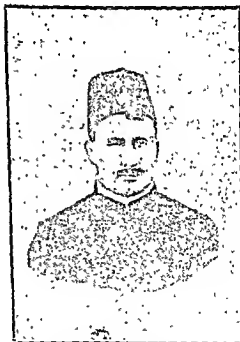
After a brief welcome speech by Mr. Ragnur Singh, Chairman of the Reception Committee, Pt. Malaviya read Mr. Gandhi's message to the students which said that "the students' foremost duty is self-control, discipline and promotion of Khadi."

Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru who was received with shouts of "Long Live Revolution" said it had been stated that the elders had their innings and now was the time for the youngmen in whom there have been said to be a great awakening. He however thought that young men had not yet developed the true sense of responsibility. Until they developed that and trained themselves in discipline much of their energy and enthusiasm would be wasted.

The Conference next adopted resolutions for the formulation of the All-India Students' Union on national lines with provincial and district organisations to protect students' interests and promote the feeling of comradeship and of patriotism free from communalism. It was decided to hold the Conference at Benares to adopt a constitution. Other resolutions asked for vernacular as the medium of instruction everywhere and Hindustani as compulsory second language and asked for compulsory military training in Universities. Another resolution appealed to the students to take a vow to use Khadi or Swadeshi cloth only and expressed sorrow on the arrests of the Secretary Mr. Sukhdev and the Assistant Secretary, Mr. Virendra and appeal to students to refuse to be a party to any marriage where the dowry had been stipulated.

Miss Shanaa Devi, who returned after collecting one lakh of Rupees for the Kanyashaba Vidyalaya made a forceful speech condemning students' expensive ways of living, when alone they could become true soldiers in the country's cause.

Pt. Malaviya in closing the conference welcomed the Students' All-India Organisation and hoped that every student above twelve would become a member of the Students' Union. He emphasised two main things which the students should always keep as ideals before them. These were faith in God and patriotism. He emphasised the necessity of the use of Khadi and Swadeshi cloth and the utter boycott of foreign cloth and called upon them to be prepared for sacrifices for the country.



Mr. SAMIEZADA AFTAB AHMAD KHAN  
ex-Vice Chancellor of the Aligarh University whose death  
was reported on the 18th of this month.

## ATTACHMENT OF A DOOR

That the door of a house could not be construed as movable property under the provisions of the District Municipalities Act was the decision given



THE HON. MR. JUSTICE JACKSON

by Mr. Justice Jackson at the Madras High Court.

The petitioner, a tax-payer, assaulted Municipal servants who attached and removed a door from the tax-payer's house for default to pay the tax due. The trial court convicted the accused on a complaint made by the Municipal servants and the first appellate court confirmed the conviction.

In revision at the High Court Mr. Justice Jackson found that the door was not a movable property and set aside the conviction.

## THE PRESIDENT'S POWERS

Holding the view that the President of the Legislative Assembly is supreme in the precincts of the Chamber, Mr. Patel objected to the police arrangements made by the Chief Commissioner of Delhi for the opening day of the Assembly on the 20th of this month and cleared all the galleries, except the Press gallery, of visitors and police.

## UNDER-TRIAL PRISONERS

The following statement appears in the November issue of THE CONGRESS BULLETIN of Nov. 27, 1929:

"The whole country has been shocked by the extra-ordinary and barbarous treatment by the police of the under-trial prisoners in the Lahore conspiracy case. One of the accused was apparently irritated at a statement of the approver and in a fit of temper threw a slipper at him. All the other accused dissociated themselves from this act and expressed regret to the court. In spite of this, however, the accused were stated, in court, to have been beaten mercilessly by the police and all manner of innumerable barbarities were alleged. They were brought handcuffed to court and most of them were actually carried in bodily. Even in open court they were kicked and maltreated by the police and their protests were not heeded or noted. As both their hands were kept handcuffed, they could not write or take notes of the proceedings. The press and visitors were all excluded from the court-room and a full report is not available of what happened; but even the reports of the earlier stages that have appeared in the press have horrified the country."

## THE SARDA ACT

"The Sarda Act, 1929, is the apostolic descendant of the Regulation of 1829 which abolished Satee. In the fight for the recovery of civil rights and making India regain her proper place, we must take the assistance of the reformers in every stage" observed Sir C. C. Ghose, presiding over the centenary of the abolition of Satee by Lord William Bentinck and Raja Ram Mohan Roy. The speaker expressed gratification at the progress made by Indian women and urged the need for extension of literacy so that they might prove honest soldiers in the fight for placing India before the comity of nations.

## SIR PHILIP CHETWODE'S NEW ROLL

The *Communique* used by the Government of India regarding the appointment of Sir Philip Chetwode as Commander in chief in India, says



SIR PHILIP CHETWODE

that His Majesty the King has been pleased to approve the appointment of General Sir Philip Walhouse Chetwode, Bart, A. D. C. General to be Commander in Chief in India in succession to Field-Marshal Sir William Riddell Birdwood.

With His Majesty's approval, the Secretary of State for India has invited Field-Marshal Sir William Birdwood who will complete his tenure of appointment on August 5, 1930, to serve for a further period of three months from that date.

The outstanding abilities of Sir Philip Chetwode says the *TIMES OF INDIA* were fully illustrated

during the Great War in several theatres and on a number of occasions his name was brought very prominently to public notice. His subsequent career as Military Secretary at the War Office, as Deputy Chief of the General Staff, as Adjutant-General to the Forces and as Commander-in-Chief Aldershot Command confirmed the high public regard in which he was held.

Sir Philip Chetwode is a commander of the Legion of Honour and Grand Officer of the Order of the Nile. He holds the Croix de Guerre and the first class Order of the Sacred Treasure (Japan). He was Military Secretary at the War Office in 1919-20 and Deputy Chief of the Imperial General Staff in 1919-20. He was Commander-in-Chief, Aldershot Command for four years from 1923 to 1927. He succeeded Lieut-General Sir Andrew Skeen as Chief of the General Staff.

General Sir Philip Chetwode comes of a distinguished military family. His father whom he succeeded as the seventh Baronet in 1905, was Lieut.-Colonel Sir George Chetwode. General Sir Philip Chetwode has a brother in the Navy, Rear-Admiral George Knightly Chetwode, who was Dy. Director of Naval Intelligence from 1923 to 1925 and A. D. C. to the King in 1927-28.

## THE PRINCE AND THE V. C.'s

At the banquet to the Victoria cross-holders, H. R. H. the Prince of Wales said:—

"You are recipients of an honour which, it is true, can only be won in war, and there is no wise man to-day who, having learnt what war means, does not pray that it may never come again. But that fact only enhances the value of the Victoria Cross, for it is a symbol of the possession of those qualities which, though war called them forth, are really the foundations of peace,—the qualities of a cool head, an undaunted heart and a fearless disregard of self. And if any man thinks that valour is only called for in fighting on the actual field of battle, he must have a very distorted view of life."

## MR. LLOYD GEORGE'S LEADERSHIP

Lord Grey when re-elected President of the Liberal Council which was born of the dissatisfaction at Mr. Lloyd George's supersession of Lord Asquith, spoke of the unsettled differences with Mr. Lloyd George. The members of the party had no confidence in the present leadership, and they also felt the invidious and impossible position of the party by its finances being dependant on Mr. Lloyd George's personal and not party fund.

Viscount Grey declared that unless there was a change in leadership and in the position of the party fund, British Liberalism would have to maintain an absolutely separate organisation and its own funds.

## THE INDEPENDENCE RESOLUTION

The following is the text of the Independence resolution adopted by the National Congress:—

This Congress, whilst endorsing the action of the Working Committee in connection with the manifesto signed by the party leaders, including Congressmen in connection with the Viceroy's Pronouncement of the 31st October relating to Dominion Status, and appreciating the efforts of H. E. the Viceroy towards a peaceful settlement of the national movement for Swaraj, and having considered the result of the meeting between the Viceroy and Pandit Motilal Nehru and other leaders, is of opinion that nothing is to be gained in the existing circumstances by the Congress being represented at the proposed Round Table Conference;

And in pursuance of the resolution passed at the Calcutta Congress last year, this Congress now declares that Swaraj in the Congress creed shall mean complete Independence, and therefore further declares the Nehru scheme of Dominion Status to have lapsed, and hopes all parties in the Congress will devote their exclusive attention to the attainment of complete Independence, and hopes also that those whom the tentative solution of the communal problem suggested in the Nehru constitution has prevented from joining the Congress or actuated them to abstain from it, will now join or rejoin the Congress and zealously prosecute the common goal;

And as a preliminary step towards organising a campaign for Independence and in order to make the Congress policy consistent with the change of creed, this Congress declares a boycott of the Central and Provincial Legislatures and calls upon Congressmen to abstain from participating, directly or indirectly, in the Legislatures in future, and the present members of the Legislatures to tender their resignation;

And this Congress calls upon the nation to concentrate its attention upon the constructive programme of the Congress and authorises the All-India Congress Committee, whenever it deems fit, to launch a programme of civil disobedience, including non-payment of taxes, whether in selected areas or otherwise, and under such safeguards as it may consider necessary.

## MR. JINNAH ON INDEPENDENCE

Interviewed on the decisions of the Lahore Congress Mr. Jinnah said that they would lead to violence and do the utmost harm to the cause of India. Pandit Motilal Nehru and Mr. Gandhi, he continued, had taken the gravest responsibility in getting the Working Committee's resolution passed. Mr. Jinnah denounced Mr. Gandhi's philosophy as a bundle of contradictions and said that Mr. Gandhi, who has committed Himalayan blunders, was mentally and constitutionally incapable of learning or unlearning.

Mr. Jinnah further opined that the new Congress resolutions were most misleading, unsound and unwise, and he advised the youths, who think that



MR. MAHOMED ALI JINNAH

Mr. Gandhi is indispensable to the national youth to consider the Lahore decision as premature. "India stands to gain by negotiations more than by any other action, violent or non-violent."

## CRICKET IN BOMBAY

THE SPORTSMAN of Bombay in the course of an editorial in its Special Quadrangular Number gives an account of the origin and progress of cricket the Presidency of Bombay. We give below a summary of the same :—

Cricket came to India as long ago as the eighties of the 18th century. It will be difficult to determine the exact year or the decade, but old records state of a Calcutta Cricket Club challenging Barrackpore and Dum-Dum in 1792. Similarly in 1827 a full military team engaged the Island of Bombay in a battle of the willow. These records are, however, scanty but it seems certain that the military played no inconspicuous part in its introduction in India. \* \* \*

In 1868 cricket among the Parsis received a stimulant through the benevolent efforts of Mr. S. S. Bengalee who in his great love of the sport, offered prizes for competition games. Ten years later, Mr. A. B. Patel, who had started the Parsi Cricket Club was able to arrange a match with the Bombay Gymkhana, that being the first match the Bombay Gymkhana played with an Indian team.

The same year, the Hindus, who had been evincing interest in the game, started a club called the Hindu Cricket Club. The mainstay of the Club were a few students studying in the Elphinstone High School. This Club existed from 1878 to 1894 when it was absorbed in the P. J. Hindu Gymkhana.

While Hindu cricketers were trying to get on with the game, the Parsis had established a sort of reputation and arranged annual fixtures with the Bombay Gymkhana and in 1878 contemplated a tour to England. This, however, did not materialise owing to an unfortunate misunderstanding between Mr. A. M. Palia and Mr. K. N. Kabraji who had planned the idea. But the seeds which were engendered came to fruition in 1885 when the first Parsi team, thanks to the zeal of

Mr. B. D. Bania, crossed the sea to balance strength with the cricketers in England.

These tours to England had helped to create an abiding interest in the game in India, which began to take it seriously in the real spirit. Hindus and Muslims, who had not so far evinced keen desire to handle the willow began to practise the game and the Hindu Cricket Club started by some students of the Elphinstone High School sprang into existence. But a great fillip was given to cricket by Lord Harris, who, during his Governorship of the Bombay Presidency, did not allow any opportunity to miss to give incitement of this pastime. In 1885 the Parsis had started the Parsi Gymkhana and erected a pavilion on the Marine Lines mubana. This gave an impetus to the Hindu Cricket Club, who set about the task of collecting funds to build a Gymkhana of their own. The Club which existed from 1878 to 1894 was an influential body and having drawn good cricketers from the Hindu fold, they were able to have a match with the Bombay Gymkhana in 1889 to be followed with a match with Poona Gymkhana two years later. The Muslims who were also marching with the times and had taken to cricket, were lucky enough to secure a plot of ground for themselves on the Marine Lines. This added zest to the Hindu Cricket Club which began earnestly to collect funds in 1892. \* \* \*

The representative matches which were played till 1911 between the Presidency, Parsi and Hindu teams were converted into the Quadrangular Tournament when the Muslims entered the lists. Being new to the fray they were not able to show off well for a long time, says the writer, but with the assistance of outsiders they have begun to give a fight. Their victory in 1924 tournament when they annexed the championship has yet to be repeated but their performances entail them to a good place in Indian Cricket.

So for the Hindus and Presidency have annexed the championship four times, the Parsis thrice, and Muslims once.

## SRI SARADA VIDYALAYA

Mrs. R. S. Subbalakshmi, General Secretary Sri Sarada Ladies' Union, Triplicane, writes:—

The Saradha Vidyalya was started in July 1928, in response to the expressed wishes of a number of applicants who could not get the re-



Mrs. R. S. SUBBALAKSHMI

quire educational facilities in other existing institutions for women in Madras or elsewhere owing to their being past the age of admission into such institutions.

Such applicants were either widows over 18 years of age or married women abandoned by their husbands or left absolutely helpless & eager to stand on their own legs by honest work as teachers of the young or nurses of the sick & for which some such hall-mark as the Government technical examination diploma as "Trained Teacher", or as "Qualified Nurse" is essential under the existing conditions of these professions.

Started on a modest scale to provide such combined facilities for the mufassil applicants, the institution had gradually expand to accommodate 76 boarders & 80 day-scholars (from the Madras city itself) at present, and consequence the home had to frequently shift to bigger and bigger buildings, and at present, the home at No. 78, Big Street, Triplicane, having been found quite inadequate had to overflow into another building close-by, the rents for these being Rs. 150 and Rs. 50 per month respectively and as even these are found insufficient for the needs, it will be necessary to shift the whole institution, to a more commodious single building—preferably in or near Mylapore before next July.

As it is necessary in the best interests of this institution, if it is to be of a permanent nature, that it should have a home of its own, which at a modest computation, will cost about Rs. 1,00,000 and as half of this amount will have to be found before applying to the Government for the other half as grant, I have ventured to appeal to the generous public who ought really to be the patrons of such institutions of public utility, to help to make this self-supporting, by contributing their mites, however little they may be, in a spirit of hearty goodwill and sympathy.

## THE PHILOSOPHICAL CONGRESS

The 6th session of the Indian Philosophical Congress was held at Lahore on the 18th December. It was opened by the Hon. Mr. Manohar Lal, Minister of Education, Punjab.

Dr. W. S. Ureghart, Vice-Chancellor, Calcutta University who presided over the Congress said:—

I consider that religion should in its own rights be regarded as a suitable criterion of the worth of philosophical conception and that when a philosophy fails to satisfy religious requirements, we should not be content to abandon the religious test but should be ready to ask whether the philosophical conception does not require modification, just because of this failure to satisfy religious needs.

Dr. Ureghart urged the application of philosophy to some of the problems of the time like the youth movement and said that political leaders might be greatly benefited by the application of philosophical principles to their ideals.

# Diary of the Month

- Dec. 16. The House of Commons passes the 3rd reading of the Unemployment Insurance Bill.
- Dec. 17. Mr. R. J. Udani has been elected first Indian member in the London Commercial Sales Rooms.
- Dec. 18. The New Bengal Ministers assume office.
- Dec. 19. Parliament adopts Mr. Brockway's motion on Labour Policy in India, unanimously.
- Dec. 20. Mr. Macdonald and Mr. Snowden receive the Freedom of London at Guildhall.
- Dec. 21. The House of Commons rejects the Tory motion disapproving the resumption of Anglo-Soviet relations.
- Dec. 22. Sir P. C. Ray opens the Lahore Congress Exhibition.
- Dec. 23. The Indian Central (Nair) Committee Report is published.
- Dec. 24. Lord Peel, the ex Secretary of State for India arrives in Delhi.
- Mahatma Gandhi opens the Lajpat Rai Hall in Lahore.
- Dec. 25. The National Social Conference meets in Lahore under the Presidency of Har Bilas Sarda.
- Dec. 26. Dr. Sir P. C. Ray opens the Library conference at Lahore.
- Dec. 27. The All India Teachers' Conference meets in Madras under the presidency of Sir P. S. Sivaswami Aiyar.
- Dec. 28. The All-India Congress Committee meets in Lahore.
- Dec. 29. The Indian National Congress meets in Lahore under the Presidency of Jawaharlal Nehru.
- The Indian National Liberal Federation meets in Madras, Sir P. C. Sethna presiding.
- Dec. 30. The Indian National Congress adopts the resolution on Independence.
- Dec. 31. British note to China protests against the latter's decision to abolish extra-territoriality.
- Jan. 1. Sir K. V. Reddi arrives in Madras.
- Mr. Arthur Ponsonby is awarded a Peerage.
- Jan. 2. Sir Malcolm Hailey opens the Indian Science Congress Allahabad.
- Jan. 3. The Second conference on Reparations meets in Hague.
- Jan. 4. The Indian Shipping conference meets at Delhi at the Viceroy's instance, but breaks down.
- Jan. 5. Earl Russell, Under Secretary of State for India declares that Dominion Status is not to be immediately granted to India.
- Jan. 6. Col. C. A. Sprentson, I. M. S. is appointed Surgeon-General of Madras.
- Jan. 7. Congress members of the Legislature resign their seats obeying Congress mandate.
- Jan. 8. The Assembly Bomb case appeal comes up for hearing before the Lahore High Court.
- Jan. 9. The Personnel of the British Delegation to the London Naval Conference is announced.
- The U. S. A. Delegates to London Naval Conference leave New York for London.
- Jan. 10. H. E. The Viceroy lays the foundation stone of Irwin Hospital in Delhi.
- 15,000 Chinese die in North Shansi as the result of a cold wave.
- Jan. 11. Mr. Gandhi presides over the Convocation of Gujarat Vidyapith.
- Jan. 12. Premier Nohas Pasha opens the new Egyptian Parliament.
- Jan. 13. Manmohan Singh leaves London for India by air for winning Aga Khan's Prize.
- Jan. 14. The appeal in the Assembly Bomb Case has been dismissed.
- Jan. 15. Multan Starts no-tax campaign protesting against the enhanced water-tax.
- Jan. 16. Viceroy extends the Assembly's term upto 31st July.
- Jan. 17. U. S. A. hears for the first time the case for the Independence of the Philippines.
- Jan. 18. Sahibzada Aftab Ahmed Khan (Aligarh) is dead.

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## A Literary Revival in South India

BY

Mr. J. C. MOLONY, L.C.S., (RTD).

IN my BOOK OF SOUTH INDIA, I lamented the fact that the people of South India



Mr. J. C. MOLONY

neglect their mother-tongues. This neglect is indubitable; most educated Tamils (to take

an example) of my acquaintance spoke, even among themselves, in English, on matters of importance; their serious reading was of books written in English; if they offered serious writing to the world, they offered it in English; even their daily newspapers they read in English. Many Tamils who spoke and wrote English quite as fluently as I did seemed to find much greater difficulty than I found in reading ordinary cursive Tamil script. One particular instance I recall with amusement, as it illustrates in more ways than one the present lowly state of the Tamil tongue. I had received a Tamil letter: most of it was plain sailing, but at one word, and that an essential word, I stuck. I asked the assistance of a Tamil friend who happened to call on me; and I found that for him the whole letter, which I had read easily enough, meant nothing more than a succession of undecipherable scratches and scrawls. That was interesting. Equally interesting was the particular word, which I at last deciphered as *andig*. No Tamil whom I asked, and I asked a good many, could give me the English equivalent of this strange vocable: suddenly it dawned on me that the writer was speaking about *fork*.



Is there no genuine Tamil word for this every-day article? It would never occur to me to write *sisa* in an English letter, if I wished to speak about *bottle*.

I doubt if there can ever be a healthy national spirit in a people that neglects its own living language. The people among whom I was born, the people among whom I now live, really were and are no better educated than the people of the Indian villages. And the English rustic is naturally less quick-witted than the Indian. But the English rustic takes a quite intelligent interest in the political questions of the day, because these questions are put before him in a language which is his own. There is something strangely artificial, unreal, even absurd, about a political meeting in Madras City, or in one of the big towns of the Madras mofussil. A number of lawyers, journalists, and the like, meet together, and address speeches to one another in a tongue wholly unintelligible to the thousands whose political desires they profess to interpret. How many of the politically-minded *intelligentsia* of South India at present could address a rustic audience in the vernacular with any acceptance? I have heard an eminent Indian "translate" an English speech to a village audience; and, as I listened, the thought occurred to me that I could have "translated" quite as well myself. The thing was dead, and the audience was wholly unresponsive; on the other hand, I have heard a half-educated old Deputy Collector keep a village audience "on its toes" with an *impromptu* barangue which had the real smack of the soil about it.

The Tamil answer to a foreigner's reproach is usually blame of the foreign Government,

which has forced English on him as a condition of worldly advancement, occasionally a candid avowal that there is very little written in Tamil which interests him, which he finds worth reading. There is, I imagine, a measure of truth in both excuses; it is the second excuse that I wish to consider.

There is, no doubt, a great literature in Tamil; but it is, I fancy, an *old* literature. And it is an affectation to pretend that the average man of the present day is vitally interested by the thought, or attracted by the literary style, of men who died hundreds of years before his own birth. A friend of R. L. Stevenson avowed candidly that he found "Ouida" far more interesting and attractive than Shakespeare; and this strange preference is really less strange than it appears at first sight. "Ouida" wrote, quite reasonably well, of the life which her readers saw about them, and, more or less, in the language which they used to express their everyday thoughts. Shakespeare wrote superbly of a life dead and gone, and in a language scarcely intelligible to the middle class Englishman of the latter part of the nineteenth century. What such man reading of

The stinging mason building roofs of gold would at once have understood that Shakespeare was speaking of a *bee*? Much of the old Tamil literature, I suspect, deals with kings, fairies, demons, sprites, beings in which the ordinary man has now little belief and therefore little interest; much is didactic to a point by comparison with which Hobbes' *Leviathan* and Butler's *Analogy* are easy readings. I recall a Tamil verse which has long haunted my mind as containing a beautiful thought,

But they, the truly wise,  
Who knew and recognise

Where dwells the Shepherd of the Worlds, will ne'er  
To any visible shrine,  
As though it were divine,

Deign to raise hands of worship or of prayer.

But would this thought appeal very greatly to a schoolboy? For a genuine revival, Tamil, I think, needs to create a literature, especially a humble fiction, which describes life as it is lived to-day. I do not think that a wise teacher in England would to-day attempt to awaken a boy to an appreciation of the beauties of English through the medium of *The Faerie Queene* or *Rasselas*.

So much for matter. What are the essentials of a good style in any language? I should say naturalness and clearness. The mistake of the modern writer of the South Indian vernaculars is that he fixes his attention on the style of some old master, and strives to imitate that style, quite oblivious of the fact that his own natural method of expression may be totally different. The result sometimes is curious and amusing. I had occasion to issue a lengthy official order for the guidance of a number of persons unacquainted with English. I wrote my order, and gave it for translation to a Telugu *literateur*. That the translation conveyed little to me was understandable enough, for my knowledge of Telugu is scanty. But I devised a test. I gave the Telugu version to a Telugu who spoke and read English quite well, and I asked him to make an English translation for my use. After half a day's toil, he gave up the task as hopeless: the Telugu draft conveyed no idea to his mind which he could express either in English or in Telugu. I gave him

my English draft, which he found readily understandable, and besought him to prepare a Telugu version intelligible to the ordinary Telugu "of ordinary sense and understanding". He did so, but with some demur. He seemed to think it a reflection on his literary attainments that the ordinary man should understand what he wrote.

I do not assert that bald naturalness and bald clearness are the be all and end all of a good literary style, but they are a very good foundation for a good style. Especially clearness. Mr. Gladstone's living speech thrilled thousands, but his printed speeches are now unread and unreadable. For Mr. Gladstone was naturally incapable of saying *anything* clearly. Mr. T. M. Healy cites some amusing instances of this peculiarity. Mr. Gladstone was watching a thought-reading *seance* in the smoking room of the House of Commons, when the performer asked "have you a five-pound note, Sir?" Mr. Gladstone, in his deep-toned voice, replied, "I presume that as First Lord of the Treasury, I should admit possession of such an article." But what on earth did he mean? Had he got a five-pound note, or had he not? Why not say "yes" or "no?"

If a man speaks naturally, and can speak clearly, in glowing words and in superbly balanced sentences, he is wise, so to speak. Should I say to an audience of rich persons, "if you agree that the unequal distribution of wealth causes much suffering, it is your duty to give some of your superfluous wealth to the poor," what I have said is clear, but banal. Ruskin has said the same thing in the great peroration to *Unto This Last*, and said it just as clearly; but the beauty of Ruskin's phrasing

tenders the passage immortal. Did I try to speak like Ruskin, I should certainly not speak clearly, and almost certainly should speak absurdly.

Style should be appropriate to the matter with which it deals. The great Herbert Spencer, it is related, once demanded "a modicum of alcohol to restore the periodicity of his somniferous functions". This is an entirely inappropriate, and therefore an entirely bad, way of asking for a whisky and soda before going to bed. Nowhere is this "appropriateness" so essential as in the speech which a writer of fiction attributes to the characters of his story. Recently, I read a novel written by a Tamil author, and dealing with the life of the South Indian villages. The narrative was charming; but what could be said of the dialogue? Here is a toddy shopkeeper speaking: "the system is the source of the evil, and the individual is but a minor wheel which goes buzzing blindly round the major". Do toddy shopkeepers speak like this? And what is the *meaning* of a minor wheel buzzing round a major; what understandable image do the words call up?

There is a measure of excuse for this writer; he wrote in English, a foreign tongue. But so remarkable is the linguistic ability of the South Indian that "a foreign tongue" is a scarcely sufficient excuse: I have a suspicion that the author writing in his own tongue might not have done much better, that his mind was not awakened to the perception of a simple literary truth. I admit that he sinned in good company. Jude Fawley, the protagonist of Hardy's famous novel JUDE THE OBSCURE, is described as a working stone-

mason, born and educated in a village a few miles from the village where I now live. He visits Oxford, and thus addresses himself to a friend; "there is more going on than meets the eye of a man walking through the streets. It is a unique centre of thought and religion—the intellectual and spiritual granary of the country. All that silence and absence of goings-on is the stillness of infinite motion." With all respect to the great Thomas Hardy, this is unadulterated rubbish: there is only one natural word in the passage, the half slang word "goings-on".

I sum up my argument thus: I do not think that the plea for the literary revival of the southern vernaculars is a mere literary whim. I do not see how a nation can live, if thought about the nation's life is to be the exclusive preserve of the few who can express their thought in an alien tongue. I believe that a literary revival is only possible by an adaptation of the language of to-day to literary uses, not by an artificial imitation of a diction that has had its day. And, the language of to-day, however purified in a literary sense, must be applied to the facts and thoughts of to-day; mythology and metaphysics have lost much of their appeal to the modern reader. I do not suggest that South India should turn its back on the use of English; it is foolish to refuse, to throw away, any intellectual acquirement. But I do not think that a man will ever use a foreign language really well, that his thought will ever be solidly founded and coherent, until he uses perfectly (within the limits of reason) his mother tongue.

# Indians on Ceylon Plantations

BY

ST. NIHAL SINGH

FOR fifteen months or more prominent publicists in Ceylon have been openly stating from the platform and in the press that Indians on Ceylon plantations live in conditions of semi-slavery. Statements to the same effect have been repeated in the Ceylon Legislative Council. They relate to 739, 316 of our people—men, women and children.

The gravity of the issues raised is apparent on the surface. If there is any substance in these statements—and these statements as I shall show stand uncontradicted—three-quarters of a million of our people live in conditions so degraded as to compel every Indian worthy the name to hang his head in shame.

According to Ceylonese M. L. C.'s, Indian labourers upon Ceylon plantations do not come into the Island of their own accord, but are brought there. They are measured; their thumb prints are taken; their parents' names and the names of their villages are noted; and they come under the notice of the Controller of Indian Immigrant Labour—an official of the Ceylon Government—much as a prisoner is watched by the jail warders.

Once the Indian labourers enter their place of abode upon the plantations they come under the "Estate Law." They become, in other words, prisoners, to all intents and purposes.

Without the express permission or at least the tacit consent—of the superintendent of the estate be that superintendent British or Sinhalese—no outsider can visit the Indian Labourers. The plantation being private property, the superintendent may expel relations and friends calling upon Indian labourers and forbid them to come again. The labourers have no redress.

No agent of labour union dare enter an estate to organise the labourers into trades unions. No

union, at any rate, has been formed. The labourers are living in the hollow of the planters' hands and are, therefore, completely disorganised units. Their masters are, on the contrary, strongly organised in associations, both district and central.

Statements to this effect, though made time and again in the Legislative Council, have been left unchallenged. No one in authority in Ceylon has made the least attempt to deny the accuracy of the charges. The facts in this connection must be noted.

(1) The official *bloc* sat mute in the Legislative Council while statements respecting Indian semi-slavery were made, again and again, from the floor of the Chamber. Immediately prior to the commencement of the debate on the Donoughmore Commission Reform, in the course of which these charges were flung on 740,000 Indians, the Colonial Secretary,—or the chief executive officer of the Ceylon Government—had declared that the official would take part in the debate only "in so far as may be necessary for the purpose of removing any misapprehensions on points of fact."

That official, or one or another of his colleagues rose from time to time to challenge, contradict or correct statements made concerning many matters. On not a single occasion, however, did he or any of his colleagues open their mouths in protest when allegations as to Indian semi-slavery were made by Sinhalese M.L.C.'s.

In their silence on this subject to be construed as implying that no misapprehension existed in regard to it, and that, in reality, the allegations were true?

(2) The present Governor of Ceylon (Sir Herbert Stanley) has shown a commendable alacrity in dissociating himself from statements of a misleading or mischievous character. Only a few

months back he made an opportunity, at a public function, to condemn references which he considered to be of an offensive character emanating from a British planter in a letter printed in a Colombo newspaper, British-owned and British-edited.

This Briton had asserted that "a certain class of Ceylonese should not be permitted to use the wards in a government hospital in Nuwara Eliya (Ceylon's Hill sanatorium) supposed to be reserved for Europeans, because "of their customs, habits, and want of cleanliness." Should "it be laid down that the wards were open for admission of Ceylonese," he declared, Europeans would have to stop using them as they would soon be in a verminous state.

Sir Herbert dissociated "himself completely from" these remarks. In clear-cut terms he declared that he was "not in any way in sympathy or agreement with the contents of the letter." All honour to him!

In respect of the statements made regarding Indian semi-slavery in Ceylon, His Excellency has, however, chosen to refrain from issuing any protest. Only one inference can be drawn from this studied silence, especially in view of the fact that circumstantial evidence appears to confirm the charges.

So far as I can see, no one in India has taken the slightest notice of these statements. Not a single question, so far as I know, has been put in the Indian Legislative Assembly to ascertain their accuracy or otherwise; nor have any of our editors drawn the attention of their readers to this matter.

That so large a number of our people should be so openly stigmatised as semi-slaves yet, as far as I know no one has troubled even to enquire whether there is any ground for such assertion.

I know that our people are, at the moment, absorbed in the struggle to win control over Indian affairs. This matter has, therefore, been over-

looked. In another circumstance the oft-repeated assertion by Sinhalese publicists that the bulk of Indians in Ceylon live and work in conditions of semi-slavery would have immediately roused resentment in our people; and if, upon investigation, they had found that such semi-slavery actually existed, they would have promptly taken steps to put an end to it immediately.

Absorption in matters pertaining to Indian Dominionhood may explain the indifference that our people—and the Government of India—have so far shown in respect of a matter involving the acidum of three-quarters of a million of Indians: it cannot, however, serve to extenuate, much less to excuse, such indifference. Further apathy will be nothing short of criminal: for such semi-slavery is being used as an excuse for discrimination against Ceylon Indians in respect of the franchise.

The matter is not, in other words, of mere academic interest. The political factor has invested it with an urgency that Indians—and the Government of India—can ignore at their peril.

There is an irreducible minimum upon which our Government should insist. It must demand the removal of:

- (1) every requirement of a humiliating character.
- (2) every limitation in the matter of personal liberty from which Indians on Ceylon plantations—and they alone—suffer.

In the first category fall, for instance, such matters as measurements and thumb prints. These requirements are associated with criminals and prisoners. They must be removed—whatever the difficulties that stand in the way.

While these are matters more or less of sentiment—individual and national dignity—the limitations upon personal freedom from which Indians on Ceylon plantations—and they alone in Ceylon—suffer affect them materially as well as morally. A clean sweep must be made of these restrictions.

A declaration of a general nature will not be without some use: but if our people are to be lifted out of semi-slavery, it must be laid down specifically that the quarters or "lines" in which Indians live upon Ceylon plantations are accessible to persons, of whatever race or religion, and particularly to

(a) Hindu or Buddhist priests, ministers of the gospel or missionaries, who wish to go there to expound the doctrines of their faith;

(b) welfare worker, comparable to slum visitors in Western cities, who wish to show Indian men and women how to live so as to make their lot more bearable;

(c) persons who wish to go there to teach adults or children how to read and write;

(d) Agents of labour unions or co-operative societies who wish to organise the Indian labourers into an association of any description calculated to be for their betterment; or having organised such an association are compelled by business to visit them;

(e) candidates for election and their agents, who wish to explain to our people the political platforms upon which they are seeking election;

(f) salesmen who wish to sell them their wares; and

(g) friends or relations from a neighboring estate or a near-by village or town, who may wish to drop in to visit him after working hours and perchance stop for a meal.

There should also be specific provision to the effect that any labourer is complete master of his leisure; that he can go away from the "line" and even the estate at will, without permission from any person—*Kangany* (supervisor) or superintendent.

Statutory provision is particularly necessary, at this juncture, to protect the Indian labourers on Ceylon estates in respect of freedom to exercise such political rights and privileges as they may enjoy. They should be able to demand, of right, reasonable time off from their work to register themselves as voters and go to the polls and vote. Any attempt to prevent the exercise of the vote or dictation as to the use to be made of the vote should be punishable by imprisonment, without the option of a fine.

These suggestions are put forward tentatively. They may need to be revised and supplemented.

## MARRIAGE IN AMERICA

BY MR. V. B. METTA

MISS KATHERINE MAYO, in her *MOTHER INDIA*, laid bare before the world the worst aspects of Indian social life, and then proceeded to argue that a people who could have such grave defects in their social organisation cannot possibly be said to be fit for self-government. Now if that is true, can it not be said with equal truth that America is also not fit for self-government, because the defects in her social organisation are at least as grave as those of India? A study of a recent survey conducted by two members of the staff of the Russell Sage

Foundation called "Our Marriage Laws And How They Are Administered" will give us support in our contention. Indians, along with other Oriental nations, regard marriage as something sacred. But the Americans do not. According to an old English saying: "Marriages are made in heaven"; but a perusal of that report shows that in America marriages are made not in heaven but very much on this earth—if not below it.

From the report we gather that each State out of the 48 States of the Union has its own code of

marriage laws. It is not difficult to perceive what confusion, injustice, and abuse such a state of affairs is bound to cause. The reasons for this bewildering variety of marriage laws in the United States are historical. Till 1800 people in Alabama lived without laws and without the right of matrimony. For years the sexes had been in the habit of pairing off together with the mutual promise of regular marriage when ministers and magistrates should make their appearance. A good deal of the irregularity of those times still survives to this State. In New England, there is mostly English law. In some of the States, the settlers from the Latin countries have influenced the laws, with the result that the marriage age in those States is low. The common law marriage—in which the living together of a man and woman under a mere secret agreement constitutes marriage—is still legal in New York, New Jersey and 22 other States.

The investigators of the Russell Sage Foundation point out in their report that in 1927, there were 700,000 child marriages (the brides being under 16 years of age): and eleven States, Maine, Rhode Island, New Jersey, Florida, Louisiana, Maryland, Mississippi, Tennessee, Virginia, Colorado, and Idaho—actually permit marriages of girls under 12 years. The results of such marriages are the physical break-down of the bride, and the economic break-down of the husband if he is too young to support a household—or incompatibility if he is too old.

Cases are reported of girls of 12 marrying in one State the father of a girl 13 years old, and the prospective bridegroom 49 years old were each given 30 days in gaol, the one for attempting to sell his daughter for \$100 and the other for attempting to buy her.

groom need appear. In others, even that is not necessary: it is sent by post. The license-clerk is generally a political appointee, and so in order to get friends for his party he pleases the marrying couple. His pay sometimes depends upon the fees he receives: and therefore it is to his advantage to wink at evasions of the law. In certain States, these clerks were discovered to be issuing licenses in blank for the convenience of their patrons. Unsupported statements of age are accepted. Where witnesses are required, any chance person is got up. If our license-clerk refuses to issue the license, the marrying couple try another; and if all clerks in that State refuse, they cross the border and get the license in the adjoining State. All over the country, there are marriage-market towns which make a regular business of runaway marriages. In each of these towns (there are 50 such towns in the United States) the "Commercial Cupid" conducts business on most efficient lines. One advertises on street cars "Marry you in two minutes": another uses on blotters the following words:—

"When you go through this town, do not fail to see the Great White Way Marrying Parlours. You will be welcomed any hour of the day or night, any day in the year. Don't miss the chance of your life."

There are other and more poetical or humorous ways of advertising also used by these Commercial Cupids.

The railway guards on certain trains going into these marriage-market towns are taught to signal the numbers of grooms and brides they have aboard. Taxi-drivers in the pay of marrying justices or parsons pick up the couples, hasten them to the license clerk, and then to the particular justice or parson who has promised to split the

# Education in a Canadian Province

(AN OUTLINE OF EDUCATION IN SASKATCHEWAN)

By HON. MR. S. J. LATTA,

*Minister of Municipal Affairs, Formerly Minister of Education.*

## THE DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION.

THE Department of Education in Saskatchewan is one of the branches of the Government of the Province and is in charge of the



THE HON. MR. LATTA

Minister of Education, who is a member of the Government. Its policies are determined by the Minister in conference with his colleagues in the Government. Since Saskatchewan attained the status of a province in 1905 there have been successively five Ministers of Education, viz. Hon. J. A. Calder, Hon. Walter Scott, Hon. W. M. Martin, Hon. S. J. Latta and Hon. J. G. Gardiner, the Premier of the Province of Saskatchewan, and the present Head of the Department. For the sake of efficiency and for the convenience of the public, the department is divided into branches, the chief of which are:—(1) The Registrar's branch, which deals with the details of departmental examinations, normal school entrance, certifica-

tion of teachers and allied matters: (2) the Chief Inspector's branch, which supervises the activities of the inspectorial staff and (3) the School Organization branch which deals with all matters concerned with the organization of new school districts, school locations, registration of debentures, interpretation of school law and kindred matters. Some of these branches are referred to more fully below.

## THE ORGANIZATION OF SCHOOL DISTRICTS

The Saskatchewan school system is subject to the very definite limitations of all systems established in sparsely settled agricultural communities. Seventy-five per cent. of the population live in rural districts. Schools are comparatively far apart—four, five, six and more miles, depending upon the nature of the settlement. The majority of the children of upwards of 4,270 rural schools have generally long distances, to travel to school. Rigs of different kinds, ponies, bicycles, automobiles and canoes are variously pressed into service. When the North-West Territories were originally surveyed, it was impossible to determine the school areas and to divide the province into districts of approximately equal assessable value, because of the tremendous variation in the productive value of land even within comparatively short distances. Experience of settlement and cultivation were necessary before school district organization could take place.

Wherever there existed a settlement with ten children between the ages of five and sixteen, the law provided the machinery for establishing a school district and operating a school. For the purpose of taxation, an area of thirty-six or fewer square miles conveniently adjacent to the settle-



ment was erected into a school district. With the development of the province, rural districts have progressed to village, town, or city districts to the number of 475 while the intervening spaces have been incorporated into school districts of the most varied size, shape and assessable value to the total number of 4776. Statistics, that will be given subsequently, will show that the rapidity of settlement has been without parallel as far as Anglo-Saxon political units are concerned, and the provision of education facilities has been a task of unique proportions. At one time, and for a considerable period, schools were being established at the rate of one a day. Fifty-seven new districts were created last year.

To cope with the increasing intensity of settlement it often becomes necessary, in order to establish a new district, to take parts of existing districts. These are difficult cases, more especially in older settlements where the schools were erected in difficult pioneer days, but with one object in view, namely, convenient, efficient education for the children, all parties generally co-operate and new schools are provided for and erected.

Any area of about twenty square miles may be erected into a school district. It requires a committee of three residents in the proposed area to petition the municipal council, or, where no municipal council exists, the Department of Education, for approval of a new school district. This given, the rate-payers vote on the question, and, if the vote is favourable, proceed to elect three trustees. The district, so furnishing the requisite documents, is then legally established by the Department. Subsequently, funds for the erection of a school building are raised by an issue of debentures and for maintenance by taxation. In case there are more than five or less than ten children of school age in a settlement a district may be established for conveying the children to an adjoining school and

the expense of such conveyance may be provided out of the funds of the district. Provision is also made for established districts, where the number of children does not warrant the operation of a school. In such cases, where the children are conveyed to an adjoining school, the Government pays one-third of the cost of conveyance provided that this cost does not exceed the grant which would have been earned by the district had the school been in operation. There is also provision for the erection of "large" districts (over thirty-six sections) for the purpose of conveying the children to a central school. Also by the extension of the boundaries of two or more districts or parts of districts such large districts may be organized. In these, conveyance is compulsory and to assist in the extra cost of operation the Government assigns in addition to the regular grant a special grant of one-third the cost of conveyance. The character of the work done in such schools does not differ from the regular curriculum but owing to the possibilities of grading and to the extremely regular attendance much better educational service is given. The largest of these districts, forty in number, is seventy-six and a half square miles and the smallest thirty-six and a half square miles. The tax rate in such districts, notwithstanding the special grant, is generally higher than in ordinary school districts. Though it is evident that every possible provision consistent with modern requirements has been made in the school law for taking care of the education of the children, and it is doubtful if any province can show a larger percentage of its school population receiving education and this notwithstanding the handicaps of distances, climate and pioneer conditions.

Separate schools may be established within the boundaries of any district by a Protestant or Roman Catholic minority, but as special privileges do not accompany them, except the privilege of segregation, little advantage has been taken of

the law. Only twenty-three Roman Catholic and eight Protestant separate schools have come into existence out of a total of 4,776 districts.

#### FINANCIAL SUPPORT

The revenue of school districts is mainly received from taxation, Government and municipal grants, and fees. Owing to conditions to which reference has been made, the mill rate shows great differences and varies from a low rate of two mills on the dollar to as high as thirty in rural districts. The only equalising agency is the Government grant which amounts to roughly seventeen per cent. of the expenditure in rural schools, fourteen per cent. in urban schools and thirty per cent. in high schools. The general question of the equalization of education on costs has been frequently debated, but the difficulty of devising acceptable methods of equalization, under the present units, has so far proved insurmountable. In high school districts, and these may be established by any town municipality under the provisions of the Secondary Education Act, a high school tax is levied separate from the public school-tax. Advantage has not been taken generally of the provisions of the Secondary Education Act, but elementary system, even in large municipalities, have been extended into continuation schools under certain circumstances, which may maintain classes in all the grades of the secondary school. The high school rate varies in different municipalities between a minimum of 2-7 and a maximum of 7-mills on the dollar. The total amount raised by taxation in 1927 was \$10,415,004.73 for public schools and \$181,912.59 for high schools. The latter are the high schools organized under the Secondary Education Act and only nineteen are in operation. The actual amount raised for high school purposes is not known, since 321 districts have definitely organized continuation schools, which are in effect high schools, and 1,556 other districts carry on some high school work.

The method of obtaining the proceeds of taxes is laid down in the various municipal Acts. School districts in remote areas not municipally organized, appoint an assessor and collector and make their own levy. The system of Government grant is simple. All elementary schools receive a grant of \$1.50 per teaching day up to 210 days in the calendar year. The rate of grant falls at the rate of one cent. per day for each day the school in actual operation falls short of 185 days. A sliding scale operates in the larger centres, e.g., town districts by which schools maintaining between six and ten rooms in charge of separate teachers receive \$1.30 per teaching day per room, between eleven and twenty-five inclusive, \$1.10, and over twenty-five, 90 cents. per teaching day. All continuation and high school rooms are paid a special grant of \$3.00 per teaching day in addition to the regular grant. It is believed that these provincial grants for Secondary Education are of an amount without parallel in Canada. The next decade or two will probably see greater provincial assistance to phases of education leading to home making and to agriculture together with special provision for physically and mentally underprivileged children.

Trade and technical schools and courses though desirable in the larger industrial centres are not generally essential in the province. A period of industrial expansion has undoubtedly commenced but the demand for skilled labour is mainly confined to the larger cities. There is hardly any limit, however, to the market for products and it would seem wise for the educational system, in extending its scope, to have regard to the wide opportunities for the development of the products of the field, forest and mine, to fit our boys and girls especially for success in the vocations allied with the great sources of national wealth. In other words, public provision will be made for education in accordance with the

definite needs of the greater number of children.

Fees may be charged for high school education as high as \$25 per annum in the case of the children of resident rate-payers and of \$50 per pupil in the case of non-resident pupils. This is a form of co-operation in the maintenance of what have come to be very expensive educational institutions. But there is no reason why any pupil should pay a fee; the fee is not compulsory and it is anticipated that only in the case of school districts where the cost of higher education is a real burden on the taxpayers will fees eventually be charged. It may be noted at this point that almost one-third of the total revenue of the provincial Government is paid for the various educational services under Government directions.

The chief source of Government revenue in relation to its expenditure for education is the School Bonds Fund. New buildings are financed by issues of debentures. At the close of 1927 the school "plant" of the province was valued at \$22,712,472,653.04, with an outstanding debenture indebtedness of \$11,797,472.91. The rural schools have assets of \$12,500,000 with outstanding debentures of \$2,788,956.65. These figures indicate that within the short history of this educational system a large amount of new wealth has been created in this province, and that for educational purposes money has been generously supplied.

#### COURSE OF STUDIES.

The course of elementary studies is divided somewhat arbitrarily into a course for Grades I to VIII inclusive. The course for the first eight grades does not differ materially either in the subject matter or scope from the school curricula of other provinces for these grades, except that French is an optional subject for the grade VIII public examination. The courses for grades IX to XII are designed to provide (a) general education, (b) a course leading to

academic diplomas for second and first class teachers, (c) matriculation and (d) vocational education. The standards of proficiency for the two main courses, teachers and matriculation, are set by public departmental examinations held annually in the month of June.

Vocational day schools and evening schools have been developed at several of the larger high schools. The day vocational school emphasises commercial and home economics courses, the evening school several types of industrial work.

The examination system in Saskatchewan has been reduced practically to its lowest terms. A standard of entrance to the high school grades is set by the Department by means of the annual grade VIII examination. In certain types of schools pupils are not required to pass this examination but may be recommended by the principal of the school. Diplomas are issued on such recommendation. The teachers of the various schools act as presiding examiners at their own schools, the examination being conducted during the month of June, while the teachers are still on duty. The answer papers of the candidates are examined by a board of sub-examiners chosen from the more successful teachers in the profession.

#### LIBRARIES

Every school in the province is required to maintain a library consisting of books chosen from an authorized list. Every school is required to expend annually on books the sum of \$10 for each room in operation. At the end of 1927 these libraries contained upwards of one half million books.

#### INSPECTORS OF SCHOOLS

The province employs forty-six Inspectors of Schools each of whom has definite headquarters and is responsible for the inspection and supervision of the schools in his division. Their work is under the direction of the Chief Inspector of Schools. The inspectors are civil servants appointed by the Minister and paid by the Government. Substantial

allowances are made for travelling expenses. The Chief Inspector also has the assistance of two Inspectors of High Schools whose duties include the inspection of continuation schools. Two special inspectors assist the inspector in charge of school district organisation in dealing with the more difficult cases arising in his branch.

#### SASKATCHEWAN SYSTEM

The Saskatchewan system employs both a Deputy Minister and a Superintendent, the former having charge of the general administration of the educational system. The Superintendent is responsible for the academic side of departmental work and has charge of departmental examinations, courses of study for elementary, vocational and normal schools, departmental regulations and the authorization of text and reference books. There is also an Educational Council, two of whom must be Roman Catholics, all appointed by the Lieutenant Governor in Council. All changes proposed respecting the examining, licensing and grading of teachers, courses of study and text and reference books are prepared by the Superintendent and submitted to this Council for discussion and report. The Minister may also refer matters to the Council and the Council may consider any question concerning the Educational system and report to the Minister. The powers of the Council are advisory only.

#### TEACHERS

From September 1, 1905, to December 31, 1927, Saskatchewan granted certificates to 11,244 teachers of various qualifications from outside the province and trained 20, 153 in her normal schools. At the present time, and in spite of the fact that the department no longer issues third class certificates, the demand for teachers is more than accommodated by the provincial normal schools. The great majority of the teachers are women and in large numbers they have married and remained in the province. Further, the

opportunities in other callings have drawn men from the profession. The situation, however, in regard to men is improving. With the number of Saskatchewan-born teachers increasing steadily, there is now a real opportunity to test the product of our educational system and to amend any deficiencies that may be found.

#### SCHOOL HYGIENE

School Hygiene, formerly administered through the Department of Education, has been transferred to the Department of Health. Subsequent statistics will give some indication as to the work being done by this branch.

#### COMPULSORY SCHOOL ATTENDANCE

All pupils between the ages of seven and fifteen, with minor exemptions, are obliged to attend school. Prosecution for irregular attendance cannot be undertaken, however, if a pupil has passed grade VIII examination. Children are required to make at least eighty per cent. of the possible attendances in any month or prosecution may follow. The School Attendance Act is enforced by local attendance officers, one in each district, appointed by the board and no grant is payable until such officer is appointed. The local attendance officers report monthly to the Chief Attendance Officer at the Department of Education as to the conditions of attendance, warning notices and prosecutions. A census of every district of children within the compulsory ages is made twice a year and if children do not attend at least 80% of the time, the parent or guardian will be prosecuted. The ratio of the percentage of attendance to enrolment has improved each year since this Act came into force in 1917.

#### SCHOOL AGRICULTURE

The residue of the work in this branch, since the withdrawal of the Dominion Subsidy in aid of agricultural education, is in charge of a clerk in the Department of Education. By means of bulletins, lantern slides and correspondence the branch encourages tree plant-

ing (trees being obtained free from the forestry farm established by the Dominion Government at Indian Head, shrubs and perennials being supplied free by the Provincial Government nurseries) various farm projects undertaken by boys' and girls' clubs, school and home gardening, Rural Education Associations, school fairs and bird clubs. The lantern slide library, sets therefrom being loaned free of charge to schools and other educational authorities, contains upwards of ten thousand slides. Lectures accompany the sets of slides. This branch also possesses a number of Saskatchewan films dealing with education.

#### FREE TEXT BOOK ACT

Under this statute the Department of Education is empowered to issue school books free of charge. Up to the present only readers have been supplied. A new reader is issued to each pupil on entrance or promotion from grades I to V. The statute also empowers local boards to supply free to their pupils all text-books and supplies as they may deem advisable.

#### OUTPOST CORRESPONDENCE SCHOOL

This branch of the department has been established to take care of the children in the remoter parts of the province, where, owing to an insufficient number of pupils, no school district can be organized. Graduated lessons are sent out to the children in this unique school and the exercises thereon returned and corrected. The progress made by some of the pupils is amazing. The service is available to children in unorganized territory and to children physically unable to attend school.

#### EDUCATION OF SOLDIERS' DEPENDENT CHILDREN

The statute providing financial assistance to the children of deceased and disabled soldiers is peculiar to Saskatchewan. It embodies a unique memorial to our soldiers. The allowance under this statute amounts to \$240 per annum payable in ten monthly instalments and is available to the children of deceased or disabled soldiers as soon

as they enter the high school grades. It may be given for three years or until the pupil has completed grade XI or Junior Matriculation. The limiting condition is found in the clause that requires that the beneficiaries must be children of soldiers resident in Saskatchewan at the time of enlistment. Up until the end of 1927, 438 children had received this assistance. Nearly \$179,290.02 has been expended already by this province for this splendid service. In case two children in a family are eligible for assistance the allowance to the second child is reduced to \$18 and in the case of three to \$18 and \$12 for the second and third respectively. Several families have thus been in receipt of allowances amounting to \$54 a month. Undoubtedly but for this generous provision many of our soldiers' children would have been required by necessity to relinquish their studies upon reaching the high school grades. This legislation has been a great boon.

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E. Sept. '30.

# SOCIAL LEGISLATION

By

MR. K. G. KRISHNASWAMI AIYAR.

HOW far the Legislature of a country could interfere in matters social is a question that cannot be decided as an abstract proposition of law or polity. The normal course will, no doubt, be to allow the societies comprised within a political unit to develop their social institutions in a manner that will secure to them progress without violently snapping their traditional moorings. Much more is the case of social customs which are intermingled with the religious beliefs of the members comprising the societies. But it has to be conceded that on occasions the legislature will have to interfere in order to correct abuses which are likely to undermine the principles of morality and the safety of the members. Though the customs are based upon traditions combined with religious beliefs in several instances, yet a proper investigation will reveal the fact that such traditions, if they are to stand the test of time, have to base themselves upon principles of morality and the well-being of the public. In ancient India even the Laws governing the relations between man and man, the subject and the sovereign, appear to have been the products of sages who had the leisure and faculty to apply their minds to the past, present and future, to harmonise the religious, the political, social and ethical factors that have a bearing on the well-being of the society. The king as the head of the state appears to have confined himself to the proper administration of the law with the principles enunciated by the sages. As the sages were not actually engaged in the daily problems of working for their bread, or luxuries, or glory they were able to take a dispassionate view of all the circumstances that came within their purview undisturbed by considerations of interest, of self, family, class or caste. Modern society has no counterpart to the ancient law givers actually

functioning on the lines adopted by them. Without any other authority than the reverence naturally and justly due to them the ancient sages were able to have their conclusions accepted and acted upon by those in whose hands the actual administration was vested. On account of the diversity of religious beliefs, conflict of class and caste interests prevailing in modern India, even if such sages were to function now there is no guarantee that what they promulgated will be accepted and acted upon.

The contact with England with its gradually evolved parliamentary institutions, legislature and judicial precedents has effected such a revolution in the mental attitude of the people of this country that it is impossible for any class of people, however high their attainments may be, to induce the acceptance of their views without the discussions of their pros and cons. For *Populi Vox Dei* is essentially a democratic doctrine and India has actually become a democratic country though it has not yet fully divested itself of the aristocratic tendencies of the past. Aristocracy of birth, wealth or learning will not be tolerated to be paraded in public without the mask of its being subordinated to the welfare of the general public. Hence the promulgation of laws of any kind by a body of experts and their acceptance as a matter of course cannot come within the ambit of practical polity in Modern India.

Legislation has become in India, as in other countries, part and parcel of the sovereign authority. Legislation has become the inalienable right of the representatives of the nation both in England and India though in the latter country the legislature has not got that supremacy that it enjoys in the former. In the West, the limits of the interference of the Legislature with all the concerns of the national life are not defined

except in the United States of America, where the fundamental articles of the constitution could not be infringed by any act of legislation.

On the memorable and historic occasion when India passed from a Chartered Company into the direct hands of the Sovereign, it got a charter that its religion will not be interfered with. This safeguard which is also embodied in the reformed Government of India Act carries with it the necessary implication that but for it the sovereign authority is fully competent to legislate in all matters. In cases of social legislation, the test to be applied is not the competency of the legislature to pass a social law but is whether the legislation violates the pledge given by the sovereign authority. In applying this test, one must necessarily bear in mind the differences between the interference with the fundamental principles of a religion and the interference with institutions to which a religious significance is attached in order to impart to them a sanctity which will stand in the way of their being acted upon or being brushed aside in accordance with the whims and fancies of the moment. The best example is the marriage institution, and the Sarda Act is being loudly assailed by a section of the Brahmins who claim to be the sole custodians of Brahmin authority. That marriage is not merely a civil contract but is also a sacrament, is a doctrine not peculiar to Hindu India but is also shared by Christian Europe. The performance of a marriage is attended with the invocation of the blessings of the Divine, and in the Divine presence, in both the cases. If the interference with the marriage laws is regarded as a sacrilege it must be to both in Christian Europe as well as in Hindu India. Legislation regulating the age at which marriages may be made is not considered objectionable in Europe. Nor could it be considered objectionable in India except by a small section—whose custom for a considerable time has been to marry girls before they attain puberty. The real ques-

tion is whether the custom is one so inseparably connected with the Hindu religion that its non-adherence is tantamount to violating the religion itself. Hinduism is not the peculiar religion of these small groups alone, but is the religion also of the vast majority who perform post-puberty marriage. Nor can pre-puberty marriage be considered inseparably connected with what may be called the Brahminical Hindu religion. It cannot be gainsaid that among some sections of the Brahmins post-puberty marriage takes place and such Brahmins have not lost their status as Brahmins by such a custom. There are not separate religions for different sections of the Brahmin community. Whatever may be the origin of the custom of pre-puberty marriage and whatever may be its period of existence, there remains the fact that its supporters have to resort to the Smritis which apply to all Dvijas alike. Such Smritis are capable of such interpretations as will suit respectively the supporters of the pre-puberty or post-puberty marriage each side maintaining that its own interpretation is the correct one. The Kshatriya and Valaya are also included in the Dvijas. The possible disqualification of a man who has married a Vrishali for officiating in certain religious ceremonies cannot in any way show that a man marrying a girl who has attained puberty ceases to belong to that religion. Vrishali is a Sanskrit term meaning a Sudra. It is also applied to a woman in her menses. Before proscribing a man who marries a girl after she attains her puberty the meaning of the word Vrishali has to be extended to girls not married before they attain their puberty. When it is considered that our present day Brahmins are spending their lives in occupations which can be resorted to by any person whatsoever, it cannot be complained, such Brahmins' religion is interfered with if they are asked to conform to marriage laws which have been found to be necessary by scientific research for the preservation of the

nation in a strong and healthy state instead of filling it with weak bodied members who will be burden to themselves as well as also to their fellowmen. The prevalence of undue infant mortality has been scientifically traced to girls below sixteen giving birth to children. The average longevity of the products of very early maternity is considerably less than what prevails in communities where such a thing does not prevail. Arguments founded on early deaths in some places on account of poverty, intemperance and crowded habitations cannot serve as answers to the above circumstance. The legitimate course will be to see that efforts are made to counteract all the said evils.

The institution of marriage has now virtually become subject to bargains about dowries and presents which are carried on with a zest that will outbeat that which is being displayed in commercial transactions. Avarice is the ruling passion in the bridegroom market and the custom of marrying girls before puberty has placed the bridegroom's party on a considerably advantageous position over the party belonging to the bride. It is a matter of common knowledge that many Brahmin families have been financially ruined on account of the heavy expenses involved in the marriage of girls. Some Non-Brahmins have recently caught the vice of *rara silkam* and unless they take care they will also involve themselves in financial ruin. Side by side with the ever expanding bridegroom price, the scales of other presents are rising in a proportionate manner. Monies and presents got without effort naturally lead to extravagance with the result that while the bride's family is ruined, there is no adequate corresponding gain to the bridegroom's family. The position of affairs has reached a crisis and it will not be incorrect to say that in families of moderate means, the brothers would prefer to give an equal share to the girls also in order to secure their shares at least from being

encroached upon the marriage and other expenses of their sisters. The commercial spirit so inseparably connected with the marriage negotiation has degraded the institution of marriage and it would not be incorrect to say that virtually marriage has lost its character as a sacrament. The moral poison introduced into the body of the society is making such a rapid head that in course of time there will be not only financial bankruptcy but also moral bankruptcy. No doubt the Sarda Act is not going to have the magical effect of putting a stop to the present evils all at once. But it will ent the advantageous ground under the feet of the bridegroom's party and pave the way of girls remaining unmarried until they attain sufficient discretion to choose a partner in life with less misery to their parents and to themselves. A mere permissive legislation will not have this effect for the reason that the parents will not be able to resist the tyranny of the so called orthodox section and will continue in their present ruinous course.

When such evils have crept into the society, it is the legitimate function of the legislature to step in.

As democratic ideas develop themselves in the mind of the nation distinctions in privileges between castes and sexes founded on rules laid down at an age when such distinctions were considered desirable or necessary must disappear and it will be the duty of the legislature to step in to effect such a purpose. It will be unreasonable to perpetuate different treatment of communities and sexes for all time to come.

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# Cheques in Relation to Bankers\*

BY PROF. M. L. TANNAN, M. COM. (Birm). BAR-AT-LAW,  
Principal, Sydenham College of Commerce and Economics, Bombay.

THE origin of the cheque may be traced to the drafts drawn on the London Goldsmiths by their customers, when the latter wished to make



PROF. TANNAN

payments to third parties. The following are the true specimens of two of these early cheques :†

(1)

Mr. Child—Pray pay unto the bearer the sum of twenty pounds and place it to the account of

London, August 29, 1683.

F. Pollexen.

(2)

At sight hereof pay unto Charles Dancombe Esq. or order the sum of four hundred pounds, and place it to the account of

Bolton, 4th March, 1684.

Your assured friend,  
Winchester.

Printed cheques by the use of which depositors could withdraw on demand such amounts as they required were issued by the London private banks about 1780. It was not, however, till the passing of Peel's Bank Act of 1844 by which a practical monopoly of note issue was given to the Bank of England that the other Joint Stock Banks began to take steps to develop the use of cheque currency

which in course of time came to be a characteristic feature of modern banking.

For the legal definition of the cheque we have to turn to section 6 of the Indian Negotiable Instruments Act, 1881, which defines a cheque as a bill of exchange drawn on a specified banker and not expressed to be payable otherwise than on demand. A bill of exchange is again defined by Section 5 of the said Act as an instrument in writing containing an unconditional order signed by the maker directing a certain person to pay a certain sum of money to or to the order of a certain person or the bearer of the instrument. This definition differs materially from the one given in the English Bills of Exchange Act, 1882, as the latter requires the order to be addressed by one person to another. The first requisite of a cheque is, therefore, that it must be an unconditional order in writing. Thus instructions given orally to a banker to pay a certain sum of money cannot be treated as a cheque. Again, the writing of a cheque by pencil is prohibited by the practice of banking, the only general exception known being the cheques drawn in pencil by soldiers at the front during the last War. Secondly, a cheque must contain an unconditional order. The word 'order', however, need not actually figure in the body of the cheque or elsewhere. Generally, the order to a banker is expressed by the word 'pay'. An instrument, however, in the following form cannot be regarded as one containing an order :

Mr. R. B. Paymaster, please let the bearer have seventy rupees and place it to my account, and you will please oblige.

Then the order must be an unconditional one. This means that the payment of a cheque should not depend upon the fulfilment of any conditions either by the payee or some one else. Instructions to the banker, however, to debit the amount

\* Adapted from a lecture delivered by me under the auspices of the Indian Institute of Bankers, in Bombay on August 1, 1922.

† See Tannan's "Banking Law and Practice in India", page 100, Butterworth & Co., Ltd. Calcutta. Price Rs. 7-8-0.

of the cheque to a particular account, to pay the amount for securities which the customer may have purchased or request addressed to the payee to sign the receipt on the back of the cheque will not make the order a conditional one. Thirdly, the cheque must be drawn on a specified banker, and not on any other person. Thus the supply bills on Government treasuries are not on any other person. This is the supply bills on Government treasuries are not cheques, as the latter are not bankers. The name of the banker must also be specified. These difficulties will, however, be obviated by the use of printed cheque forms. Though the law does not require depositors to draw cheques on the printed forms supplied to them by their banker, the latter may lay down a general rule that he shall not honour cheques unless they are drawn on the forms supplied by him to the customers. But in the absence of such an agreement between a banker and his customers, the former will have to accept cheques drawn on ordinary slips of paper. The advantages of printed cheque forms are that forgery is rendered more difficult as the forger has to obtain one of the forms supplied by a bank to its customer whose signature he wishes to forge, while the customer is freed from the trouble of drafting cheques in the correct form. Again, alterations made on printed forms can be easily detected as also the customers can more easily stop the payment of a particular cheque drawn on a form supplied to him by intimating to the paying banker merely the number of the cheque.

Draft drawn by one office of a bank on another office can be treated as cheque in India although it is not so in England, as in that country for a draft to be a cheque, it must amongst other requisites satisfy the condition that the drawer and the drawee of the same are two distinct parties and obviously a bank and its branches cannot be considered as such.\* Then the

order must be for the payment of a specified amount. A customer may also draw a cheque in terms of a foreign currency, the practice in India being to pay the amount in Indian currency according to the rate of conversion if one is mentioned in the cheque, or failing that, according to the banker's buying rate of exchange on that day. Lastly, a cheque must be payable on demand, though like the word 'order' the term 'on demand' need not figure in the cheque.

We shall now pass on to the consideration of certain important precautions which a banker must take before honouring cheques drawn upon him. The payment of a cheque by a banker carries with it certain risks for the latter. In the absence of sufficient funds at the credit of the customer or an overdraft promised by him, the banker should refuse to honour the cheque. A banker, however, should avoid dishonouring a cheque wrongly, or else he will be liable to pay damages to his customers. The first thing a banker should do on a cheque being presented to him for payment is to see whether it is an open or a crossed cheque. In no case should a crossed cheque be cashed at the counter, unless when presented by a banker. When it is crossed specially to more than one banker except when crossed to an agent for the purposes of collection, the banker on whom it is drawn should refuse payment, if a cheque crossed generally is paid otherwise than to a banker, or if a cheque crossed specially is paid to a banker other than the banker named or his agent for collection, being a banker, the paying banker becomes answerable not only to the drawer, but also incurs liability to the true owner of the cheque for any loss he may sustain owing to the cheque having been so paid.† A banker may also refuse to honour a cheque which is not drawn on him or on the particular bank office at which it is presented, in the absence of instructions to the

\* See Tannan's "Banking Law and Practice in India," pages 112 and 113.

† See Section 129 of the Negotiable Instruments Act, 1881.

contrary from the office on which it is drawn. He should also refuse to honour a mutilated or a torn cheque, unless guaranteed by the collecting banker or confirmed by the drawer. No cheque should be honoured unless it is dated, and no post-dated cheque should be honoured before the due date, as the drawer has a right to stop the payment during the interval, and as the banker cannot debit the amount to the account of the customer earlier than the ostensible date of the cheque. Again, if as a result of honouring a post dated cheque before its due date, another cheque drawn by the same customer in the interval is dishonoured by the banker owing to want of sufficient funds, the customer will be entitled to claim damages for the wrongful dishonour. The paying banker will also forfeit the statutory protection on the ground of the payment of the post-dated cheque before its due date being not in due course. Stale and out-of-date cheques also should not be honoured without confirmation from the drawer. In India ordinarily, it is the practice of bankers to regard cheques which have been in circulation for more than six months as stale ones, though the time limit might vary in the different parts of the country.

Another precaution which the paying banker has to take is with regard to the endorsements on the cheques presented for payment. In case of bearer cheques the banker need not trouble himself about the same. In case of cheques originally payable to the payee or bearer, but which were altered into "order" ones, it was brought home to the bankers in India in 1925\* that under the Indian law such instruments could be treated as payable to order, and consequently the endorsements on them should be examined until the position of the bankers in this country is brought in line with that of the bankers in England by the amendment of the law.

In the case of order cheques, a banker must see that the endorsements are in order. Thus if a cheque is made payable to 'R. M. Chetty' or order, the endorsement will not be regular if the cheque is endorsed 'R. M. Chety,' or if it included a courtesy or other title. It is, therefore, necessary to see that the endorsements on order cheques are apparently in order, which is not the case when the spelling in the endorsement differs from that of the payee's name as given in the cheque. As the banker, however, cannot obviously be expected to know the signatures of the payees of the cheques drawn on him, he is protected in case of a forged endorsement, provided the payment is made in due course.\* Section 10 of the Negotiable Instruments Act defines payment in due course as

payment in accordance with the apparent tenor of the instrument in good faith and without negligence to any person in possession thereof under circumstances which do not afford a reasonable ground for believing that he is not entitled to receive payment of the amount therein mentioned.

Payment of a cheque with an irregular endorsement is regarded as evidence of the negligence of the paying banker, who will consequently be deprived of his statutory protection referred to above. After satisfying himself regarding the above points, the paying banker has to see that the cheque which he is required to honour is one signed by his customer or some other person duly authorised by him. In case the paying banker is not supplied with the specimen signature of the authorised agent, the cheque cannot be honoured. While the banker has to carry out the instructions of his customers, the former has at the same time to safeguard his own interests. If, therefore, the signature on the cheque happens to be different from the specimen signature supplied by the customer, the banker will be justified in returning the cheque with a slip bearing the words "Drawer's signature differs from the specimen signature supplied—". Of course, if the banker is sure that

\* Forbes, Forbes, Campbell & Co., *vs.* Official Assignee, Bombay. (Bombay Law Reporter, XXVII, page 34.)

\* See section 83 of the Negotiable Instruments Act, 1881

the signature on the cheque is that of his customer who has drawn the cheque, he can safely honour the cheque as his customer cannot dispute the payment on that ground. It may be added that the banker has no right to debit the customer's account with the amount of a cheque bearing forged signatures except in cases where the customer has led the banker to believe in the genuineness of the signature or when the former is a party to the forging of the same.

Having considered the position of the paying banker, we shall now turn our attention to the consideration of the position of the collecting banker. First of all, it must be clearly understood that a banker has no protection in regard to the collection of open cheques, as the statutory protection given to him under section 131 of the Negotiable Instruments Act, 1881, is confined to cheques crossed before these are received by him. The reason for this discriminating between the crossed and the open cheques is that while the latter can be collected by customers themselves, the former can only be collected through a banker. To claim the statutory protection, the collecting banker has to collect the amount in good faith and without negligence. While good faith on the part of bankers is generally presumed, they must use all care to avoid the charge of negligence. Thus a banker should not collect an order cheque if it bears an irregular endorsement, while in the case of *per pro* endorsements he should see that it is made by a duly authorised person. While collecting cheques for institutions whose secretaries are allowed to endorse, care should be taken not to collect such cheques for the credit of their personal accounts. Again, a banker should see that a cheque is crossed before he accepts it for collection from a customer. It should also be remembered that a collecting banker can claim the statutory protection only for those cheques which he collects as an agent, and not for those for which he receives payment as holder for value.

When he purchases an out-station cheque, and gives cash for the same, he is regarded as the buyer of the cheque, and consequently no protection can be claimed for the same.

As the collection of the cheque must be on behalf of a customer, it is necessary to know who can be called a customer. According to the older view represented by Sir John Paget, "To constitute a customer, there must be a recognisable course or habit of dealing in the nature of regular banking business." According to this, two essential conditions were required to be satisfied, in order to enable a bank to treat a person as its customer. In the first place, there must be a recognisable course or habit of dealing between the bank and the person, and it is probably due to this view that bankers refused to open new accounts with crossed cheques given for collection. In *Lutbrooke v. Todd*,\* however, Mr. Justice Bailhache said that the relationship began as soon as the first cheque was paid in, and accepted by the banker for collection. In *Commissioners of Taxation v. English, Scottish, and Australian Bank Ltd.*† the Privy Council held that the word customer signifies a relationship in which duration is not of essence and includes a person who has opened an account on the day before paying in a cheque to which he has no title. The second requirement that the dealing must be of a banking nature can be understood by knowing what are the different kinds of banking activities. Surely, a person who buys a postage stamp occasionally from the bank's cashier, or gets change for an Indian currency note, cannot be treated as a customer. In this connection it is necessary to remember that the banker has to show due diligence in the matter of collecting cheques. Thus he must not make delay in presenting the cheque and should also, in case of its dishonour, inform his customer either on the day of the dishonour, or, at the latest, on the following working day.

\* 1913. 12, Common cases. page 356.  
† [1906] A.C. 673.

# The Indian Princes and Swaraj

BY PROF. HARI CHARAN MUKERJI.

COMMENTING on the fourfold demand advanced by the Garkwar of Baroda in a state banquet given in honour of the visit of the Viceroy, viz., the enjoyment of autonomy by the States within their borders, respect of their treaty obligations by the Government of India, the setting up of some independent court of arbitration to which all disputes between the States and the latter can be referred to and lastly the enjoyment by the States of an effective voice in the councils of the Empire proportionate to their importance, the STATESMAN observes that the Independentists as well as hot-headed Liberals should do well to note these points and to concede these demands for they all seem to be just and legitimate. The nationalists also urge no objection to these provided that the Princes first of all set their own houses in order and concede the just demands of their own subjects who have been long agitating for the most elementary rights of citizenship. These can be summed up as security of life and property, freedom of speech and association and of constitutional agitation. The citizens of the States have also got another grievance, viz., that the greater portion of the revenue of most of the States instead of being employed for the welfare of the people is spent on frivolous luxuries and amusements. The rulers of most States have not ceased to look upon them as their personal property or *remiadari*. There is the greatest need of the drawing up of a civil list strictly determining the sum to be spent for the upkeep of the Durbar and the pensions to be paid to the relatives of the Princes as well as others. The British Indians can very well realise the nervousness of these Princes when everything is in the melting pot and momentous changes are foreshadowed. They also realise that without the goodwill and co-operation of the Princes, the establishment of Swaraj

will be nothing short of an impossibility. But consistent with their principles no other course is left open to them than to openly and unequivocally profess every sympathy for the subjects of those states who are agitating for constitutional reforms engaged as they themselves are in a similar struggle with an irresponsible bureaucracy. They would have been the worst hypocrites if they have done anything else with a view to placate the Princes whose co-operation they need so badly. That would have been cutting the ground entirely from under their own feet. Moreover, in a free or self-governing India, the existence of these autocratic states will be an anachronism and a source of danger both to the Princes and people of India, for autocracy in the states will not fail to react on British India in various ways. These will be the plague spots from which infection will spread in all directions. The Princes will do well to realise that the death-knell of autocracy has long been sounded and that they should do well to adapt themselves to changed circumstances.

With this proviso, the nationalists will have no objection whatsoever in accepting *in toto* the terms of the Princes. All other demands including that for an impartial tribunal to which they can appeal in case of difference with the Government of India as well as their claim to have an effective voice in the councils of the Empire are perfectly just and legitimate, and no nationalist who is worth his salt will take exception to them.

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## Sovereign Rights of Indian Princes

By Dr. Tarakanath Das, M.A. It is an attempt to define and to find a solution for this question. Rs. 1.

G. A. Natesan & Co., Publishers, George Town, Madras.

The writer goes on to say that Brahminism "it seems is not inconsistent with the open profession of Christianity, or, at least Unitarianism which is an approach to the higher faith, the people of that persuasion recognising the authority of Christ as a Teacher and Prophet, and opposing Polytheism and the worship of idols." Surely, Mr. Editor, this is neither candid nor fair. What would be said of the liberality of the Catholics who should write the following paragraph:—The British Government at last determined to support the Missionary cause by sending to India a bishop, for the purpose of converting the Natives to Christianity, or at least to the Church of Englandism, which is an approach to the higher faith, the people of that persuasion recognising the Athanasian Creed and opposing the abolition of tithes.

The distinction attempted to be drawn between Christianity and Unitarianism is unfair, inasmuch as it might equally well pass for a definition of Mohammedanism. Would that all classes of Christians imitated the humility of St. Paul, who says, "It any man trust to himself that he is Christ's, let him of himself think this again, that he is Christ's even so are we Christ's."

Moreover, a similar argument took place in the columns of another local periodical between Dr. Fairbridge and a Mr. A. J. Jardine, a journalist, who was also the librarian of the Cape Town Public Library. The periodical in question was called the CAPE OF GOOD HOPE LITERARY GAZETTE, of which Jardine was the Editor. Therein—in the issues of May 4 and June 1, 1831, respectively—are to be witnessed communications regarding Raja Ram Mohun Roy's theological stand-point from both angles of thought; Jardine being a strict fundamentalist in Christian philosophy. On the whole, it was more vehement in tone than was the discussion in the SOUTH AFRICAN COMMERCIAL ADVERTISER.

Then, too, in the course of one's study of the literary material at hand, we gather that, while at Cape Town, Raja Ram Mohun Roy cemented his friendships with one or two local prominent people. This is to be plainly seen in the case of Dr. Fairbridge. In the year 1833, when the Raja Ram Mohun Roy died in England, Dr. Fairbridge wrote a long letter to the S. A. COMMERCIAL ADVERTISER, commenting on his death and praiseworthy character. When at the Cape, Raja Ram Mohun Roy, "expressed to the writer of this letter his regret that there was no Unitarian Church in Cape Town, and

generously offered his pecuniary assistance in forwarding so desirable an object. In my daily intercourse with him, theology was a frequent topic of conversation, and consequently, I had a favourable opportunity of knowing his sentiments on this important subject. So far from doubting his Christianity, I thought his zeal amounted almost to enthusiasm, for he talked of visiting America, for the sole purpose of having an interview with that eloquent champion of Christianity, Dr. Channing." In fact, let it be noted, that the Unitarian Church was founded in the 'sixties of the nineteenth century, so that Raja Ram Mohun Roy was a little bit more advanced in this particular matter than most of the South Africans of his generation.

Apart from this, Raja Ram Mohun Roy was honoured at Cape Town in other ways. For instance, he was elected an honorary member of one of South Africa's earliest learned body, which included in its membership roll several of the greatest scientists of the day. This learned body was known as the "South African Literary and Scientific Institution" (See the SOUTH AFRICAN QUARTERLY JOURNAL for 1833, vol. 2, page 23).

He was also one of the first subscribers to the University of Cape Town, which was established in 1829, and is one of the oldest academies of its kind in South Africa (*vide* THE HISTORY OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN COLLEGE, by Prof. W. Ritchie, vol. 2, page 810.) Recently, this University celebrated its centenary, but no mention was made of Raja Ram Mohun Roy's connection with it. He is the first Indian to be so linked with any institution of learning in South Africa—indeed, the first non-European to deserve this honour. And thus his name should be treasured at all times by those who uphold India's credit in the Southern Hemisphere.

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# The Round Table Conference

By MR. R. G. PRADHAN, M.L.C.

INDIA has now reached a stage in her struggle for *Swaraj*, in which it seems almost certain that the relations between Great Britain and herself will either be permanently placed on a satisfactory basis, or strained still further with the result that the movement for national independence will increase in strength. There can be no doubt that the decision of His Majesty's Government to hold a Round Table Conference to discuss the question of constitutional reforms, with a view to formulating proposals to be subsequently laid before Parliament, is a wise one. But everything depends upon the terms of reference to the Conference, and the success of its deliberations. It is obvious that the terms must be quite comprehensive; they must, above all, include the question of the immediate establishment of responsible government and Dominion Status. They must not be based on the principle of 'the gradualness' of progress, of constitutional advance by stages or in instalments to be determined by Parliament from time to time. The conditions and qualifications laid down in the Declaration of 1917 and in the preamble to the Government of India Act, 1919, for the full realisation of responsible government, must not be insisted on; and the question of the immediate establishment of responsible government must not be excluded from the purview of the Conference. If this question is not included in the terms of reference, the Conference is foredoomed to failure. Political India will, in that case, be perfectly justified in boycotting it just as she boycotted the Statutory Commission. The assumption that India is not

yet ripe for full responsible government, and, therefore, the scheme of reforms to be formulated for adoption by Parliament must necessarily fall short of it is one which she cannot, and will not, accept; and if the Conference is to enter on its task on this basis, it is no use convening it at all, as, in that case, leaders of political India will be bound to refuse to take part in it. The first condition, then, of the success of the Conference is that it must be quite open to it to consider the question of the immediate establishment of full responsible government. This is such an obvious condition of India's co-operation and of the success of the Conference, that it will be extremely strange if the question is not included in the terms of reference.

But this is not the only condition upon which the success of the Conference depends. It must be a heart-to-heart Conference of equals and friends, meeting together to solve, in all sincerity and with perfect goodwill one of the biggest problems which the British Government have to face, upon the satisfactory decision of which hang great issues involving, not only the well-being, progress and happiness of three hundred millions of the world's population, but also the supreme ends of international peace, harmony and solidarity. As long as India is denied her full political status, and, consequently, as she continues to seethe with unrest and discontent which naturally excite foreign ambition, hatred and intrigue, international peace is an impossibility. The great issues involved in the outcome of the Conference must be fully and keenly realized; and the British Government

must be animated by an honest and single-minded determination to solve the Indian problem once for all, and, thereby, to bring peace, contentment and prosperity to a great ancient land. The British Government and the representatives of the Indian Princes must place all their cards on the table; there must be the freest and frankest exchange of views; all the difficulties of the problem must be courageously faced with the sole desire of overcoming them as far as possible. There must be no mental reservations, no desire to get the better of any party, no trace of unstraightforward diplomacy, of the Machiavellian spirit or method. Indian political leaders are not diplomatists, they are innocent of the subtle arts of diplomacy; nor are they skilled in the methods of negotiation. The conditions which they seek to impose beforehand, and the stubbornness which they sometimes show, and which appears so unreasonable to the Government and British statesmen, are really due to the fear they naturally feel, that, in a face-to-face conference, their lack of training in the fine arts and methods of negotiation may place them at a disadvantage. No attempt must be made to take the slightest advantage of this lack of training. \* \* \*

On the other hand, Indian political leaders must realize the prodigious responsibility that now rests on them. Assuming that the terms of reference to the Conference are satisfactory, it is their clear duty to join it in the proper spirit, and make the best use of the opportunity they have got of proving and justifying India's claim to the immediate grant of responsible Government and Dominion Status. If the terms of reference are not satisfactory, they will, of course, be justified, as we have

already said, in having nothing to do with it. But if they are, the policy of non-participation will be foolish and suicidal. Nor will it be wise to insist on difficult or unnecessary conditions before offering co-operation. The dominant question is the immediate attainment of *Swaraj*; while *Swaraj* cannot wait, every other question, however important in itself it may be, can afford to do so. The imposition of conditions to which the Government may not be able to agree, or which may add to their difficulties in a Parliament in which they have to face a powerful opposition, must not be allowed to impair the chances of the immediate realization of our political goal. Provided that the Conference is permitted to consider the question of the immediate attainment of responsible Government, it will be a grave blunder on our part, if we do not offer the sincerest and most unreserved response to the gesture of the Government. Political amnesty and other things are bound to come afterwards, if the Conference is successful; it will be a wrong policy to insist on them as pre-requisite conditions of co-operation.

The first thing that must be done is to adjust our internal differences. It is no use appealing to the principle of national self-determination, and asking the Government to act up to it, if India herself will speak with many discordant voices. If we cannot agree among ourselves, the right of final decision must necessarily—no less morally than legally—belong to the British Parliament; and then to question that right is ridiculous. On the other hand, if we settle our differences, and our representatives, who may be invited to the Conference, are able to speak



must be animated by an honest and single-minded determination to solve the Indian problem once for all, and, thereby, to bring peace, contentment and prosperity to a great ancient land. The British Government and the representatives of the Indian Princes must place all their cards on the table; there must be the freest and frankest exchange of views; all the difficulties of the problem must be courageously faced with the sole desire of overcoming them as far as possible. There must be no mental reservations, no desire to get the better of any party, no trace of unstraightforward diplomacy, of the Machiavellian spirit or method. Indian political leaders are not diplomatists; they are innocent of the subtle arts of diplomacy; nor are they skilled in the methods of negotiation. The conditions which they seek to impose beforehand, and the stubbornness which they sometimes show, and which appears so unreasonable to the Government and British statesmen, are really due to the fear they naturally feel, that, in a face-to-face conference, their lack of training in the fine arts and methods of negotiation may place them at a disadvantage. No attempt must be made to take the slightest advantage of this lack of training. \* \* \*

On the other hand, Indian political leaders must realize the prodigious responsibility that now rests on them. Assuming that the terms of reference to the Conference are satisfactory, it is their clear duty to join it in the proper spirit, and make the best use of the opportunity they have got of proving and justifying India's claim to the immediate grant of responsible Government and Dominion Status. If the terms of reference are not satisfactory, they will, of course, be justified, as we have

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# Have We A Wilberforce To-Day?

By Mr. N. EASTERBROOK.

IF Wilberforce were alive to-day, what role would we expect to find him playing in modern public affairs? As we read through the history of the world, we find ourselves wondering at the apparent coincidence in the arrival, always, of the right man at the right time. To what extent the man is the fortunate debtor to circumstances, and how far circumstances owe their greatness to the man is a debatable point, but it is an indisputable fact that the one adds lustre to the other. To extract one of these historical lives from his own period and to plant him down in our midst to-day might throw more light upon this statement.

Wilberforce, at the time immediately before he adopted the cause of the slaves, was a popular member of a wild and pleasure-loving society. He was in demand at all the most fashionable dinner parties; he was a regular attendant at the gambling tables so well patronised by Fox and his friends; and was by no means impartial to the flattering attentions of the somewhat loose society ladies of the times. Suddenly, there came to him, in the midst of all this revelry the call to a more serious life; his past rose up before him as a spectre of wasted gaiety and superfluous pleasure. He became embroiled in the Evangelical revivals and discovered that he possessed a soul having ideals which required nourishment and satisfaction. He had already been a Member of Parliament for some time, and a close colleague of the youthful and brilliant Prime Minister, Pitt. Boro in the same year, they had come into early contact with one another and thereafter had remained intimate friends until the somewhat premature death of Pitt had separated them.

It was in this walk of life, therefore, that he sought satisfaction for the spirit of service which possessed him.

He assumed considerable interest in the social problems of the day, whole-heartedly supporting the ingenious measures proposed by his colleague for the alleviation of the country's financial burdens, a legacy from the disastrous War of American Independence. Besides social reconstruction, he took an active interest in the Imperial problems of the day. When the first rumours of the malpractices of the East India Company reached the House of Commons, he gave full scope to the strict impartiality of his conscience; and at the actual impeachment of Warren Hastings, his was the deciding influence which led Pitt to cast his vote in support of the charge of corruption. But these were not sufficient to satisfy the needs of his hungry soul. They only appealed in part to his generous spirit of humanity. There was something much bigger required to bring peace and contentment to his restless spirit; something to which he could devote his whole bodily and spiritual strength. Thus we have the man in receptive mood waiting on the alert for the appearance of his life's objective.

Across the seas, many thousands of miles away, there arose a grim picture of helpless blocks of Negro humanity; a prey to the domineering and wealth-seeking passions of the more highly developed white races; spectre of cruelty and torture, misery and hopelessness, death and suffering. It was at this time that lurid tales began to percolate their way through to the home countries, and soon pamphlets made their appearance bearing eye-witness descriptions of barbarous oppression. Returning missionaries enlisted the support of their churches; and thus the first spark of humanity was fired within the hearts of the Public who demanded that "Freedom"—a word so blessed to them should not be the privilege of a few but the birth-right of all. But the vested interests of an antagonistic oligarchy remained untouched by this

ery of the oppressed. Where was the man strong enough, brave enough, and noble enough to champion the cause, to fight its way through the barriers of prejudice and avaricious Imperalism? Was it not natural that the voices of nearly two million souls crying out for the services of a deliverer should penetrate to the ears of one waiting eagerly for the call? There can be no doubt that Wilberforce, with his parliamentary position, his financial independence, and his strength of character, was the one man most suited for such a task.

To what then, we may ask ourselves, would such a man devote himself were he to live amongst us to-day? Where would Wilberforce find fertile soil for his ideals; wherein could he seek work for the energies, and peace for his soul? Britain has her problems to-day, remarkably similar to those which existed after the Treaty of Versailles in 1783—unemployment, slums, poverty, difficulties of trade and the many other social questions; she has her political difficulties in India and Egypt. To all these we may assume that Wilberforce would adopt the same attitude as in his previous life: he would give his full support to whatever measures would appeal to his sense of moral right, leaving the actual solution of the problems to the more expert brains trained for each particular one. But for his own championship he would look for something with wider scope; something which would be of service to humanity as a whole rather than to a particular section of it, and to which he could apply wholeheartedly the lofty conceptions of his Christian principles.

What is our picture of the same mind which, one hundred years ago, in days of limited travel and restricted knowledge was able to visualise from the missionaries' pamphlets the vivid realities of the sufferings of slavery? We see it reading to-day of mankind's suffering through the Great War. The drowning sharks which followed

in the wake of the slave ships along the deathly 'Middle Way,' would these be more eloquent to him than the seven million war graves which to-day lie scattered round the world? The cries of pain, the broken limbs, the seared flesh, witnesses of the slave-drivers' cruelties, would these shout their protests louder than the silent suffering, the dismembered bodies, the wrecked lives which even now still surround us? "The slaves must be happy," said one defending planter, "for look at the ornaments with which they bedeck themselves"; do these shine more brilliant than a Man-of-war or the vain polish of a Military Command? In all these playthings of war, he would see the same shackles as those which bound half-civilised Negroes to the galleries of their slave-ships. But now war is the master, and mankind its slave. To lead in the work of liberation of man from this scourge would be the task to which Wilberforce would devote himself to-day. "Wilberforce and the Abolition of Slavery," is our conception of the past; "Wilberforce and the League of Nations," would be that of to-day.

"Impractical," was the first criticism he met in 1787; it took him forty-seven years to prove the contrary; and what is forty-seven years in the life of mankind?

"The world has always practised slavery in the past, how can you expect to change human nature in the future?" Was another line of attack adopted? By his determination to discover an alternative and by his implicit faith, he was able to show how this could be done.

But the most deadly enemies of all to his schemes were those of suspicion and vested interests; for oppositionists argued that even if Britain were to abolish her slave trade, it was uncertain that other and less scrupulous nations would follow her example; whereas until then Britain had enjoyed the largest share of the trade, the market would be left open for her rivals to

exploit freely, thus threatening the position she held as a first-class power. To combat this obstruction, Wilberforce called upon Public opinion which he knew he had ranged behind him in support, and by his perseverance and untiring persuasion he wore down Parliamentary resistance. He maintained a vigorous and unceasing propaganda both at home and abroad. It is noteworthy that he succeeded in raising the question to a position above Party issues, winning over to his side not only Pitt, but also the latter's inveterate enemies Fox and Grenville—a unique achievement in those days. It was in 1807 that the bill for the abolition of the Slave Trade finally passed through Parliament, and Wilberforce's faith in the effect of England's example upon the world was soon rewarded. By 1815, every important nation in the world with the exception of Spain had pledged itself. Spain stood out on account of the capital cost of the abolishment to her planters. In 1817, Wilberforce was able to persuade the British Parliament to vote a grant of four hundred thousand pounds to compensate these Spanish planters, and by this means secured that country's signature to the covenant. To obtain this grant to-day when the national budget is eight hundred millions sterling annually would be a great achievement in the cause of philanthropy; by how much the greater, therefore, must we measure the man's efforts a hundred years ago when the Budgets were scarcely a tenth of this sum?

It may here be stated that although America signed the Covenant in 1815, later owing to a failure to agree to "the right of search of ships" she broke away.

It is indeed remarkable to draw the parallel which exists between the vicissitudes which were experienced during all those years of the establishment of the Abolition of Slavery and its Emancipation and those which are met with to-day in the growth of the League of Nations. The basic

difficulties of each are similar. Each one is accused of impracticability; each one gives rise to difficult problems of international politics: each one relies upon the establishment of mutual trust between all nations; each one has to combat the bogey of vested interests. They were all encountered on the previous occasion, and one by one overcome by Wilberforce. Publicity and propaganda were his chief weapons, supported by his energy and indomitable faith.

Have we not therefore, all the symptoms of a great epoch before us to-day, even as a century ago? That the League of Nations is progressing and developing there can be no denying; whether or no there is a Wilberforce amongst us is not apparent. Nor can we tell whether the advancement of the League of Nations would have been more rapid were it to possess such a man as the Emancipator. All we can do is to consider the effects of such a life moving across the scenes of the League to-day.

Wilberforce's most powerful weapon lay in his appeals to public opinion; he derived his strength from the knowledge of its united support. It seems difficult to believe that with similar tactics it would have taken him nine years to obtain Great Britain's assent to the signing of the Optional Clause, one of the main pillars of the Covenant.

Each launching of a battleship in the world to-day would sound to him like the crack of the slave-driver's whip; whilst where is the difference between the conscript of to-day and the slave of yesterday, except that war makes conscripts of us all? Again, we may wonder, what would be the attitude of the man to America, the man, who, on the former occasion, presented King Louis with a model of a slave ship made exactly to scale—a grim reminder of the miseries which his country was inflicting upon a section of mankind? And now America—who, on the previous occasion, was the only civilised power of repute to stand out from the agreement and to deny the right of

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freedom to those unhappy slaves; America, whose flag for over forty years was the one recognised emblem under which a slaveship could ply its trade with safety; would it be necessary for him to-day to remind her people of this, to ask them if it was their desire to repeat that chapter in their nation's history?

Economically, we know, the League is making strenuous efforts in order to secure some degree of international co-operation, but progress is not very rapid. We may enquire whether greater success would have rewarded the efforts of the man who persuaded each nation in turn to abandon one of its most lucrative trades; to inspire in each one that mutual trust so as to enable it to rely upon each other's goodwill and commercial intergality.

And finally, the rising generation, the lives to whom the horrors of war are now nothing but historical records and the anecdotes of parents,

would he not see the necessity for a revision in national education; so to train youth as finally to eliminate war and its vain glories from its maturing mind? Is not international co-operation equally essential on this point? The recent Boy Scout Jamboree, the celebration of the coming of age of the movement, has brought to the fore the possibilities of the cultivation of an international outlook throughout the youths of the world; would Wilberforce allow this significance to slip by untouched?

There are a few of the backgrounds over which we may visualise this remarkable personality moving to-day. That the play and its characters already exist there is no denying, but whether or not the leading role is absent, we can only conjecture.

Wilberforce led the whole world in the struggle for humanity one hundred years ago; is there such a man amongst us to-day?

## THE HEART'S DOOR

BY

MR. CYRIL MODAK.

Stand at the door of my heart all alone,  
Wrapt in the cloak of the night;  
Listen to what these fond fancies bemoan,  
Spirit of sweetest delight!

Silently stand at the door and e'er hear  
Love-thoughts of you that are speaking,  
Longings that whisper your name very dear,  
Sorrows for you that are shrieking.

Darkness will hide you, and no one shall see  
Who at my doorstep is standing;  
Only your pulse all afflatter may be,  
Your pride its plumage expanding!

Open the door, if you please, then, my dear!  
Enter and sit on your throne:  
'Tis so delicious to feel you are near,  
To worship you, Love, all alone!

# THE LITTLE CLAY CART

BY DR. S. K. DE, M.A., D.LITT., (LONDON),

*University of Dacca.*

THERE lived in Ujjayini a young man of breeding and refinement, named Charudatta, who was by profession a wealthy merchant but by birth a high-souled Brahmin. By the qualities of large-heartedness, nobility and uprightness, as well as by his culture and good taste, he had won the admiration and respect of the whole city, but his princely liberality had in course of time reduced him to extreme poverty; for, never was a needy man turned from his door, and he had adorned the city of Ujjayini with mansions, cloisters, parks, temples, pools and fountains. Deserted by all in his adversity and disillusioned, he would have abjured the world and sought the hermitage, but that his noble and faithful wife Dhutadevi, his little son Rohasena and his whole-hearted friend Maitreya had cheerfully shared his poverty and distress. Of his large train of retainers, only two remained in his old and decayed house, the maid Radanika and his personal servant Vardhamanaka.

One night, after Charudatta had finished his evening devotions, he said to Maitreya: "Friend, I have made my offerings to the household deities. Will you now go and offer sacrifice to the Divine Mothers at the place where the four roads meet?" "Not I, indeed," replied Maitreya, "you have worshipped the gods, but have they been gracious to you? What is the use of worshipping?" "Speak not profanely," said Charudatta, "it is the duty of every householder." "No, I am not going," replied Maitreya doggedly, "you must send somebody else. Poor Brahmin that I am, everything goes wrong with me; it is like a reflection in the mirror, the right side becomes the left, the left becomes the right." At that hour of the evening, even the king's highway was not safe,—such was the state of law and order prevailing in the city! Courtesans, rogues, bawds, gamblers, thieves, political schemers and royal favourites were abroad; and how could a timid Brahmin like Maitreya go out alone? At last, on the assurance that Radanika would accompany him

with a light, Maitreya opened the front door and came out.

Suddenly the lamp went out. Near the door, under the cover of falling darkness, was standing for shelter the unfortunate Vasantasena, a famous courtesan of Ujjayini. She had put out the light with her skirt and entered, silently and unperceived, into the house. In confusion, Radanika waited, while Maitreya went back to re-light the lamp.

Who in Ujjayini did not know Vasantasena for her grace, dignity, wealth and beauty, and who, except a cowardly, ignorant and brutal wretch like the king's brother-in-law, Samsthanaka, did not honour her? Strange as it may seem, it was possible in that ancient society to be a courtesan and yet retain self-respect. As in the Athens of Perikles, so in ancient India, the courtesan was not without accomplishments; she possessed wealth, beauty and power, as well as literary and artistic taste, and occupied an important position in social life. Men of wit, culture and rank did not disdain her society, and this contact probably saved her from degradation.

All this, however, did not prevent the king's brother-in-law Samsthanaka, a man of depraved and despicable character, from attempting to win her person by cunning and gold. His position as the king's brother-in-law and his wealth made him believe that he could do whatever he liked; but Vasantasena had never been mercenary, and, as she was universally honoured, he did not dare to use force. In spite of his association with carriers of breeding and refinement, he had skill only in perfidy and deceit. All Ujjayini hated and feared him for his ignorant conceit and brutal lust, and it was no wonder that Vasantasena found his attention most unwelcome.

That evening Vasantasena had been abroad in the street accompanied by her servants, who however had fallen behind. Taking this opportunity, Samsthanaka, with his profligate followers, had pursued her, and made the most



degrading and insulting offers of love. Frightened and disgusted, she tried to repulse them, assuring them proudly that it was merit alone, and not brutal violence, which inspired a woman's love. In vain did she offer them her jewels and her ornaments to make them desist, and in vain did she attempt to fly from them like a timid deer. In the course of the pursuit, however, they came near the good merchant's house. Her profligate pursuers thus unintentionally befriended her by bringing her for refuge to the very door of the great Charudatta, of whom she had heard so much, whom she had once seen in the park where Kama's temple stood, and was now destined to play such an important part in her life.

Elding Samsthanaka and his associates under cover of darkness, she slipped unperceived into the house; and Charudatta, mistaking her for the maid Radanika, bade her enter. Losing sight of her, Samsthanaka caught hold of the waiting Radanika by mistake, but Maitreya came up presently to the rescue, and reprimanded him severely for his rudeness. The cowardly Samsthanaka was naturally afraid of Charudatta's eminent virtues, but he would not go away without finding Vasantasena. His wiser courtier, however, advised him to depart. "To hold a horse" he said "you need a rein, and to hold an elephant, you require a chain. To hold a woman, you must use a heart, and if you have not one, it is wise to go away in peace". Reluctantly but with a great deal of bravado, Samsthanaka left, pronouncing a threat of revenge if Charudatta did not hand over Vasantasena to him.

All this happened outside the house. Charudatta was sitting inside in the dark room when the frightened Vasantasena entered. Not knowing what had happened, and mistaking her for Radanika, he gave her his cloak to cover up little Rohasena lest the child be chilled by evening dews. Vasantasena, finding the garment scented with jasmine-flowers, said to herself: "His youth does not indeed show indifference!" Finding her still silent and motionless, Charudatta again bade her enter the inner apartments, but remembering her ignoble profession, she could only sigh to

herself: "Alas, my misfortune gives me no admission inside." "Come now, Radanika, will you not even answer?" cried Charudatta. In sadness and impatience, still overwhelmed by his own sense of poverty which made him think that even his maid was slighting him. But Maitreya and Radanika having come up in the meantime, he perceived his mistake and exclaimed: "Then who is this? I have degraded her by the touch of my garment." "Degraded?" repeated Vasantasena to herself "no, exalted!" Charudatta was wondering who the half-veiled lady might be, like the waning moon half-hidden by the autumnal clouds; but the next moment he checked himself in his impertinent curiosity: "She must be another man's wife, not meet for me to gaze on her". Maitreya, who had learnt of her identity from Samsthanaka, soon enlightened him. "What, this is Vasantasena!" exclaimed Charudatta; and not being insensible to love, he sighed over his declining fortunes for his inability to give expression to the thoughts of love which arose spontaneously in him. "Let my desire", he said to himself, "sink suppressed in silence, like the wrath of a coward which he dares not utter." But with his innate gallantry, he felt he had done wrong in greeting the charming lady as a servant, and begged of her to pardon him for the unwitting offence done to her by his mistake. "It is I who have offended by this unseemly intrusion. I bow my head to seek your forgiveness", she replied.

It was a case of love at first sight for both of them, but for the first time Vasantasena was really in love. Witty and wise, disillusioned and sophisticated, she had yet a heart of romance, and her love was true and deep even in a social position which made such a feeling difficult. Very sadly she realised that the woman who admitted the love of many men was false to them all. Much wealth and position she had achieved by an obligatory and hereditary calling, but her heart was truly against it, and it brought her no happiness. Her maid Madanika, brought up in the usual tradition, disapproved of her falling in love with a poor man. "But, lady," she protested, "it is said that Charudatta is very poor."

"Hence do I love him more," replied her mistress. "A courtesan whose heart is fixed on a poor man is hardly to be censured by the world." "Yet, lady, said Madanika, with mild remonstrance again, "do the bees, greedy for honey, swarm in the mango-tree after it has shed its blossoms?" "Therefore are they called greedy wantons", replied Vasantasena. The breath of the new emotion, which had now come to her, quickened all her deeper and nobler instincts into a pervading flame, and burned to ashes her baser self.

But, like a truly awakened woman, she was embarrassed in the presence of Charudatta at their first unexpected meeting, and felt that she could tarry no longer. In order that this meeting should not be the last, she wanted some excuse to come back again. After a little thought, she said: "If truly I have found favour in your sight, sir, I should be glad to leave my jewels in your house. It was for the sake of these jewels that those scoundrels followed me." "But", replied Charudatta "this house is hardly suited for the trust." "You mistake, sir," she smiled in reply "treasures are entrusted to men, and not to houses." What more could Charudatta say? The jewels were left in trust. Charudatta then accompanied her through the dark streets and saw her safely home.

Charudatta, in his prosperous days, had a servant, named Samvahakā, whose duty was to massage his master. After Charudatta's decline in fortune, Samvahakā's occupation was gone, and he took to desperate gambling. But luck was against him; and one day, which happened to be the very next day after the meeting of Charudatta and Vasantasena, he fled from the gambling house and concealed himself from his creditors in a deserted temple, only to be soon discovered by the master of the gambling house, Mathura and a gambler, both hardened and pitiless sinners, who demanded of him ten gold pieces which he had lost to them. An altercation ensued, ending in quarrel and violence. At this point, a clever rogue, Darduraka, who was passing by, appeared on the scene, and taking pity on the much-harassed fellow-gambler Samvahakā, engaged the gambling master and his com-

panion in an angry discussion, during which Samvahakā managed to escape into Vasantasena's house, which stood nearby, just at the moment when Vasantasena had been confessing to her maid Madanika her love for Charudatta. When she learned that Samvahakā had once served Charudatta, she received him with honour and compassion and paid his gambling debts. Overwhelmed by her kindness and full of self-pity, the grateful Samvahakā at last resolved to turn a Buddhist monk.

The same night Charudatta and Maitreya went to a concert to listen to the charming songs of one Rebhila. Charudatta was by no means an austere or self-denying man, a mere paragon of virtue, but he was a perfect man of the world, who did not disdain gambling, nor shared his friend Maitreya's bias against the courtesan, and loved literature, art and music. His great virtues were softened by the milk of human kindness. In spite of his slender means, his love of music made him go to the concert, which he enjoyed with keen appreciation. They came home after midnight, and, greatly tired, went to sleep. Vasantasena's treasures were still in the house; and Maitreya was charged, before he went to sleep, to keep the gem-casket safely by his side. After a while, a needy and skilful thief, named Sarvilaka, broke into the room, in which Charudatta and his friend were sleeping, by making a hole in the rickety wall. This Sarvilaka, a Brahmin by birth and a man of some education, was a friend of Darduraka, like whom he had turned into a clever and daring man about town. He had, in the meantime, fallen in love with Vasantasena's maid Madanika and wanted to marry her. Reduced to poverty and reckless life, he had at last resolved to acquire by theft the means of buying her freedom. He was not aware, however, that he was breaking into the house of the poor Brahmin, for whom even a low-down thief like him cherished great respect. In the morning, Charudatta and his friend woke to find the casket and the thief gone. It affected the good merchant deeply, inasmuch as it affected his honour, for who would now believe the truth about the theft? Powerless poverty was doomed to wake suspicion. Radanika, who had first detected the

theft, went to inform Charudatta's wife of the disaster, but assured her mistress that both her master and his friend were unhurt, and that only the ornaments left by the courtesan had been stolen. "Girl," replied the wife sadly, "how can you say that my lord is uninjured? Better he were injured in body than in character. For, now the people of Ujjayini will say that my lord himself committed the crime because of his poverty." To save her husband's honour, the good wife, a noble and gentle lady worthy of her husband, sent him her pearl necklace which she had received from her mother's house. When Charudatta was told of this, he exclaimed with humbled pride: "What, my wife takes pity on me? Alas, now I am, poor indeed!" But if his change of fortune had made him bitter, it had not debased his mind; it had only taught him to take things at their right value. Soon he realised the nobility which prompted his wife's offer, and said to Maitreya: "But no, I am not poor; for I have a wife whose love outlasts my wealthy days; in thee I have a friend who is faithful to me through good and evil; and I have truth and honour which nought can take away. Maitreya, take the necklace, and go to Vasantasena. Tell her in my name that we have gambled away the gem-casket, forgetting it was not our own, and that we trust she will accept this necklace in its place." But the sagacious Maitreya, with his dog-like faithfulness, was uneasy and suspicious. He took his friend's love for Vasantasena for a degrading infatuation and his friend's regard for honour with respect to a courtesan for a foolish act. "What!" he said in surprise "you must not give away this necklace, the pride of the four seas, for that cheap thing left by the courtesan." "Not so, my friend," replied Charudatta, "she showed her trust in leaving with us her treasure. Such a faith cannot be overvalued." Scrupulous in returning Vasantasena's pledge, he could not accept his friend's worldly-wise advice; and Maitreya had at last to depart with the necklace to Vasantasena.

Early next morning, Sarvilaka came to Vasantasena's house to buy Madanika's freedom with the stolen casket. On

Madanika's enquiry as to how a poor man like him could come by the gems, he had to confess to her the facts concerning the theft of the casket. Madanika was horrified. "Oh, Sarvilaka," she said "for a mere nothing—for a woman—you have risked two things." "What things?" asked Sarvilaka, somewhat puzzled. "Your life and your character," replied the honest girl. When he showed her the jewels, she could recognise them as those which her mistress had left at Charudatta's place. Sarvilaka now felt truly ashamed, but he could not, even if he desired, restore the gems to the good man, for that act would be inconsistent with prudence. On Madanika's advice, he then pretended to be a servant of Charudatta's and sought to restore the jewels to Vasantasena. But, in the meantime, coming in search of Madanika, Vasantasena had been an unwilling listener to the whole conversation. Her own recent experience of love and her innate nobility of character made her feel for the poor lovers, and appreciate the daring of the man and the honesty of the maid. She accepted the casket without telling them anything, but as Sarvilaka was turning to leave, she said to him: "Sir, will you undertake a return commission of mine?" Sarvilaka naturally hesitated, for he could not, in the circumstances, carry back any message to Charudatta. "And this commission is—?" he faltered. "You will be good enough to accept Madanika," replied Vasantasena quietly to the astonished man. "Madam, I do not understand," he faltered again. "But I do," replied Vasantasena. "Charudatta told me that I was to give Madanika to the man who should return these jewels. You are therefore to understand that he makes you a present of her." "Ah, she sees through me," said Sarvilaka to himself, but he blessed Charudatta's name and was grateful to her for making Madanika a freed woman.

They left with happiness in their hearts, but on the way they received hints of an impending political revolution. Those were days of stirring deeds, and the private affairs of the lovers became curiously linked with a political intrigue which involved the city and the

kingdom. King Palaka had been despotic and cruel, and the wanton acts of his brother-in-law Samsthanaka had also made the people discontented. A soothsayer had declared that a young herdsman, named Aryaka was to become king. Believing in this prophecy and alarmed thereat, king Palaka had taken the innocent herdsman from his hamlet and thrown him into prison. This Aryaka happened to be a friend of Sarvilaka's, and as soon as Sarvilaka left Vasantasena's house with Madanika, this news reached him. In spite of poor Madanika's entreaties, he leaped out of the bullock cart which was carrying them, directing his servant to reach his newly-made bride to the house of his friend Rebhila. Sarvilaka departed, vowing not only to release his friend Aryaka but also to hasten the revolution to place Aryaka on the throne.

In the meantime, Maitreya came to Vasantasena's palace to hand over the pearl necklace as a recompense for the gem-casket lost by Charudatta. Unaware of the circumstance that Sarvilaka had in the meantime brought back the casket, strangely, to its real owner, Maitreya delivered his message. Much amused and pleased, Vasantasena said to herself: "It was stolen by a thief, and he is so proud that he says he gambled it away. I love him for that." She accepted the necklace with pleasure, in order to use it as a pretext to see Charudatta once more, and said to Maitreya: "Sir, pray tell the worthy gambler Charudatta in my name that I shall pay him a visit this evening." The suspicious Maitreya thought that the greedy courtesan was not satisfied with the pearl necklace and wanted to get more out of Charudatta in redemption of the pledge.

The same evening, during a heavy storm, Vasantasena reached Charudatta's house. She brought with her the gem-casket, and after discovering it and explaining how she had come by it, she gently rebuked him for the distrust shown of her by sending the pearl necklace instead. The storm and rain increasing in violence in the meantime, she was compelled to spend the night at Charudatta's house. Charudatta had now realised the nobility of her character, her generosity, and the depth

and truth of her love, and he came to love her in return with an equally deep and tender affection.

The next morning, when the maid came to wake her up, it appeared all so strange to Vasantasena herself. She could hardly believe that she, an outcast of society, had been able to win the love of the great Charudatta, the ornament of Ujjayini, and asked half-incredulously of the maid if all that were true. "What! did I find my way into his inner apartments?" She enquired of the maid. "Not only that," replied the maid "but into everyone's heart." But Vasantasena was still afraid lest she had been a source of trouble to Charudatta. "I fear his household is vexed," she asked with deep concern. "They will be vexed," replied the maid "only when—" "When?" She interrupted anxiously. "When you will depart", replied the maid. Vasantasena was still wearing the pearl necklace which Charudatta had given her. Now she took it off, and sent it through the maid to Charudatta's wife with the message: "Worthy Charudatta's virtues have won me, made me his slave, and therefore your slave also. So let this necklace be the ornament of your neck, to which it rightly belongs." But the dignified wife returned the necklace, saying that it was not proper for her to take the necklace with which her husband had favoured Vasantasena in his affection, and that the only ornament she valued was her husband. Nevertheless, both Charudatta and his wife, as well as his whole household, inclusive of the suspicious but well-meaning Maitreya, had now recognised the truth and pity of her great love and realised how much it would mean to her if her love were legalised.

Vasantasena now met for the first time Charudatta's little son, Rohasena. She found the child peevish, because he had now only a little clay cart to play with, instead of finer toys. A great affection and pity overwhelmed her heart, and she said to herself: "To think that this little child has to suffer because others are wealthy? Ah, mighty Fate, the destinies of men, uncertain as the water-drops which fall upon a lotus-leaf, seem to thee but play-

things!" She was fascinated by the lovely face of the petulant child, which was very like his father's; and stretched out her arms in that great hunger for motherhood which had been denied to her: "come, my little son, embrace me". Naturally suspicious, the child asked of his maid: "Who is she, Radanika?" Vasantasena replied coaxingly: "A slave of your father's, purchased by his merits", which statement Radanika hastened to modify tactfully by saying, "This lady is your mother, child." "Away," replied the child, "you tell me untruth, Radanika. How can she be my mother when she wears such fine things?" "My child", said Vasantasena, ashamed and in tears, "your innocent lips can say terrible things?" She took off her ornaments and said tearfully: "Now I become your mother. You take these trinkets and have a gold cart made for you." "Go away," said the child again "I will not take them, you cry at parting with them." Wiping away her tears and smiling, she filled the toy clay cart with her jewels and said: "I weep no more. Go, darling and play. There you must have a little gold cart to play with." Vasantasena's love had now made her realise the emptiness of riches and the fulness of a pure and tender affection.

Vardhamanaka now came and informed Vasantasena that he was waiting at the side-door with a covered cart to take her to the old flower garden, named Puspakarandaka, where Charudatta, who had left early in the morning, was waiting for her. While Vasantasena was getting ready, Vardhamanaka went back with his cart to fetch some cushions which he had forgotten. In the meantime, a comedy of errors happened, which nearly ended in tragedy. Samsthanaka's servant Sthavaraka had been directed by the master to take a bullock-cart to him at the same old garden, which was the property of the king's brother-in-law. The highway having been blocked by villagers' wagons, he had stopped his cart at the side-door of Charudatta's orchard and had gone for a moment to put his shoulder to the wheel of another cart which had got stuck in the mud. Finding Sthavaraka's cart at the side-door, Vasantasena entered it without knowing: and without know-

ing also Sthavaraka, coming back, drove it on, thus cruel fate conspiring to put Vasantasena once more into the hands of Samsthanaka.

Unaware of what had happened, Vardhamanaka came back with Charudatta's cart and waited at the side-door. Soon he heard some one entering the covered cart with the tinkling of anklet-rings, and thinking that it was Vasantasena he also drove on towards the garden where Charudatta was waiting. But it was Aryaka who had surreptitiously entered the cart. With the help of his good friend Sarvilaka, the young herdsman, who had been imprisoned by king Palaka, had just broken jail, killed the jailer, half broken his fetters, escaped and run away. There was great excitement in the city over the prisoner's escape, and police constables were running about everywhere in search of him. He managed to elude them all and concealed himself near the side-door of Charudatta's house. Finding Vardhamanaka's empty cart presently driving up, he sought in it a temporary hiding-place, his half-broken prison-chains having caused the tinkling sound which deceived Vardhamanaka. As Vardhamanaka was getting up his bullocks to go, two police officers, in search of Aryaka, walked up and stopped the cart on the road-side. On being informed that it was Charudatta's cart conveying Vasantasena to the Puspakarandaka's garden, one of the officers Chandanaka would let it pass, Charudatta's name acting as a magic charm; but the other officer Viraka became suspicious and would not let the cart go without inspection. After some discussion, Chandanaka, agreeing to inspection, entered the cart and looked about. Aryaka immediately threw himself at his mercy, and Chandanaka, a softer-hearted man, agreed to protect him. But Chandanaka's report after inspection that all was well could not convince Viraka. To save his protegee in the cart, to whom he had given his word, Chandanaka contrived an angry discussion and quarrel, which ended in his maltreating his brother officer and allowing Aryaka to escape in Charudatta's cart. Now that he had an enemy in Viraka, the Chief Constable and king's favourite, Chandanaka made up his mind to throw in his lot with the

revolutionaries, headed by Sarvilaka. In the meantime, Vardhamanaka drove up the cart, in which Aryaka lay hidden, to the park where Charudatta was awaiting Vasantasena impatiently. To their amazement, Maitreya and Charudatta discovered the fugitive in the cart; but as Aryaka related his story and sought his protection, Charudatta removed his fetters, promised his friendship, lent him the cart to escape, and left the park immediately lest he should arouse the suspicion of royal officers.

Samsthanaka's servant, on the other hand, drove up to another part of the same park his master's cart which Vasantasena had entered by mistake. To his amazement, Samsthanaka's courtier, who had gone forward, discovered Vasantasena sitting happy in the cart, and at first thought that she had come of her own accord to favour the king's brother-in-law. But when he learned of her mistake concerning the cart, he realised her peril and tried to shield and save her from the brutal and ignorant Samsthanaka. Samsthanaka himself was at first greatly flattered that Vasantasena should herself come and visit him; but very soon Sthavaraka disilluioned him by relating the story of the mistake, and Vasantasena in her turn spurned him with her foot in disgust, thereby rousing his fierce anger. His sense of his own importance was outraged by Vasantasena's scornful repulse; and, passion-blind, he threatened to kill her for despising his proposition and for kicking him with her foot. But both Sthavaraka and the courtier refused to aid and abet him in his cowardly and brutal design of murdering in cold blood an innocent and helpless woman. Sthavaraka was a simple and God-fearing man who was not easy to win over. The courtier was a man of good taste and breeding who, despite his loose life and his dependence on his patron, did his best to check Samsthanaka's intended violence. Very artfully the cunning scoundrel pretended to grow calm, managed to get rid of his followers by deceit, and then seizing Vasantasena alone, began to persecute her again with his shameful proposals. She repulsed him with great spirit and with a fearlessness born of her new love for Charudatta. When Samsthanaka

in his anger taunted her as the *inamorata* of a beggarly Brahmin, she was not ashamed but retorted with perfect courage: "Delightful words! Pray proceed, for you speak my praise." "Just let that son of a slave rescue you now," said Samsthanaka with a sneer, to which she replied with great coolness: "He would have rescued me if he were here." Growing furious, Samsthanaka took her by the throat; she would not scream for help, for it would be a shame that Vasantasena's helpless cry should be heard loudly outside, but she would remember her beloved Charudatta and bless his name. "What, still dost thou repeat that rascal's name?" snarled Samsthanaka, blinded by rage, as he strangled her but on the verge of imminent death, the name; of Charudatta was still on her lips, and she murmured in a struggling tone: "My homage be to Charudatta!"

When Sthavaraka and the courtier returned, Samsthanaka tried to deceive them; but, they soon discovered the horrible facts. He offered bribes to the courtier and then tried to lay the deed to his charge. Disgusted and horrified, the courtier cursed him; and finding that it would be folly to remain there any longer, he also made up his mind to leave his patron and join the conspirators, Sarvilaka, Chandanaka and the rest. The poor Sthavaraka was put in irons on the palace-tower by his wicked master.

To cover up his own guilt and to complete his mean revenge on Charudatta, Samsthanaka now formed the plan of going to court at once and lodging a complaint that the merchant Charudatta had enticed Vasantasena into the old park Puspakarandaka and strangled her there for her money. The next day the court sat for the trial and Charudatta, who could not yet believe that such a thing could happen was summoned to answer the terrible accusation of Samsthanaka. In the course of the trial, it appeared from the evidence of Vasantasena's mother (who, however, refused to bear witness against Charudatta) that Vasantasena had spent the night of the storm at Charudatta's house; while Viraka, who had come to court to testify to the escape of Aryaka and to lodge his complaint against

Chandanaka, gave evidence that she had left Charudatta's house the next morning in Charudatta's cart to meet the latter at the park. It was also proved that there had been a struggle at the park, which apparently ended in the murder of a woman, for the body of a woman, torn by wild beasts, was found there. The judge, a sympathetic man, was still reluctant to believe that stain of any kind could attach to Charudatta's reputation; for it was extraordinary that he, whose liberality was well known throughout Ujjayini and whose sense of honour once made him send to Vasantasena a necklace of pearls in place of stolen jewels, should now for a mere trifle—for her money—murder a helpless woman whom he loved. Was it possible that Charudatta was the man who could repay a woman's love with blood? But at this moment something happened which turned the circumstantial evidence still more against Charudatta.

Maitreya had been commissioned by Charudatta to go to Vasantasena's house and return the jewels which she in her affection had given to Rohasena for the making of a gold cart. But on the way to her house, Maitreya heard the alarming news that Charudatta had been summoned to court. Without any delay he rushed into the court-room, and on being informed of the baseless charge against his dear friend, he was so indignant that he attacked the false accuser angrily with his staff, calling Samasthanaka by all the names that he deserved. During the scuffle which ensued, the jewels which Maitreya had been carrying on his person fell to the ground. In view of Charudatta's poverty and in the absence of satisfactory explanation of Maitreya's possession of the jewels, the incident seemed to deceive the judge and establish a motive for the crime. Charudatta was condemned to ignominious death by King Palaka, although the judge recommended him, according to the law, for mercy. In his life Charudatta had already realised that late played with men as buckets at the well, one rose as another fell. Aware of the vanity of all things, he could not value life over-highly; but he valued his honour more than his life. He received the sentence of death with equani-

mity, more especially as the loss of Vasantasena had now made him lose his new interest in life. But he was overwhelmed in so far as condemnation affected his honour as a man for having murdered a woman (and the cruel irony of it, a woman whom he deeply loved) and also that he should leave a heritage of shame to the little son to whom he was so greatly devoted. That such a stain should attach to his character was unbearable to him, but he was powerless against cruel fate. When everything conspired to make appearances go against him, he lost all interest in the trial and hardly made any attempt to defend himself against the hateful charges, which he emphatically denied but which he could not rebut.

The headsman, two sympathetic souls who regretted the duty they had to perform, led Charudatta to the place of execution through the city-streets and proclaimed as was the custom, his guilt with the beat of drum. Charudatta was still cherished with affection, and as the much-hated Samasthanaka was his accuser, popular sympathy was with him. A large crowd followed him as he was led through the streets. Sthavaraka, who had been confined and enchained by his master Samasthanaka in his palace-tower heard the shouts and the proclamation below, as the crowd passed along the street in front of Samasthanaka's palace. That innocent Charudatta should be condemned to death for another's crime through the perfidy of his inhuman master became unbearable to him. He leapt down through an open window, broke his fetters in his excitement and rushed out to bear witness to Charudatta's innocence by revealing the truth and denouncing Samasthanaka for his crime. About the same time, Samasthanaka, coming out of his house to gloat over the downfall of Charudatta, was taken aback at the sight of Sthavaraka; but recovering himself quickly, he denounced Sthavaraka's words as lies invented out of spiteful motive against his master who had imprisoned him for the theft of some ornaments. A disgraced slave could convince nobody, and the cunning displayed by his master made light of his words. No escape

was now possible for Charudatta, who prepared himself for certain death after he had taken his last leave of Maitreya and his little son. Samsthanaka now urged the executioners to finish their work quickly. Suddenly, in great agitation appeared on the scene a Buddhist monk, accompanied by a lady, shouting with uplifted hands—"Good gentlemen, Hold, hold!" Everyone looked up with surprise and found with great delight that it was Samvahaka, who had turned a Buddhist monk, and with him Vasantasena herself, saying: "Good gentlemen I am the wretch for whose sake Charudatta was condemned to death."

How was it that Vasantasena could come back to life and appear on the scene at the last moment? When Samsthanaka pitilessly strangled her in the garden, she only lost consciousness and fell down motionless. After Samsthanaka had left her for dead covering up her body with dry leaves, Charudatta's old servant Samvahaka, whom Vasantasena had released from gambling debts and who had in the meantime turned a Buddhist monk, came into the garden to wash his rags in the pool there. By chance he came near the spot where the body of Vasantasena had been buried in leaves, and sat down to dry his rags. Suddenly he heard a sigh proceeding from the heap of leaves and some movements, for Vasantasena had now begun to recover consciousness and move her limbs. Coming to the spot, Samvahaka discovered and recognised her, greatly delighted to find that it was Vasantasena, still alive, to whom he once owed his freedom. With great care he revived her and conducted her to a monastery near by. After hearing her story,

he was conducting her next day to Charudatta's house; but on the way they saw the large crowd, following Charudatta, from a distance and heard the proclamation. "Sister in Buddha," said Samvahaka, addressing her, "Charudatta is being led to his death for murdering you." "For my wretched sake!" replied Vasantasena in terror, "quick, quick, on lead me there!" They rushed forward just in time to save Charudatta from his imminent death.

In the meantime, the revolution started by Sarvilaka and his friends had succeeded. They had stormed the palace, killed the wanton and cruel king Palaka and placed their friend Aryaka, the fugitive herdsman whom Charudatta once befriended, on the throne. As soon as they had heard of Charudatta's distress Sarvilaka hastened with his men to the place of execution, reaching there almost immediately after Vasantasena had made her appearance. He brought the good tidings of the overthrow of Palaka's tyrannical rule, and a message from the new king Aryaka, who had not forgotten Charudatta's friendly act, that the king, in grateful remembrance, had rewarded him with the principality of Kushavati on the bank of the Vena and had bestowed on Vasantasena the title of wedded wife, which made her free of her profession. The monk Samvahaka was rewarded by being appointed superior over the Buddhist monasteries of the realm. The crowd now dragged before Charudatta the wretched and grovelling Samsthanaka, who was mean enough to beg piteously for the life he had forfeited, and shouted for his death sentence; but he was magnanimously pardoned by the man whom he once sought to injure most grievously.\*

\* In writing this story of the great Sanskrit Drama *Mritchakatika*, I have received assistance from the English translation of the drama by Wilson and Ryder in the phrasing of the story in English; but throughout, the original has been consulted.



# The Fringe of the Moslem World\*

BY MR. A. YUSUF ALI, I.C.S. (RET.)

THIS is an impressionist account of what the writer calls "a random journey by land from Cairo to Constantinople." The author is a born traveller and has a long list



MR. A. YUSUF ALI

of travel books to his credit. He began with a vagabond journey around the world and has since given his impressions about Spain, Mexico, Patagonia, Germany, Japan, China, and many other countries. His slapdash judgments of men, institutions and countries disarm criticism by his frank avowal that he has no "intention of telling anything worth while in this chatter record of several months of nomading about the eastern end of the Mediterranean." His present trip began with

Egypt. He went up to Jerusalem, visiting the Jewish Colonies in Palestine. He does not think much of Eritz Israel, and gives very good reasons for considering that the Zionist idea is foredoomed to failure. His visit to Syria under the French mandate did not impress him favourably with French methods. He thinks the French have failed because they treated the mandate as a Colony whereas the British have treated their mandate as a mandate, with the idea of getting out in the future clearly before them. He mentions, but does not fully realise, the import of the Dead Sea concession to the powerful London Corporation, the Imperial Chemical Industries, Limited. With shrunken Turkey he is not very much in sympathy. His journey from Aleppo to Angora and a little beyond in the interior, and then with Constantinople and so into Greece, enabled him to see little of the fundamental movements that are transforming the whole of Turkish life from top to bottom. He was not able to see Ghazi Mustapha Kemal Pasha, or any of the intellectual or administrative leaders of modern Turkey. This indeed was beyond the scope of his journey. His vagabond tramps are described in a graphic style from the American angle of vision. The book is profusely illustrated with photographs. We cannot find anything in his narrative to suggest what the author calls on his title-page "the growingly antagonistic attitude of the followers of Mohammed towards those who profess Christianity." On the contrary, there is much to suggest a commingling and coalescence between religions and races in the near East.

\*THE FRINGE OF THE MOSLEM WORLD. By HARRY A. FRANK. Century Co., New York.

# INDIANS IN NYASALAND

BY MR. M. P. KUNHAMBU.

IT is very little known to our people at home the existence of this small country in the centre of the continent of Africa. Nyasaland consists of a strip of land about 10,000 square miles in extent, or about one-third the area of the British Isles. It is bounded on the East by Lake Nyasa, on the south by Portuguese East Africa, on the west by Northern Rhodesia and on the North by the Tanganyika territory. It falls naturally into two geographical divisions; the Shire Highlands and the western shore of Lake Nyasa with the table-lands separating this country from Rhodesia. This is a Protectorate under the British Empire, about 520 miles long and varies from 50 to 150 miles in width; the most southerly point is about 130 miles from the sea in a direct line.

A very large proportion of the Protectorate is of a mountainous or hilly nature, which generally takes the form of a lofty plateau, rising abruptly from the lower ground; one among these being the Mlanji mountain situated in the extreme south-east of the Protectorate and consists of a great table-land with an area of about 200 square miles, and an attitude, for the most part, of upwards of 6,000 feet. From this table-land rise several granite peaks, bare of vegetation, and probably of volcanic origin, the highest of which is 9,843 feet.

Lake Nyasa, from which the country derives its name is the third largest lake in Africa and is a deep basin 360 miles long and 15 and 20 miles wide, lying at an altitude of 1,465 feet above the sea, and closely approached, especially on the northern and eastern sides by huge mountains and table-lands which rise several thousand feet above it. Its greatest depth is 386 fathoms and steamers are regularly plying between the different ports of the lake in order to maintain commercial relations between Tanganyika territory, Northern Rhodesia and this country. It finds an

outlet at its southern extremity in the River Shire by which its waters are carried to the River Zambesia and ultimately into the Indian Ocean.

Although Zomba is the Headquarters of the Government of Nyasaland, Blantyre, which is situated about 45 miles from the former, has become an important town in recent years, owing to its commercial relation with foreign countries, as this is the Terminus Station of the Shire Highlands Railway which starts from Chindio on the River Zambesia. The Trans-Zambesia Railway, which starts from Beira an important seaport belonging to the Portuguese on the East Coast of Africa, links the Shire Highlands Railway with a Ferry boat steamer plying across the Zambesia, transshipping passengers and Cargo. The construction of a bridge across this large river has been sanctioned by the Colonial Office at a cost of three million pounds and the same has already been started. The Bridge, when constructed, will be one of the largest bridges in the world and will afford through Railway communication between Beira and Nyasaland. This will give a great relief to the planters and traders of this country on the transport problem as they are now undergoing a good deal of expenses and delay in getting their goods transported.

Limbe, another important town in Nyasaland situated about five miles from Blantyre is the Headquarters of the Shire Highlands and Trans-Zambesia Railways and is also a good commercial centre. This is lying at an altitude of 4,000 feet above the sea and a very healthy place in Nyasaland. The majority of Indians reside here either as traders or as employees. Indians are servants at home and they are servants abroad! They can be bullied and used as hewers of wood and drawers of water. They are specially created by the all-Merciful God to worship and serve the

white Gods and to receive with reverence and loyalty the crumbs and bones thrown to them! The Government offices and other firms except a few are entirely closed against Indians.

A very large area of land is still lying uncultivated owing to the difficulties of transport. Very few Indians have taken up farming as they do not enjoy any encouragement from the Government.

The Administration of the country is carried on by the Governor who is also the Commander-in-chief, assisted by an Executive Council consisting of the Chief Secretary, the Treasurer and the Attorney-General, and a Legislative Council consisting of the above three as ex-officio members and eight un-official European members nominated; both presided over by the Governor. The population of Indians at present numbers well over a thousand, but no Indian has yet been nominated to the Council.

The relation between the Europeans and Indians are not very antagonistic as in the case of South Africa or Kenya although it is not as cordial as it should be. It can, however, be predicted that the day for a severe conflict is not far, as a rapid increase in recent years is seen in the South African element, an element which is inclined to look upon the Indians with a feeling of hostility and contempt.

A few words about the part played by the Indians in social life and games may not be out of place. A club was started at Limbe by a few Indians some time ago to promote games etc, and a small library also was attached to it. Later on, the members took keen interest in games and started cricket under the Captainship of a young enthusiast from Mangalore. Actuated by the capabilities and spotless character of this young man, the late Governor, Sir Charles Bowring, included the Indian team to play the "LEAGUE" matches against European teams in Nyasaland for the "BOWRING" shield. Both Lady and Sir Bowring were so kind that they invited him and his team

for lunch at the Government House whenever any match was played at Zomba.

A beautiful building for the Indian sports club was constructed this year, as the old one was found insufficient, and the inauguration ceremony was recently performed by Mr. H. G. Duncan, O. B. E., the General Manager of the Associated Railways, amidst a huge gathering of Indians and Europeans. It is noteworthy that Mr. Duncan, having been connected with India from his infancy, is an Indian sympathiser, and enjoys the confidence of most of the educated Indians in this country. Following this, an excellent tea was served to the audience in the club house. Credit is due to this young Captain of the Indian team and his associates for the achievement of such a wonderful success in the field of games and for the creation of an admirable impression in the minds of thoughtful Europeans about the Indians and their social life.



HEAD OFFICE:—ESPLANADE ROAD, FORT, BOMBAY.

E Sept. '30.



# THE WORLD OF BOOKS



**BEGINNINGS OF VIJAYANAGARA HISTORY.** By the Rev. H. Heras. S. J., Bombay.

This is a study, published under the auspices of the Bombay Indian Historical Research Institute, of the real facts that can be ascertained of the foundation of the city of Vijayanagara and of the origin of its first dynasty of rulers. It disproves the truth of the tradition that Vidysaraya was the alleged founder of the city and empire of Vijayanagara and shows that it was in the time of the third dynasty that the ascetics of the Sringeri Math created the story of Vidyaranya as the founder of the city, possibly in the pontificate of Ramachandra Bharati, in order to create the impression of an early and close relation between the Math and the Vijayanagara rulers, at a time when the influence of Virupaksha was waning at the royal court and that of Vishnu was increasing. After sifting the relevant accounts of Nunez and Ferishta and after an examination of epigraphs, the author tries to show that it was Vira Ballala III of the Hoysala dynasty that founded the city to prevent any possible junction of the Delhi force with those of the short-lived Madura Sultanate; and in a supplementary note, we are told that Ballala III fortified Anegundi, and it was this fortification and enlargement of the old place that was effected by the Hoysala ruler, while the city of Vijayanagar, on the opposite or southern bank of the Tungabhadra, was built by

Bukka, and was consequently called in several epigraphs as the new city (Hosapattana) as different from the old town of Anegundi. The still later town of Nagalapur built by Krishnadeva Raya became the newer Hospet.

Another point elucidated in the book is about the close connection that existed between the Hoysala and Sangama families; and we are told that both families belonged to the Yadava clan and to the same common stock of Hoysalaratna. Harihara and his brothers were loyal to the Hoysala rulers till their extinction in 1346 A. D., and remained for years afterwards faithful to the memory of their former masters. They became the inheritors of the Hoysala dominions without waging any war with the Hoysala remnants and were loyally accepted as their natural rulers in the Canarese country, whereas the case was different in the Telugu region. The foundation of the city under Hoysala auspices has already been noticed by Dr. S. K. Aiyangar; and the present author brings to bear a mass of varied evidence to prove his arguments which have a naturalness about them.

**THE GAME OF LIFE AND HOW TO PLAY IT.**

By F. S. Shino. L. N. Fowler & Co., London, 2s.

A course of stimulating and thought-provoking articles gathered together in book form on the art of living.

THE INDIAN PHILOSOPHY VOL. I. By Prof. S. Radhakrishnan. George Allen & Unwin. (Available of G. A. Natesan & Co. Rs. 15-12).

We have in these pages reviewed more than one of Prof. Radhakrishnan's books, his "Hindu view of Life" and his "Philosophy of the Upanishads" representing his stand-point with all the clarity and impressiveness of this excellent philosopher. But this book is more comprehensive and authoritative. It gives a clear and rational account of the highest conceptions of Hinduism. It shows a happy blend of Eastern conceptions with Western terminology. As the TIMES truly remarks: "Professor Radhakrishnan has shown that in their perception of the goal, in the sentences of their reasoning, and in the boldness of their conceptions, the Indian thinkers are second to none."

HOME INDUSTRIES. By an Industrial Expert, Industry Book Depot, Calcutta.

This booklet of 120 pages is a "sheaf of practical hints and suggestions on a few remunerative home industries suited to Indian conditions". India, being mainly a land of agriculture, Indian Labour has only seasonal occupation. Over a major part of the year, the labourers are without work and the anonymous writer suggests some simple lines along which home industries can be built up, to combat this seasonal unemployment. Such commodities as bread, biscuit, cakes, vermilion, lac bangles, papadams and fruit juices as are in general demand may be conveniently and profitably manufactured within the four walls of the cottage with the co-operation of the otherwise idle womenfolk. The author does not expect these industries to compete out of the market the cheap machine made articles but intends them to be supplemental. The value of the book is greatly enhanced by a good number of well tried recipes and a neat little glossary at the end without which difficulty may be experienced in deciphering the Hindi terms.

THE GROWTH AND TROPIC MOVEMENTS OF PLANTS. By Sir Jagadis Chunder Bose, F. R. S. Longmans Green and Co., London.

In a recent issue we reviewed Dr. Bose's "Motor Mechanism of Plants" and in this his latest, the great Indian Scientist pursues his interesting thesis and offers further explanations of his experiments. Thus the present volume supplements, and, in a sense, completes his treatment of the subject. For those who have followed Sir Jagadis Bose's discoveries with interest, will find in this book a lucid explanation of the experiments on which they are built.

Each is detailed and the conclusions tersely stated until the reader understands why this field of research which has been neglected is closely akin to the other sciences, and may help by association and suggestion those at work in other fields of scientific research. The delicacy and intricacy of the experiments must have involved patience and care almost beyond realisation, and as PUBLIC OPINION rightly suggests, every university, every college of agriculture and all those prominently engaged in plant culture will want this standard work by Sir Jagadis Chunder Bose.

THE PRINCE VIJAYA PALA OF CEYLON (1634-1651). By P. E. Pieris, The C. A. C. Press, Colombo.

This small book contains information about Prince Vijaya, the second son of King Senarivat who restored in 1617 some semblance of peace to Ceylon after so many years of warfare and partitioned the Kingdom among his sons of whom Vijaya got Matale. The Portuguese against whom the powerful Dutch now appeared, wanted to use Vijaya as a tool for creating internal discord and promised to assist him to conquer his brother's kingdom—but at last he was taken to Goa and baptised a Christian. Mr. Pieris points out to this Prince of whom it can be said, "European ideas, badly digested, deationalised this well-meaning, but shallow man and ruined his life."

**YOGIC PHYSICAL CULTURE OR THE SECRET OF HAPPINESS.** By S. Sundaram. Published by Gurukula Ashram, Kengri, Bangalore. (Available of G. A. Natesan & Co., Madras. Re. 1-8).

This neat little book is the outcome of Mr. Sundaram's careful and close study of the yogic system of Physical culture, a notable contribution to the public from his personal experience of the effects of such yogic science. "Yogic Physical culture" the title of the book under review *prima facie* would appear to suggest to many that it prescribes methods whereby one's gross body could be improved and kept strong and sinewy, that akin to the practice of the Hatha Yogins. The method the author at once hastens to suggest is not for building the body alone but to build and direct the subtle mind to spiritual power which ultimately would lead to God consciousness.

The author's fond hope is to see the adoption of this Yogic culture in schools. How this idea would commend itself to the Educational authorities we leave it an open question.

**SONS AND THORNS OR SOME SPIRITUAL SIGN-LIGHTS.** By Mr. A. K. Abdulla. Published by Mr. N. N. Satha at Meherabad, (Arangaon) Ahmednagar (Deccan, India). Price Re. 1.

This neatly printed book of Mr. A. K. Abdulla is veritably a pen picture and a vindication of the deeply devotional life that the Master along with his pupils lead at Meher Ashram, near Ahmednagar. The author delineates in strong and telling colours the kind of life that the students lead and in particular that of Syed Ali Syed Haji Muhammad describing the religious and spiritual pull of the Meher Ashram and holy Baba. While dissensions and inequalities of castes and creeds are rife everywhere, no such difference is felt within the Ashram where all are wedded to the same community of purpose *viz.*, the realisation of God.

**LECTURES ON THE MESOPOTAMIA CAMPAIGN.**

By Lt. B. B. More—Baroda. Price Rs. 2/8/-.

This book written by a former Military Secretary to the General commanding the Baroda Army who contributes the foreword to it, is the result of a series of lectures that the author delivered on the Mesopotamia Campaign of the Great War. It traces the physical features of Mesopotamia, and their effects on military operations and points out how the mirage, one of the physical disabilities of the country deceived the British force many a time. The English capture of Basra, the battles of Shaiba, Qurna, Kut-Al-Amara and Ctesiphon are all described strategically with the help of maps and plains; while the retreat to Kut is described as a 'brilliant' one. The fall of Kut is deemed 'a misfortune and not a disaster': and it compelled the Turks to weaken their hold on the Caucasus fronts, and thus enabled the Russians to capture Erzerum and Trebizond. The re-capture of Kut and the capture and consolidation of Bagdad had become complete by April 1917. The various lessons of strategy, wiser lines of advance and retreat, etc. are brought forth clearly in the book which is bound to be useful in the teaching of military science to soldiers and others.

**THE MELAKARTA JANYA-RAGA SCHEME.** By P. Sambaswamy, B.A., B.L. The Indian Music Publishing House, Madras. Price 8 annas.

In the course of the book, the author has attempted an explanation of Venkatasakhi's Melakarta Scheme as understood by music scholars since his time. There is an explanatory chart attached to the book. Lovers of music will find the publication useful.

**SPRING SHOWERS.** By H. P. Shastri, Shanghai.

The book contains the musings of the author on various philosophical and emotional topics,

**SERENADE TO THE HANGMAN.** By Maurice Dekobra. Translated from the French by Neal Wainwright. Werner Laurie, London. Price 7/6.

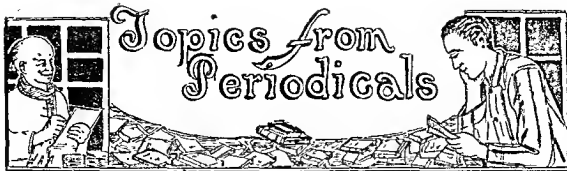
Readers of Dekobra's 'The Madonna of the Sleeping Cars' which made him deservedly popular were reminded of Matthew Arnold's saying that the French are an unmoral people; and this without any stigma whatever. For the theme of that book, while astonishing those who could rise above minor proprieties, was conceived in a bold vein which disarmed any criticism based on the Ten Commandments. The present work is the story of an Egyptian Pasha by a French Dansense who is trained at Eton and Cambridge but fails to imbibe the English culture, and on leaving college plunges into an orgy of voluptuous experiences. He seduced the wife of a Doctor Schomberg and through her gets caught in a revolutionary insurrection in Turkey and is condemned to death. Schomberg desires a novel revenge: he rescues the young man on condition that he should commit suicide at the end of a year, and seeks to enhance his zest in life by introducing him to a young woman. Mademoiselle Paprika's love is very touching. The end sees the Doctor a broken-down man, whose revenge has failed. But the lot of Paprika is the cruellest of all. It leaves our sense of fair-play outraged. The Madonna of the Sleeping Cars has made us very exacting: judged by any other standard the Serenade to the Hangman is a remarkable book.

**MY MOTHER'S PICTURE.** By Syam Sunder Chakravarty. Sanjiboni Book Depot, Calcutta. (Can be had of G. A. Natesan and Co., Rs. 4). Since Miss Mayo published her now notorious book, many attempts have been made to controvert and dispute her statements. One set of writers like Kanyalal Gauha paid the reviler in her own coin; while the other including Mr. Natarajan and the late Mr. Lajpat Rai have laboriously put forward the defence that things are not so bad as

Miss Mayo has depicted. The former seem to say in essence: "You are no better; the kettle can hardly call the pot black?" The other seem apologetically to admit the truth of Miss Mayo's contentions only declaring: "but then you don't take count of our efforts at improvements. See how quickly and easily we are giving up our bad old ways and taking to the ways of your civilization!" That, says Mr. Chakravarty is hardly an answer to Miss Mayo. To him such answers are meaningless and only tend to confirm Miss Mayo's statements. And so Mr. Chakravarty puts the case for Hindu orthodoxy with splendid eloquence. He stands by "Mother India" with all her faults and weaknesses and writes in passionate praise of her even as she is. He holds that the renaissance of India is to be sought in the recovery of our old inheritance and in getting rid of even the vestiges of foreign influence.

#### BOOKS RECEIVED

- SWARAJ—CULTURAL AND POLITICAL.** By P. N. Bose, B.Sc. W. Newman & Co., Ltd., Calcutta.
- THE STORY OF MY EXPERIMENTS WITH TRUTH.** By M. K. Gandhi. Vol. II. Young India Office. (Available of G. A. Natesan & Co., Rs. 5-8.)
- THE CAMBRIDGE HISTORY OF INDIA.** Vol. V. Edited by H. H. Dodwell. Cambridge University Press.
- TRANSLATION OF THE HOLY QURAN** (without Arabic Text). By Muhammad Ali, M.A. Ahmadiyya Anjuman-I-Islahat-I-Islam, Lahore.
- THE MILLENNIUM.** By Upton Sinclair. T. Werner Laurie, Ltd., London. (Available of G. A. Natesan and Co., Madras. Price Rs. 5-10).
- JAYAVFERA SINGAM OR THULASINGA BABOO** (Tamil). By N. Ramanujam, Tiruvadi. Published by N. L. Iyer, Tanjore.
- BANNED BY THE CENSOR.** By Edgar Middleton. T. Werner Laurie, London. (Available of G. A. Natesan and Co., Madras, Rs. 2-10).



### THE POLITICAL GOAL OF INDIA

Under the above caption Mr. Ramanand Chatterjee, Editor of the MODERN REVIEW, contributes an article to his journal justifying the Independence resolution passed by the Lahore Congress. Mr. Chatterjee traces the history of the Independence resolution to the antipathy of England towards India as well as the former's failure to confer Dominion Status on India before 31st December 1929.

Britishers pretend to be reluctant to give self-government to India on the ground that the higher castes would oppress the depressed classes minority, though there are no laws in India discriminating against the latter, nor is there the least likelihood of any being passed in a self-ruling India; whereas self-government has been given to the South African whites in spite of discriminating and oppressive laws pressing hard on the native population who form the majority.

Mr. Chatterjee is of opinion that mere boycott of the Councils cannot directly bring any pressure on the British people to agree to India having self-rule. The following are the means to be adopted, according to Mr. Chatterjee, for winning self-government for India:

If the members who have resigned can bring about an effective boycott of British goods (say, British yarn and cloth, for example), can prepare this country for civil disobedience and the working population in British-owned factories in India for a general strike (collecting and keeping in reserve sufficient funds for the purpose), can abolish untouchability, and can bring about more amicable relations between Hindus and Moslems, self-rule would be in sight. Of all the means of bringing direct pressure to bear on the British people, the boycott of some of their manufactures, e. g., yarn and cloth, is most likely under present circumstances to be effective and the least likely to cause suffering to the masses in India.

"Even if India were given the same status as Canada," continues Mr. Chatterjee, "Independent India would feel that Indians not being

Britishers or even Europeans and being far more numerous than all the other inhabitants of the British Empire, having a more ancient civilization and having influenced larger areas and masses of humanity than any other peoples, should not be known as members of a non-Indian Empire or Commonwealth having non-Indian king, and should not have a foreign Governor-General appointed by a foreign monarch." Mr. Chatterjee concludes:—

This may be pooh-poohed as mere sentimental nonsense. But the sentiment is based on reality. And such sentiment rules the world.

To those Britishers who say that for India Dominion Status would be equal to Independence, and it would make India an equal of Great Britain, an Indian Independentist might say: "If Dominion status be equal to Independence, Independence must also be equal to Dominion status. Why do you then object to our having Independence? If Dominion status would make India an equal of Great Britain, could you imagine with equal facility the possibility of an Indian king sitting on the throne of the British Empire or Commonwealth of Nations and appointing an Indian Viceroy and Governor-General for Great Britain?"

### PARLIAMENT

"Talk," says Mrs. Mary Hamilton, M. P., in an article, "First Impressions of a New M. P." in HARPER'S MAGAZINE, "is all that the House of Commons as such, can do; but talk, in modern times, is the most potent instrument of practical action.

"It is through it that minds communicate, interact, and move; talk is the substitute, and the only possible substitute, for force.

"Disbelief in talk, contempt for talk—so prevalent nowadays—is neither more nor less than a disbelief in and contempt for all that we mean by civilisation.

"The alternative to talk is fisticuffs."



## A NEW OUTLOOK ON INDIA

A writer in the *SPECTATOR* pleads for a new mental outlook on India. Too often the attention of statesmen is focussed on the immediate problems confronting them and the vision of the future is obscured by endless controversies over the present. The writer is not concerned with the immediate form of Government to be put into force in India but he urges

that there should be a new mental outlook in the country towards India, its problems and its people, and a greater tendency on the part of the politically-minded in India to appreciate our difficulties. Assuming that there is no higher destiny before India than as a free member of the British Commonwealth of Nations, people of good will in both countries should try to dissipate the misunderstandings that have arisen during the past quarter of a century.

It is useless to say that all is well with British Indian relations. On the one hand there is in India feeling of considerable restiveness under the limitations of foreign rule; while on the other hand Englishmen go on regarding India as "the chief dependency of the British Empire." This attitude naturally exacerbates the feelings of the Indian intelligentsia.

In fact nothing could be more harmful to friendship between two peoples than the confused thinking of some of the writers in the British press on India, who seek to inflame the British electorate against reform by telling it that some suggested course of action in India might jeopardize British trade worth many millions. Writers such as these seem to think that Great Britain's attitude should be measured in pounds, shillings and pence and they do not see that the course of action which they recommend is calculated to cause just that decline of British trade to India which they most fear.

What is required, apart from legislative and constitutional changes is a new outlook on the part of the people of Great Britain towards India.

Sooner or later, we must attune our minds to the thought that *India is an equal*; that an Indian is entitled to just as much respect and consideration from us as a Japanese or the citizen of any other country; that there must be no more patronage and condescension in our attitude and that considerations of material advantage must not weigh with us.

The writer goes on to point out that the only question for the Englishman, sincerely desiring that India shall remain a part of the British Commonwealth, is to ask himself whenever any

course of action affecting India is proposed is it for India's good?

Are we ready to get out of our minds the thought that in our relations with India force is the ultimate arbiter and consequently that we can impose our will in the last resort? Are we prepared to accord to India the right to withdraw from the British Commonwealth, should she desire to do so, a right which, anyhow, by implication, we have admitted in the case of Canada, and South Africa and the other dominions? If Canada were to say tomorrow that she wished to withdraw from the British Commonwealth, which God forbid, not a single British bayonet would be raised. Little minds and great Empires makes bad bed-fellows as Burke said. If the British people were to pursue a policy of friendship towards India, we think they would be surprised at the results. We agree with Mr. Gandhi that India's permanent position in the British Commonwealth would be much more secure if based on the goodwill of the people of India rather than on force. But if we can assure Indian Nationalists that an increasing number of Englishmen see their point of view and are genuinely anxious to advance the welfare of India by every means in their power, we must ask them in turn to throw their weight into the scales on the side of conciliation.

To the writer, who was somewhat closely connected with Irish affairs before the outbreak of the "Anglo Irish War," there seems to be an analogy between Ireland and India.

Great Britain failed at that time, because of her inability to see the situation from the Southern Irishman's point of view, and within two years she had to climb down, and give away more than Irishmen would have been satisfied with two years previously.

The writer contemplates with dismay the consequences of mutual misunderstanding between England and India. He rightly warns Britain of the impending menace to world peace "if the leaders of Indian opinion think that there is a lack of sympathy in England with their aspirations, and a failure to recognize that times have changed".

Cannot we in Great Britain make use of our golden opportunity to-day and show that we want to be friends with India, that we know that in the last resort India will not remain a part of the British Commonwealth unless the majority of her people wish to do so, and that the politically-minded Indian desiring freedom for his country is just as much entitled to his views as the Englishman. Whatever India's future form of government may be, who can estimate the good that would result from British-Indian friendship? An alliance of the British and Indian peoples, both of them free partners in our World Commonwealth, would have an influence upon world peace impossible to over-estimate. The British people have a great opportunity at the present time of winning Indian friendship. Will they rise to the occasion?

## CAN BUSINESS BE CIVILISED?

"If we wish to be civilised, we must transfer the emphasis of business life from the pursuit of money as its guiding principle to a due regard for the things money is to serve," writes Professor Harold J. Laski in *HARPER'S MONTHLY MAGAZINE*.

"There is room in such a conception for every diversity of type, the great economic explorer to whom risk is the salt of life, the bureaucratic official to whom routine is all, the artist-craftsman who will call no man master. But such a world would have a different scale of values from the present order.

"It would think more of the creative artist because there will be more people with energy of soul to appreciate him. It will be less moved than we are by the man who asks to be judged by the size of the property he can accumulate. It may even, in its beginnings, appear a materially poorer society.

"For, almost inevitably, it will take time to train men to the habits born of new principles. Some will even refuse to be trained, and withdraw from their effort, the spirit by which it is invigorated. It may become a society in which there will be few wealthy men. Their disappearance will merely involve the absence of that conspicuous display which has made much of our social life seem crude and vulgar and tawdry.

"It is not an insignificant thing that every thinker of the modern time to whom the prophetic gift has been vouchsafed, Emerson and Carlyle, Thoreau and Ruskin, Marx and Tolstoy, has been driven by his inner vision to demand a transvaluation of our values if the gift of civilisation is to be preserved.

"The condition of our well-being is fellowship; and this is possible only where men are won to a common service. For in that service that by which we live is born of justice and we gain the world by being willing to lose it."

## Mr. GANDHI'S ELEVEN POINTS

"His Excellency the Viceroy deserves thanks from every Congressman for having cleared the atmosphere and let us know exactly where he and we stand," writes Mahatma Gandhi in *YOUNG INDIA*, commenting on the Viceroy's address to the Assembly:

The Viceroy would not mind waiting for the grant of Dominion status till every millionaire was reduced to the level of a wage-earner getting seven pice per day. The Congress will to-day, if it had power, raise every starving peasant to the state in which he at least will get a living, even equal to the millionaires, and when the peasant is fully awakened to a sense of his plight and knows that it is not the *kismet* that has brought him to the helpless state but the existing rule. Unaided, he will in his impatience abolish all distinctions between the constitutional and unconstitutional, even the violent and non-violent means. The Congress expects to guide the peasants in the right direction.

Proceeding, Mahatma Gandhi makes the following offer to Lord Irwin that he had made to Lord Reading:

- (1) Total prohibition.
- (2) Reduction of rates to 1s. 4d.
- (3) Reduction of land revenue at least by 50 per cent. and making it subject to legislative control.
- (4) Abolition of the salt tax.
- (5) Reduction of military expenditure at least by 50 per cent. to begin with.
- (6) Reduction of salaries of the highest grade services by half or less, so as to suit the reduced revenue.
- (7) Protective tariff on foreign cloth.
- (8) Passage of the Coastal Traffic Reservation Bill.
- (9) Discharge of all political prisoners, save those condemned for murder or attempt to murder, or trial by ordinary judicial tribunals, withdrawal of all political prosecutions, abrogation of section 121-A and Regulation III of 1918, and giving permission to all Indian exiles to return.
- (10) Abolition of the C. L. D. or its popular control.
- (11) To issue licences to use fire-arms for self-defence, subject to popular control.

This is by no means an exhaustive list of the pressing needs, writes Mahatma Gandhi, "but let the Viceroy satisfy us with regard to these very simple but vital needs of India. He will then hear no talk of civil disobedience; and the Congress will heartily participate in any conference where there is a perfect freedom of expression and demand."

## THE PRINCES AND DOMINION STATUS

Writing in the *ASIATIC REVIEW* for January on the grant of Dominion Status for India H. H. The Maharajah of Alwar says that the situation in India is different in important respects from that of the other self-governing Dominions of the Empire, such as Canada, Australia, South Africa, New Zealand, Newfoundland and Ireland. "Firstly, there is the question of the Indian States who are in Treaty relations with the Crown, as has always been known and has recently been emphasized by the Butler Committee, having their relations adjusted by their own free-will with the future governance of India. And, secondly, whilst in these Dominions, particularly in South Africa, Canada, Australia, and New Zealand, the Dominion status applies to the settlers in those countries, in India it would apply to the indigenous inhabitants of that great sub-continent."

The Maharajah continues :—

"If then, responsible government is to be the method, surely Dominion status is the logical conclusion. Although it may possibly require to be worked out on a different footing, nevertheless, it will place India in a position of equality with her sister Dominions. The many utterances made in responsible places on this subject make me think that this logical conclusion should be doubted. I have often given public expression to my own opinion on this subject, and I declare, without hesitation, that a status which would place India on a similar footing of equality to that of her sister Dominions is a noble aspiration for our country and an equally noble goal to be aimed at by those in whose hands lies the future progress and advancement of India at the present moment."

The bogey of the Indian States has been held out, sometimes with unhappy results, as the alleged obstruction in the way of the achievement

of this goal. The Maharajah's observations on the point are worth quoting :—

"The King-Emperor is the great connecting-link that unites the Empire, the greatest that history has known, and we are proud to be partners inside it, be it in a small or large degree. The question of the goal does not seem to me in doubt, but the difficulties appear when the question of time is considered as to when this Dominion status goal might be reached. My simple answer to that proposition is: When, by mutual consent between the Government of British India and ourselves, future relations are so adjusted that we can all unitedly work towards the achievement of this ideal."

## INDIA'S FINANCIAL OBLIGATIONS

Every one who knows anything of public finance knows how extravagant this Government is and how heavy is the load of debts that is crushing the nation, writes Mr. Gandhi in the pages of *YOUNG INDIA*, commenting on the resolution of the Congress repudiating India's debts. He continues :—

"Every one knows also what concessions have been given to foreigners in utter disregard of the national interest. These cannot demand, dare not expect recognition from Independent India under the much abused name of vested interests. All vested interests are not entitled to protection. The keeper of a gambling den or of a brothel has no vested interest. Nor has a corporation that gambles away the fortunes of a nation and reduces it to impotence. The Congress at Gaya therefore passed a comprehensive resolution repudiating certain debts. The last, whilst reaffirming the Gaya resolution, laid down that obligations or concessions pronounced to be unjust and unjustifiable by any independent tribunal shall not be recognised by the Independence Government to come. No exception can, in my opinion, be possibly taken against such a reasonable proposition. To shirk the issue is to invite disaster."

## RELIGION IN THE MODERN WEST

## APPROACHES TO HISTORY

"European religion is to be looked for in certain mysteries and occult disciplines, which all had their origin in Asia. These all flourished in Catholic Christendom, but were sacrificed by Rationalists on the altars of the Renaissance and the French Revolution," writes Mr. Reginald A. Reynolda in the *VISVAKHARATI QUARTERLY*. Europe, says the writer, then fell on evil days and lost her soul, which she will never again find until the tide of modernism is checked by a return to the 'rock of ages' as prescribed by William Morris or perhaps by Yeats and Russell. He continues:—"The true way is hard to define. Among us, sacerdotalism and occult practices are fast being relegated to the dustbin of discredited superstitions. Nor do we any longer look for ultimate truth in law or scripture. Personality has always played a supreme place in the religion of the West, and it is meet that our ideals should be expressed in a Person rather than in a cult, a creed or a commandment. Mr. Gupta indeed chose a happy phrase when he said that we must get "back to the rock of ages," for with us that phrase means just one thing—back to Christ. It is in this sense that the words of Jesus, "I am the way," seem to me to have a meaning not only for the Christian or even the Western World, but for every one.

As to the salvation of the West, it has perplexed many; but we are tired of the "Lo, here" and "Lo, there" of would be messiahs. I do not agree myself that the best traditions of Western religion are to be found in "Mysteries and Occult Disciplines," and Europe is certainly unlikely to return to Orphic, Kabalistic or Druidic cults. Nor, as a follower of George Fox, am I at all clear that all good things must have come out of Asia. I am more inclined to hold with the *Bawls* that the source of all that matters most in any religion is to be found within my own heart and conscience."

Vladimir G. Slinkhovitch, writing in *THE POLITICAL SCIENCE QUARTERLY*, discusses the methods of historians in their interpretation of the facts of history. The Historian deals with facts and relationships between them. The successive change of his interpretation is what gives to the facts its historical character. The problem of history is the last analysis becomes a problem of thinking in which there is the distinction between the form of thinking and its content. Every time we appeal to the factual relationships of the past, all we get is the mentality of the historian or an assorted variety of such mentalities. We may deal with facts of history in terms of continuity. History written in terms of our own way of seeing and understanding things may be a fanciful creation, and vulnerable in a number of points; but it does not crumble under its own weight; from the point of view of historical truth it is a possible construction. The literary historian claims that he has given to historical material a form which is true to life. He has made historical actions coherent. This method has its own distinguishing type. The genetic approach gives history the form of continuity. It rescues history from being a mere collection of unrelated incidents and accidents. The achievements of this school of thought are very great. There is a large difference between continuities that are dealt with as factual material and a doctrine of continuity on a law of continuity as a historical attitude. By focussing our attention on the genesis, this attitude does not help us to see the purport of the change. In this, it is impossible to see or explain beginnings in terms of succession or continuity. This attitude also makes the historian look backward and to focus his attention upon antecedents and not much upon what our institutions, thoughts and actions confront.

### WHAT IS DOMINION STATUS?

There is a lot of loose thinking on this subject. It has been contended that Dominion Status is in essence independence. Imperial statesmen have in fact held forth on the superior claims of Dominion Status as it is supposed to include and transcend independence. They hold that it has all the advantages of independence together with the privileges of Imperial citizenship. Such at any rate is the faith of those who stand for Dominion Status in India. But Sir John Mairiott writing in the NINETEENTH CENTURY AND AFTER exhibits concern at the everwidening interpretation put upon the phrase Dominion Status. He says it was used lightly by the statesmen of the Imperial Conference with a view to find a formula acceptable to all. Its legal implications were never pressed, and the phrase though ambiguous served the purpose of presenting a certain measure of unanimity among the diverse elements that composed the conference. That is to say, Sir John thinks that it was merely a catchy phrase which has served its purpose and now that we begin to think seriously about it, when the nations comprising the Empire actually begin to claim the rights of independence it is time to own up the mistake.

"The diplomatists of Vienna were sharply censured for ignoring the principles of 'nationality' in the great European settlement of 1815. The statesmen who presided over the settlement of 1919 have incurred blame for giving an exaggerated emphasis to that very same doctrine. Geneva is already engaged on the task of neutralising the more obvious defects of their handiwork. 'Nationalism' to-day is suspect, and it is the primary function of a League of 'Nations' to minimise its implication. And this is the moment selected for the re-assertion of an obsolescent and disintegrating principle in the bosom of an Empire which provides the most powerful instrument yet devised for the maintenance of world peace. The

irony of the situation is manifest. Can anything be done to alleviate it? Of the legal links of Empire the only two which possess much practical validity to-day are the Crown and the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council. The youngest of the Dominions has openly flouted the Privy Council, and its loyalty to the Crown is not above suspicion. The Imperial Conference of 1926 was greatly influenced by a desire to make the Imperial "yoke" as light as possible for the least loyal of the Dominions. Phrases, undeniably if not designedly ambiguous were inserted in the Report on Inter-Imperial Relations, in the interests of unanimity and in the hope of reconciling the irreconcilable. The central doctrine of the British Constitution—the sovereignty of Parliament—was seemingly surrendered with similar intent. Is it worth while? Are we not running a serious risk of poisoning the whole body-politic of the Empire for the sake of saving a diseased limb? Would not amputation be a healthier alternative?"

That is plain speaking, and Sir John goes on to add his hope that the ensuing Imperial Conference will take a stronger line than the last with the malcontents.

"Membership of the British Empire is not an irksome obligation; it is a high privilege. Let those who do not so regard it 'loose the bond and go.' The constituent States which remain within the confederation will be the happier, the Empire as a whole will be the stronger, for a surgical operation which, though painful, and may be dangerous, is at least preferable to septic poisoning."

### INDIA'S STRUGGLE FOR SWARAJ

BY MR. R. G. PRADHAN, M.L.C.

WITH A FOREWORD BY

THE HON. SIR PHIROZE SETHNA.

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## BRAHMANISM

"Brahmanism or the Religion of Justice" is the subject of a thoughtful article in the **WORLD UNITY MAGAZINE** for December. The writer, Mr. Tyssul Davis points out that the training of the truth seeker in India is a rigorous discipline of the powers of the mind and the will "in order to lift the range of his consciousness up to that level upon which God thinks his thoughts and man may think them after him." Indeed a whole body of sciences and arts dealing with mental concentration, meditation and contemplation have been evolved to help the disciple.

The first qualification for the task is a complete ethical equipment. *There must be perfect unselfishness, subjugation of the ordinary desires, greed, ambitions. The things upon which ethics lay stress, gentleness, kindness, forgiveness, purity, love, are only preliminaries. Brahmaship is only a preparation. A realization of God, of one's own divinity is the goal. Union with God, "I and my Father are one"—that is the end. For the human spirit is in essence identical with God. That is why we love. The divine self in me seeks the divine self in you. That is why the beauty of nature attracts. That is why the wise of fellowship is so intoxicating. To all things that stir the spirit within us, we may say: *Tat tvam asi*—"Thou art That." Where but in India, could the victim turn to his murderer and say, as the Yogi who broke a vow of silence kept for fifteen years, in order to save the man who stabbed him: "Thou also art Ito"—Thou also art God!*

The tendency of this spiritualization of the nature of things is to make the physical body of no account. It is merely a portion of the physical world under the control of the dweller in the body. The True Self is also distinguished from the mind. Man is not the mind, but uses the mind as its instrument in the world of thought. The soul in the same way is the passionate, affectional venture of man in the world of desire and emotion. To transcend these worlds, and enter into the peace and serenity of man's spiritual home is the religious aim of Brahmanism.

Thus the religion of the Brahmin, is not, as is so often supposed, an exclusive cult. Every attempt is made to meet all tastes, to satisfy all needs, to exclude nobody and to include all truths. Now this attempt to accept all that God accepts from the anaks to Seraphim, as the writer puts it, marks Hinduism as the most catholic and in this respect, "the most important religion in the world".

But this toleration of every childlike faith and practice has also led to gross abuse and superstition. The counteracting advantage is that it is

able to keep the most ignorant within the restraining influence of religion. Brahminism is in practice a comprehensive theory of the universe unifying the divergent elements of the Indian people with their cycle of religions and congeries of worship. With this comprehensiveness goes perfect freedom of opinion.

It is orthodoxy of conduct rather than of belief that Hinduism chiefly concerns itself with. You may think as you will in matters of theology, but for the sake of the stability of the social fabric you must preserve the parity of the family life, you must not marry beneath your caste,

## ON INDEPENDENCE

Writing on the Congress resolution on independence Mahatma Gandhi observes in the pages of **YOUNG INDIA** :—

"We are now entering upon a new era. Our immediate objective and not our distant goal is complete Independence. Is it not obvious that if we are to evolve the true spirit of independence amongst the millions, we shall only do so through non-violence and all it implies? It is not enough that we drive out Englishmen by making their lives insecure through secret violence. That would lead not to independence but to bitter confusion. We can establish independence only by adjusting our differences through an appeal to the head and the heart, by evolving organic unity amongst ourselves, not by terrorism or killing those who, we fancy, may impede our march, but by patient and gentle handling, by converting the opponent. We want to offer mass civil disobedience. Everybody owns that it is a certain remedy. Everybody understands that 'civil' here means strictly non-violent, and, has it not often been demonstrated that mass civil disobedience is an impossibility without mass non-violence and without mass discipline? Surely, it does not require an appeal to our religious faith to convince us that the necessity of our situation, if nothing else, demands non-violence of the limited type I have indicated.

## PERSONAL RULE IN INDIA

Now that the demand for Parliamentary Government is becoming irresistible in India, the British press is busy finding reasons to prove the efficacy of personal rule in this country. A writer in the *EMPIRE REVIEW* for January—O. C. G. Hoyte—attempts to show that by some mysterious fiat of the Gods Indians are incapable of appreciating parliamentary Government and that the only thing that tells in India is personal rule, that is to say autocracy. Obviously, of course the autocracy of Englishmen would be preferable to native autocracy!

Personal rule, he says, has kept the peace of India. "Personal rule, from Viceroy to sub-divisional officer, from Commander-in-chief to *sahadar*, from Maharaja to petty tribal chief, from the head of a great caste to the headman of a caste to a village—all these elements of personal rule welded together and controlled, have consolidated and maintained the peace of India, allowing prosperity to grow.

If the imagined rule—really no rule—of Parliaments be substituted for personal rule in India, peace will fly, war will return, grass will grow between the rails, the tiger and the wolf will multiply exceedingly.

The Princes hearken to the King's Viceroy, the great landowners (princes in all but jurisdiction) hearken to the Governor, the landowners and chief townsmen in general hearken to the district officer, the tenant hearkens to the landowner, the tribesman to his chief, the casteman to his headman, the Moslem to his Pir, the Hindu or Sikh to his religious leader. Who will hearken to the behest of shadowy, unknown Parliaments, of artificial inventions, glorified debating societies?"

The writer makes full capital of the so called feuds between Hindus and Muslims and says that the tribal and caste laws are utterly inimical to parliamentary institutions! All the usual arguments

against the grant of freedom to peoples who have grown self-conscious are trotted out with a wealth of redundant rhetoric. The wonder is that such things pass! Are there people in England who really are so gullible as to believe this story "of the eternal war between high and low, Hindu and Muslim in India?"

The writer naturally conjures up visions of "disaster and confusion" on the introduction of parliamentary institutions in India; and no doubt the picture must be appalling to old maids who have their cousins abroad in India.

"It is clear that the less those communal leaders are under the control of paternal Governors and the more they have of "parliamentary immunity" and "democratic influence" the greater the actual danger of war in India becomes. I say "war" purposely because I do not believe in mincing words. When men, women, and children are murdered and ravished on a large scale, I do not believe in the honesty of people who say that this is not war but only a frontier incident or a communal dispute."

## INDIA IN PERIODICALS

DAUGHTERS OF MALWA. By Lucy Winifred Bryce, M.A., [The Madras Christian College Magazine, Jan. 1930.]

THE MALAYARAYANS OF TRAVANCORE. By L.A. Krishna Iyer, M.A., M.R.A.S. [Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society, Jan. 1930.]

WOMEN AND THE NEW MOVEMENTS IN INDIA. By Mrs. I. A. Underhill. [The Asiatic Review, Jan. 1930.]

## THE INDEPENDENCE DAY

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, President of the Indian National Congress, issued the following resolution, on behalf of the Congress Working Committee for adoption at the meetings held all over India on "Purna Swaraj Day", January 26.

We believe that it is the inalienable right of the Indian people, as of any other people, to have freedom and to enjoy the fruits of their toil and have the necessities of life, so that they may have full opportunities of growth. We believe also that if any government deprives a people of these rights and oppresses them, the people have a further right to alter it or to abolish it. The British Government in India has not only deprived the Indian people of their freedom but has based itself on the exploitation of the masses, and has ruined India economically, politically, culturally and spiritually. We believe, therefore, that India must sever the British connection and attain Purna Swarajya or complete Independence.

India has been ruined economically. The revenue deprived from our people is out of all proportion to our income. Our average income is seven pice (less than two pence) per day, and of the heavy taxes we pay, 20% are raised from the land revenue derived from the peasantry and 3% from the salt tax, which falls most heavily on the poor.

Village Industries, such as hand spinning, have been destroyed, leaving the peasantry idle for at least four months in the year, and dulling their intellect for want of handicrafts, and nothing has been substituted, as in other countries, for the crafts thus destroyed.

Customs and currency have been so manipulated as to heap further burdens on the peasantry. British manufactured goods constitute the bulk of our imports. Customs duties betray clear partiality for British manufactures, and revenue from them is used not to lessen the burden on the masses but for sustaining a highly extravagant administration. Still more arbitrary has been the manipulation of the exchange ratio which has resulted in millions being drained away from the country.

Politically, India's status has never been so reduced as under the British regime. No reforms have given real political power to the people. The tallest of us have to bend before foreign authority. The rights of free expression of opinion and free association have been denied to us and many of our countrymen are compelled to live in exile abroad and cannot return to their homes. All administrative talent is killed and the masses have to be satisfied with petty village offices and clerkships.

Culturally, the system of education has torn us from our moorings and our training has made us hug the very chains that bind us.

Spiritually, compulsory disarmament has made us unmanly and the presence of an alien army of occupation, employed with deadly effect to crush in us the spirit of resistance, has made us think that we cannot look after ourselves or put up a defence against foreign aggression, or even defend our homes and families from the attacks of thieves, robbers and miscreants.

We hold it to be a crime against man and God to submit any longer to a rule that has caused this four-fold disaster to our country. We recognise, however, that the most effective way of gaining our freedom is not through violence. We will therefore prepare ourselves by withdrawing, so far as we can, all voluntary association from the British Government, and will prepare for civil disobedience, including non-payment of taxes. We are convinced that if we can but withdraw our voluntary help and stop payment of taxes without doing violence, even under provocation, the end of this inhuman rule is assured. We, therefore, hereby solemnly resolve to carry out the Congress instructions issued from time to time for the purpose of establishing Purna Swarajya.

## THE NAVAL CONFERENCE

Amidst great enthusiasm and with bright prospects of establishing international peace through disarmament, the Naval Conference in London was opened by H. M. the King-Emperor. The setting for the occasion was most brilliant. A microphone conveyed His Majesty's speech to millions of his subjects thus enabling them to hear His Majesty's voice at the first public function after his recent illness.

The aims of Britain on the eve of the epoch-making Conference were well set out in an official statement on the subject. The expressed aim of the British Government, according to the statement, is to achieve the maximum reduction in naval armaments commensurate with international security, avoiding proposals that would wreck the chances of agreement, and bearing constantly in mind the extent of the British Empire and its dependence on the Navy for the protection of her sea-borne trade and maritime communications. Justification for the hope that such reduction may safely be realised is to be found primarily in the numerous instruments for entreaching security which have been signed since the War—the Covenant of the League of Nations, the Washington-Treaty, the Locarno Treaties, the Optional Clause and the Pact of Paris, the most notable of these instruments—but, in addition, there have been a number of regional agreements to which the signatories attach considerable importance for the maintenance of world peace.



## THE VICEROY'S SPEECH

H. E. The Viceroy, addressing the Assembly on the 25th January, said that he thought the Round Table Conference would be held in London in the Autumn. He had so far tendered no advice to his Majesty's Government regarding its composition and he hoped that the Prime Minister would be able personally to preside over its deliberations.

Referring to those who desired to achieve the goal by resorting to unlawful methods, his Excellency said that it was incumbent on him to make it plain that he would discharge to the full the responsibility resting on himself and his Government for effective maintenance of laws, authority and preservation of law and order.

His Excellency asked those who demand full equality for India with other units of the British Empire, to bear in mind that Great Britain on her side also desired to lend her assistance to India in attaining to that position. He continued:—

"On my return to this country from England, it was my duty to make a statement on behalf of His Majesty's Government. That statement stands as I made it, and indeed, in the light of the appreciation which I had found of principal elements of the problem with which we all have to deal and with a full knowledge of weight that must necessarily attach to the considered opinion of anyone holding my present office, I should have felt that I had failed in my duty, both to India and Great Britain, if I had tendered any different advice to his Majesty's Government and when his Majesty's Government saw fit as they did to enjoin me to make an announcement on their behalf I could have chosen no different language in which to make it. The intention of my statement, of which I believe the purport to have been unmistakable and which carried the full authority of his Majesty's Government, was to focus attention on three salient points. Firstly, while saying that obviously no British Government could prejudge the policy which it would recommend to

Parliament after the report of the Statutory Commission had been considered, it re-stated in unequivocal terms the goal to which the British policy in regard to India was directed. Secondly, it emphasised Sir John Simon's assertion that facts of the situation compel us to make a constructive attempt to face the problem of Indian States with due regard to treaties which regulate their relations with the British Crown. And lastly, it intimated the intention of his Majesty's Government to convene a Conference on these matters before they themselves prejudged them by the formulation of even draft conclusions.

I have never sought to delude Indian opinion into the belief that a definition of the purpose, however plainly stated, would of itself by the enunciation of a phrase provide a solution for problems which have to be solved before that purpose is fully realised. The assertion of a goal, however precise its terms, is of necessity a different thing from the goal's attainment.

No sensible traveller would feel that the clear definition of his destination was the same thing as completion of his journey. But it is an assurance of the direction, and, in this case, I believe it to be something of a tangible value to India that those who demanded full equality with other self-governing units of British Commonwealth on her behalf should know that Great Britain on her side also desires to lend her assistance to India in attaining to that position."

## MR. GANDHI ON NON-CO OPERATION

Addressing the graduates of the Gujarat Vidyapeeth at Ahmedabad last month, Mr Gandhi said:—

"\* \* \* Other nations might have different and other means for getting their country's freedom, but for India there is no way but non-violent Non-co-operation. May you be the exponents of this mantra of Swaraj and may God give you strength and courage enough to give all that you have in India's fight for Independence, a fight which is drawing very near."

## VICEROY'S ADVICE TO PRINCES

The paramount need of unity between the British India and the Indian India was emphasised by the Viceroy in a speech delivered at a State Banquet held in his honour at Hydrabad. "They are partners," he said, "in an enterprise which admits of no internal jealousies or conflict."

There must be a common desire, the Viceroy pointed out, to see India strong with the strength which only unity can give. He appealed to British Indians and the Princes to see to it that the structure which each were building was erected on firm foundations.

Paying a tribute to the Nizam's administration, His Excellency made commendatory references to the Council system of administration prevailing in the Nizam's State and remarked that all the Indian States must insist on a high standard of internal administration.

In proposing the toast of Lord and Lady Irwin, the Nizam welcomed the Viceroy's offer of a Round Table Conference and observed that, whatever the form of the would-be Indian Government, the Princes considered it essential to maintain their historic relations with the British Crown as the Paramount Power in India.

## MAHARAJAH OF ALWAR'S IDEAL

The Maharaja of Alwar, in the speech on the "Problems before India," supported the ideal of British India and the Indian States forming the United States of India for all purposes common to both, without either interfering in the respective domestic or internal concerns.

His Highness stressed the advantages of India attaining to Dominion Status and expressed the desire that all the parties concerned should work for the country's achieving a position of equality with the other Dominions of the Empire. He welcomed the Round Table Conference as he was hopeful of the solution of India's political problem.

## BIKANIR MAHARAJAH'S SPEECH

The reasons why the claim of certain State subjects for representation at the proposed Round Table Conference is entirely unacceptable to the Princes, were outlined by H. H. the Maharaja of Bikanir at the prorogation of Bikanir Legislative Council.

The proposed Conference, said His Highness, would be concerned with the status of India as a whole in the Empire, the constitution of British India "vis-a-vis" His Majesty's Government and the relations between British India and the States.

The constitution of the States would be outside the scope of the Conference and was a matter between the ruler of a State and his subjects. Even the British Parliament could claim no jurisdiction to examine the constitutions obtaining in States. The suggestion for a quadruple conference was, therefore, inherently wrong as the recognition of the subjects' claim would be destructive of the internal sovereignty of the States.

His Highness also referred to the Congress invitation for a Conference with the representatives of the Princes, which will be considered at the February session of the Chamber of Princes.

## PUDUKOTTAH ADMINISTRATION

Addressing the People's Conference at Pudukottah, Mr. A. Rangaswamy Iyengar referred to Pundit Jawaharlal's statement about the attitude of the Indian National Congress towards the States and observed that it was not clear in what manner or to what extent the Princes or the people of the States could counter with the Congress committed to its present policy and programme. On the other hand, the acceptance of a Dominion Status basis, he added, would make the present solution of the Indian States problem politically practicable and acceptable to the Princes. He expressed the hope that the States would see the necessity for granting responsible government to their peoples.

## Indians Outside India

### INDIANS IN TRANSVAAL

Mr. J. D. Tyson, Acting Agent, Government of India, left for South Africa by the *S. S. "Karas,"* on the 9th of this month.

The immediate work awaiting Mr. Tyson in South Africa is to press the Indian case before the Select Committee which, according to the Transvaal Indian Congress, has been set up to remove the fears of the European community, arising out of the recent Supreme Court judgment in favour of Indians trading in Transvaal.

The Indians in South Africa seek the help of the Select Committee for different reasons which were explained in an interview by Mr. Kodanda Rao, of the Servants of India Society, who worked in South Africa with Mr. Sastri. Mr. Rao says that Mr. Tyson is an enthusiastic supporter of Mr. Sastri's policies and as such will be of great help to our cause just at present.

Mr. Kodanda Rao said, that, under the gold law of 1908, Indians are prohibited from owning land or occupying premises in commercial areas in Transvaal. A Supreme Court judgment recently held that the law of 1908 had no retrospective effect and did not apply to townships created prior to its enactment, which means that Indians can own and occupy fixed property in towns created before 1908. The Europeans are alarmed at this threat to their long-cherished policy of preventing Indians from acquiring fixed property in Transvaal. They, therefore, desire that this loophole which the Supreme Court judgment has discovered should be stopped.

Indians, on the other hand, seek the help of the Select Committee to resolve the *impasse* created over trade licenses in Transvaal.

Indians naturally rely on the spirit of the Cape Town Agreement to secure a reversal of the policy of exclusion and repression in Transvaal and substitute a policy of uplift, and make it possible and profitable for Indian traders to be within the law.

### RETURNED EMIGRANTS FROM S. AFRICA

Mr. Bhavani Dayal Sanyasi, who arrived in India recently from South Africa, with a view to study the conditions of repatriated emigrants, calls attention to their lot, in the course of a report just issued, and strongly urges the Government of India to appoint a Commission of Investigation.

He states that during three months' extensive travelling in India, in which he interviewed a large number of returned emigrants, he did not meet a single person who was happy in their new environment, and who would not like to return to the Colony, if he got a chance. He adds that the number of people who were pining, in the hope of getting a free passage to South Africa, could be counted in hundreds, if not in thousands.

It was a pathetic sight to see some of those healthy labourers from Natal, reduced to mere skeletons in the slums of Malras and Calcutta, who, being either illiterate or half-educated, could never realise the sort of life that they would lead in India. Consequently, after exhausting all their resources, many emigrated to Malaya and to Ceylon.

He concludes that the assisted emigration scheme has been in force for more than two years, and between 6,000 and 7,000 persons have been repatriated thereunder, but what percentage has been able to settle peacefully in India is a question which cannot be answered off-hand. It required a Commission of Inquiry by the Government of India. He declares that if the Government does not accept this suggestion, he will publish a full report at the end of April.

### INDIANS IN NEW YORK

A campaign sponsored by Mr. Hari Govil, founder of the India Society of America, has begun to raise \$22,000 to buy a six-storey building on Riverside Drive as an Indian centre where it is proposed to set aside one room for a Hindu temple to be transported from India.

## RE-ORGANIZATION OF INDUSTRIES

"A vigorous scheme of industrialisation which will produce more wealth and create fresh avenues of employment and make India self-contained" formed the theme of the address delivered by Mr. Hussainbhai Laljee, the incoming President, at the Annual General Meeting of the Indian Merchants' Chamber.

Mr. Laljee, as well as Mr. Tairsee, the retiring President, laid stress on the re-organisation of the cotton textile industry "which is as bad at present as it was during the last few years."

Mr. Tairsee, alluding to the political situation, said that the policy of boycott of Legislatures would spell disaster to trade and commerce, and appealed to Mr. Gandhi to desist from the civil disobedience programme till the meeting of the Round Table Conference.

## EMPLOYMENT INSURANCE IN ENGLAND

Denouncing Labour's policy of increasing the burdens on industry, Mr. Baldwin, in a speech at Edinburgh, forecast a deficit in the budget of at least £20,000,000 most of which, he said, would be met by extra taxation. He warned the Government especially with regard to the Unemployment Insurance and Coal Mines Bills.



Mr. CHABILDAS KARSANDAS DALAL  
who has invented the Automatic  
Charkha

## BUSINESSMEN'S APPEAL TO GANDHI

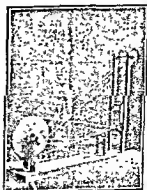
Prominent businessmen are understood to be considering the desirability of requesting Mr. Gandhi and through him the Congress to desist from carrying out the Congress resolution till believers in the Round Table Conference had participated in it and its results were known.

Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas is the principal protagonist of this view, and, at his invitation, a number of representatives of business interests, including Sir Maanohandas Ramji, Sir P. C. Sethna, Sir Cowasji Jehangir (junior), Sir S. R. Bomanji and Sir L. R. Tairsee, met recently to discuss the proposal. The meeting dispersed without arriving at a definite decision.

## EDUCATION FOR BUSINESS

Sir George Rainy, Commerce Member of the Government of India, presiding at the Sydenham College Day, Bombay, declared that the external trade of the country was fast passing into Indian hands.

It was, therefore, of enormous importance that they should train up in India students who would be equipped by the necessary education to fill positions of responsibility whether in big manufacturing concerns, or in Government service.



THE AUTOMATIC CHARKHA  
a side view of which is  
presented here.

## THE JENMIS' APPEAL TO VICEROY

It is understood that Jenmis in Malabar have engaged the services of Mr. F. B. Evans, I.C.S. (Retired) and Sir C. P. Ramaswamy Iyer to represent before H. E. the Viceroy their objections to the Malabar Tenancy Bill passed by the Legislative Council. The Jenmis are opposed to the Bill on the grounds principally that it takes away the Jenmam or proprietary rights from them without providing compensation, that the rents fixed fall considerably short of the Jenmi's lawful share of the proceeds from the land, and that the renewal fees are not adjusted to equitable economic claims and do not make up for the loss of the right of resuming the land from a tenant or leasing it to another.

Mr. Evans and Sir C. P. Ramaswamy Iyer will be assisted by the Rajah of Kollengode.

## PROBLEM OF INDIAN WATERWAYS

Mr. G. L. Mehta, Calcutta Manager of the Scindia Steam Navigation Co., Ltd., in the course of an address on the "Problem of Indian Waterways" delivered at the Rotary Club, stated that the waterways should be developed as part of a comprehensive system of national transport. They are a national asset and have immense potentialities for development. If they are to be saved from destruction and are to improve and develop as highways of commerce, it should be recognised that these rivers and canals cannot be considered and dealt with piecemeal.

To Mr. Mehta's opinion, besides the Provincial Waterways Boards, there should be a Central Waterways Board or preferably, a Waterways Board and a Railway Board functioning under a single Ministry of Transport or Communications. The question is particularly important for Bengal, because its principal mode of transport is waterways and because it offers natural facilities for the development of water transport.

## PROBLEM OF HAYMAKING

Hints at a possible revolution in British agriculture were given by Lord Harewood at a London meeting of the Central Chamber of Agriculture. "I have reason to believe," he stated, "that a grass drying machine has been recently invented which will solve the problem of haymaking. If the inventor's claim proves correct—and I have reason to believe it will—not only will the farmer be able to profit by improved methods of managing grass-lands for summer grazing, but he will also be able to retain the full feeding value as opposed to the value of hay, and thereby save a very large part, if not the whole, of the cake bill." Lord Harewood added that he was making arrangements for the use of the machine next summer.

## INDIA'S VAST FOREST WEALTH

The recent visit of His Excellency the Viceroy to Dehra Dun in order to open the new Forest Research Institute there, is a reminder, says the TIMES OF INDIA, of India's vast resources in her varied forests which cover a quarter of the area of British India and bring in three crores of rupees annual profit. "The new buildings are a magnificent pile and the grounds cover nearly two square miles beside the main building and bungalow, while there are many important factories and wood mills where the invaluable research into timber utilization is carried out. The main building now has a series of fascinating museums, where one could pleasantly spend a day or two. The Indian forests contain some of the most handsome timbers in the world, besides innumerable other big and little products useful to mankind. The Forest Research Institute has in its exhibits picked specimens of all the Indian timbers found to be worth anything in commerce and illustrations of the uses to which they can be put—besides a wonderful collection of other forest products in immense variety. The extent of what is to be seen may be gauged from the length of the corridors in the main Institute building."

## MEDICINE IN INDIA

The All-India Medical Conference, held at Lahore on 27th and 28th December, was happy in the choice of its chairman, Col. Bhola Nauth, C.I.E., I.M.S. (Retl). There are few, writes a correspondent, who can speak with the authority he carries on medical matters in India and fewer still who could place their facts with equal lucidity or lucidness, and with a quiet sense of humour. His address has been published in a brochure which should not be misread by members of the independent medical fraternity in India.

"At a time when there is so much heard of Swaraj, it must be as galling to its detractors as it is gratifying to its protagonists, that in one field at least, the field of medicine, the Indian has made good. The strangle hold of the I.M.S. has been all but released. For Col. Bhola Nauth tells us, quoting the British Medical Association memorandum of 1919: "The indigenous profession is in a very active and virile state, and instead of the officers of the service, encroaching on the rights of independent members of the profession, it is they who have acquired the practice formerly enjoyed by the officers of the service." Thus, has the Indian answered the challenge of unbending bureaucrats and who will say he has not won? Strange, indeed, is this admission on the part of the British Medical Association when placed alongside its erstwhile endeavours to withstand all claims for Indianisation of the I.M.S.!

It is not, however, with the I.M.S., alone that Col. Bhola Nauth is concerned. He has sketched briefly the history of the Medical services in India and stressed the growth of the independent service. He has dealt with the various subordinate services and institutions from personal knowledge of them, pointing out how much wanton waste there exists in all directions. He is severe on the system which makes the medical needs of the civil population subordinate to military exigencies and he is no less

critical of the present policy of Indianisation of the I.M.S. which he shows to be a shallow concession.

We follow Col. Bhola Nauth with sympathy when he pleads for the arrest of waste, the better organisation of the medical services, particularly in the rural districts, the organised development of indigenous medicine, and finally, his stirring appeal to the independent medical profession of India. "Be true to your profession and to your name—Swaraj is self-help."

## SCIENCE OF HEALTHY LIVING

In a statement issued by the Central Council for Health Education, which works in close association with the health authorities of the country, Dr. William G. Savage, the County Medical Officer for Somerset, a recognised authority, says that "the science of healthy living is steadily making the three score and ten of the Psalmist an out-of-date statement."

"Fifty years ago," states Dr. Savage, "the death-rate of England and Wales was 21·4. That is, of every 1,000 persons, rather over 21, but less than 22, died every year. Last year the rate was 11·6, nearly half, a marvellous decline."

"A death-rate as low as 10, which keeps down year by year to 10, means that, on an average, everybody lives to be 100 years old. The deaths each year are shifting into the later periods of life. Each year fewer people die under forty-five, and in more and more cases, death is deferred to over sixty-five."

Sir William Arbuthnot Lane, president of the New Health Society, said to a DAILY EXPRESS representative: Such a promise seems at first thought to be impossible of achievement in the reasonably near future, but I can visualise a time, not far distant, when hundreds of thousands, instead of, as at present, only a few hundreds of people, will live to the great age of one hundred years.

## GERMAN HIGH VOLTAGE LABORATORY

What is claimed to be the first laboratory for electrical testing at pressures up to two million volts has lately been completed at the transformer works of the Koch and Sterzel Gesellschaft, at Mickten, Dresden, Saxony. That the firm has for many years realised the importance of having adequate facilities for testing electrical equipment is indicated by the steady advance that has taken place; it is interesting to record that it had a laboratory equipped for tests up to kVA capacity at pressures up to 500,000 V as long ago as 1918, which was followed in 1922 with one capable of permitting tests up to a million volts and 200 kVA, while now the capacity has been increased to two million volts and 1,200 kVA at 50 periods.

## INDIAN INSTITUTE OF SCIENCE

The Twentieth Annual Report of the Council of the Indian Institute of Science which has just been issued, summarises researches conducted in the laboratories during the session now closed. These inquiries are primarily directed towards acquainting the students with modern methods of original investigation in various branches of chemistry and in electrical technology. The fundamental relation of science to industry is a guiding principle in this work, although many of the subjects chosen have not an immediate bearing on manufacturing processes.

## THE U. P. SCIENTISTS

The United Provinces Scientists, who assembled at Allahabad in connection with the Indian Science Congress, resolved, at a meeting held recently under the presidency of Dr. Maumhan, to found in the United Provinces an Assembly of Science the object of which would be to promote and cultivate scientific research in the country, tackle problems of national interest and afford additional facilities to scientific workers in the matter of publication of researches. A committee has also been formed to work out the details.

## HINDUSTHAN ASSOCIATION OF VIENNA

An Association of Indians, named "The Hindusthan Association of Vienna" has been recently formed with the object of (1) supplying information regarding facilities for the study of Sciences, literature, etc., in Austria, (2) providing opportunities for social intercourse and assisting every Indian, in any way possible, who may happen to come here and (3) promoting general friendly and cultural relations between India and Austria.

Membership of the Association is open to all who subscribes to the above principles, and all Indians visiting Vienna are cordially invited to become members.

The organizers hope that, in the near future, this Association will become a centre for mutual co-operation between Indians and Austrians which might, in turn, develop into a connecting link between the two great civilizations of the East and the West.

## SIR C. V. RAMAN IN FRANCE

The great Indian scientist, Sir C. V. Raman, was the distinguished guest of the famous Sorbonne University recently. He delivered a course of lectures on his latest research on the Structure of Molecules at the Henry Poincaré Research Institute. The reception given to Sir Raman was most impressive, and, in the living memory of many Indians residing there, no one has seen such a genuine warmth of feeling with which French savants especially greeted an Indian colleague of theirs.

## ELECTRICITY IN THE PUNJAB

The Punjab Government's scheme for utilising the rain and snow waters of the mountains to generate electricity is one of the biggest projects yet contemplated in India. One of its special features will be the provision of electrical energy for agricultural purposes.

## LORD DERBY ON REPORTING

"There is one thing I will say about the press: that I have never once in the whole course of my life complained of the accuracy of any newspaper report of any speech I have made," said Lord Derby who presided at a "notabilities" luncheon held at Liverpool Press Club recently. "The only thing I have complained of", said Lord Derby, "is my own feelings the next morning when I read what I have said, and still later when I read the remarks that other people have made about what I said. There is nothing connected with the press that has ever got me into such great trouble as the accuracy of their reports of what I have said."

## SIR IAN IN CHRISTMAS MOOD

Sir Ian Hamilton, speaking to disabled soldiers at Northampton on Christmas Day, said that, even to this day, he could not look at a nurse without blushing. "Once upon a time," he explained, "the literary editor of a newspaper wanted to praise my work. So he wrote down: 'Evidently in his youth Sir Ian Hamilton was kissed by the Muses.' That was very nice. But there is a terrible fellow in every newspaper establishment called a 'printer's devil.' Everything really depends on him. So this printer's devil printed his own views upon my past, and when I read the paper I found to it, 'Evidently in his youth, Sir Ian Hamilton was kissed by the nurses.'"

## THE ART OF PARODY

Sir Owen Seaman, in his address to the Institute of Journalists, pointed out the difference between the true parody, which ridicules the style and attitude of mind of a writer and that which is a mere absurd adaptation of a particular work. Sir Owen should know, says Peter Simple in the MORNING POST, for there has surely been no more brilliant parodist than he. We still chuckle when we remember his essay in the style of Sir Edwin Arnold—we quote from memory.

"Ya, Ya, my beloved, I look to thy dimples and drink,

Tiddly-li! to thy cheek-pita and chin-pit, my tolip, my pink."

Could anything be more deliciously absurd in the way of travesty?

Calverley, of course, was a master. You may remember his travelling tinker, in the Tennysonian style, which ended:

"So all in love we parted, I to the Hall,  
They to the village. It was noised next noon.  
That chickens had been missed at Syllabub Farm."

Anstey, too, can be delightful. Even lovers of Maeterlinck must surely appreciate the humour of the passage in which a damsel exclaimed "O! O! I have a pain in my destiny."

## THE NEWSPAPER WRITER

Under the title of "The Columist," Mr. Dustin D. Rhodes in the NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW, has some amusing verses on the newspaper writer:—

"If you can master adjectives and adverbs,  
And sprinkle here and there a verb or two;  
If you can spatter elongated phrases,  
Elaborate sweet nothings all askew;  
If you can make a bit of slang artistic,  
Or even euss a bit without offence,  
And yet can handle 'bifalutic' language  
To make it sound like wholesome common sense;

\* \* \*

"If you can please the literists and peasants,  
And draw the praise of both, offending none;  
If neither fear nor fame can mar your efforts,  
And you can feel your conscience clear when done;

If you can fill the ever gaping column,  
With words of wisdom pleasing to the mob;  
Then yours the title and what'er goes with it  
And what is more, you'll prosper on the job."



## FLOGGING IN JAILS

The question of flogging in prisons, raised by the suicide of one Spiera, by jumping over the railings of Wandsworth Prison in dread of the fifteen strokes of the cat he was to have received, has led the following comments obtained by the STAR from Lord Darling, ex-Judge of the King's Bench Division, and Mr. George Bernard Shaw.

Lord Darling, defending the system of flogging, says: "Public opinion, which approves of prize fighting, cannot logically condemn flogging. Men and women who flock to an exhibition of Game Chicken versus Battling Brown would gladly see Burglar Bill punished by Wandsworth Walloper. The Chancellor of the Exchequer might as well set an entertainment tax on it as on the other exhibition."

Mr. Bernard Shaw says: "A flogging Judge ought to have two or three dozens himself to bring him to understand it. The excuse for flogging is that certain offenders understand no other punishment. Then these men ought to be flogged, not imprisoned."

## AGE OF JUDGES

What is the average age of a judge? asks THE DAILY MAIL. Sir Montagu Shearman has just died in his 73rd year, but a little calculation, limited to the members of the Appeal, Chancery, King's Bench, and Probate Courts, brings out the average age at over 62 under 63.

Nine judges are in their fifties, 17 in their sixties, and 5 in their seventies. Only one judge is in the forties—Lord Justice Slesser, who is 46.

Of the heads of the various divisions, the Lord Chief Justice. (Lord Hewart) is 60, the Master of the Rolls (Lord Hanworth) 68, and the President of the Probate Division (Lord Merrivale) 71.

The figures show that we have reached one of those cycles with a Bench somewhat senior in age and individual appointments faced by a comparatively young Bar.

## RIGHT TO KILL

According to a telegram from Mexico City, the new penal code drawn up by President Portes Gil, under the extraordinary powers conferred upon him by Congress, gives a father the right to kill a daughter and her seducer when the daughter voluntarily sacrifices her honour.

A husband may also not be punished for killing a wife who violates her marriage vows, and a wife who kills her erring husband will also be deemed not guilty of an offence.

Persons involved in differences calling for a duel will have to appear before a court of honour, which will endeavour to bring about a reconciliation, but will have no power to sanction a duel.

## INDIAN RAILWAYS

A Bill has been introduced in the Legislative Assembly which is intended to prohibit reservation of Compartments in Railway trains for the exclusive use of persons belonging to any particular community, race or creed. In certain cases, the issue raised was whether such reservation amounted to undue preference within the meaning of Section 42 of the Indian Railways' Act, sub-section 2 of which reads as follows:—"A railway administration shall not make or give any undue or unreasonable preference or advantage to or in favour of any particular person or railway administration or any particular description of traffic, in any respect whatsoever, or subject to any particular person or railway administration, or any particular description of traffic to any undue or unreasonable prejudice or disadvantage in any respect whatsoever." The High Courts have variously interpreted this section but are of opinion that such reservation is not *ultra vires*. This Bill, therefore, proposes to add an explanation to the following effect, viz:—"For the purposes of this sub-section, reservation of any compartment in a railway train for the exclusive use of any particular community, race or creed shall be deemed to be undue preference."

## STATESMEN IN COMMERCE

By accepting a seat on the Board of International Sleeping Car Company, Lord Lloyd has joined the numerous band of ex-administrators, who have found influential commercial and industrial billets during the past months. Sir Austen Chamberlain and Sir Laming Worthington-Evans have joined the Board of the greater London and Counties Trust, Limited, of which Lord Birkenhead is Chairman. Sir Philip Cunliffe Lister has been invited to take the Chairmanship of the recently-formed Tin Producers' Association. Lord Brentford has taken a seat on the Board of the Northern Assurance Company, Sir Arthur Steel-Maitland on the Directorate of the United Dominions Trust, Limited, and Sir Samuel Hoare on the Directorates of two insurance companies.

## THE LATE LORD ESHER

Lord Esher, who died recently in his 78th year was a close and personal friend of Queen Victoria, King Edward and His Majesty King George. He was an intimate friend of Lord Kitchener. A diary kept by him is stated to contain information of highest historical importance. It has been deposited at the British Museum and is not to be opened until 1931.

## PROF. RADHAKRISHNAN'S LECTURES

Under the title of "An Idealist View of Life," Professor Radhakrishnan gave four lectures in the large Chemistry Theatre of the University of Manchester to an unusually large and keenly interested audience, including the members of the University and the Theological Colleges, the Bishop of Manchester the Bishop of Middleton the Lord



## MUSLIM ALL-PARTIES' CONFERENCE

The Working Committee of the All-India Muslim All-Parties' Conference met early this month, Sir Abdul Qayum presiding. Others present were



SIR IBRAHIM RAHIMTOOLAH

Maulana Shafi Daudi, Maulana Mohammed Ali, Mouli Muhammad Yakub, Mr. Fazil Rahimtoolah and Syed Murteza Sahib. The Committee decided to hold a session of the Conference in Lahore during Easter when the Simon Commission's Report will be available. Sir Ibrahim Rahimtoolah will preside over the Conference.

The Committee also decided to call a meeting of the Executive Board in March to discuss the political situation and the question of contesting the elections.

## LIBERALS AND DOMINION STATUS

The Council of the Western India National Liberal Association at a recent meeting in Bombay under the Chairmanship of the Hon'ble Sir Phiroze C. Sethna, reiterated the policy of the Liberal Federation as follows:—

(1) "As we read the situation, the essential condition of the success of the Round Table Conference is that there should be the maximum amount of agreement among ourselves in India.

(2) "We firmly believe that the only rallying cry which can unite Hindus, Mahomedans, Christians, Sikhs, Persis, Europeans, the propertied classes, and the labouring and the depressed classes can be Dominion Status for India, not as a distant goal or ideal but as an object capable of achievement within the shortest possible time.

(3) "We have always been anxious that in order to produce a favourable atmosphere, the Government of India should implement the new policy by action calculated to remove all causes of irritation and produce calm and goodwill."

## THE RUSSELL SPEECH

The British-Indian Association has adopted a resolution condemning the recent utterances of Lord Russell and reiterating its faith in Dominion status as the ultimate goal of constitutional development in India.

The following appears in the REVIEW OF INDIA (published by the European Association):

"Europeans in India are strongly of opinion that Earl Russell made a blunder in speaking as he did recently in London. For the moment the question of India's constitution is *sub judice* and to be placed before the London Conference. In India an earnest endeavour is being made by the more sober-minded to put forward something that may be practicable, and have within itself the fullest possibility of steady political advance to the goal of Dominion status. In the meantime, the fewer speeches the better."

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## THE WAY OUT

BY

MR. G. A. NATESAN.

EVEN to the most superficial observer, the state of things in the country for the last few weeks must be one of the deepest concern. It would be idle to conceal the fact that the country virtually is in a state of revolt. Mahatma Gandhi's campaign of Civil Disobedience and his gigantic efforts to break the salt laws by a series of "raids", though planned and conducted in the main in a non-violent manner, have given room to the unruly elements of the population in some places to commit serious acts of violence. It is distressing to read the accounts of the disorders at Calcutta, Peshawar, Karachi, Madras, Sholapur and a few other places. To crown all, the operations of a section of the revolutionaries at Chittagong have revealed to the public the perilous character of the present situation. The authorities who certainly have to put down breaches of law and order in any form have launched on a series of repressive measures culminating in the promulgation of the Press Ordinance and the proclamation of Martial Law at Sholapur. To one who reads daily the accounts of the march of hundreds of people for the manufacture of salt in utter defiance of all laws, the numerous arrests and imprisonments, the mammoth processions of the youth of the country particularly in the city of Bombay, the extraordinary interest evinced by women, young and old, in favour of the boycott of British

goods and their readiness to go to jail, must make one pause and ask, what does all this mean and where will it end? Matters have been brought to a climax by the decision of the Working Committee of the Congress which met recently at Allahabad. It has deliberately stated its opinion "that the moment has arrived for the entire nation to make a supreme effort and achieve the goal"—that is, of independence. And one shudders to think of the steps it has taken to achieve its objects,—the starting of a whirlwind campaign for the boycott of British goods, and a No-tax campaign, the breaking of forest laws and such other acts of civil disobedience. To realise the gravity of the situation, it has only to be remembered that this movement is to be started with a grim determination, even in some of the provinces where it has not made much headway. The duty of any Government is to govern, and even the Government of India, irresponsible as it is at present, must, of course, perform its primary function of preserving law and order. While therefore we recognize the legitimate duty of Government in that direction, we cannot conceal the fact that repression alone cannot solve the Indian problem at the present moment. You may disagree with Mahatma Gandhi, you may rightly condemn his civil disobedience campaign, but you cannot ignore the fact that to millions of his countrymen and even

# Thoughts on the Political Situation

BY

SIR P. S. SIVASWAMI Aiyar, K.C.S.I.

THE arrest of Mahatma Gandhi and his incarceration have deeply stirred public feeling throughout the length and breadth of India and are events the full consequences of which it is not easy to calculate. His saintly character, the purity of his life, his lofty ideals, his spirit of self-abnegation and his burning patriotism have justly earned for him the profound respect of his countrymen and the admiration of many in the civilised world. He has acquired an influence over the minds of the millions of India to an extent probably unsurpassed in the history of India and certainly unparalleled within living memory. Nourished upon the teaching of the Prince of Peace who died about 2,000 years ago, he has preached the gospel of non-violence as an invincible weapon against every evil force in the world. That the Government should have been driven to arrest a high-souled patriot like him is nothing less than a mournful tragedy. It has evoked protests from many quarters and there have been countless demonstrations of popular feeling of an unmistakable character. Apart from the public meetings held all over the country, there have been many resignations by public men of seats in the Legislative Councils and of other public offices like membership of Benches of Magistrates. The arrest has been condemned by many a journal as a culminating act of political un wisdom. There are some who consider the time and manner of arrest as unwise and there are many more who object on principle to the use of an antiquated regulation for dealing with State-offences the repeal of which was recommended by the Repressive Laws Committee nine years ago.

A dispassionate survey of the existing situation, the trend of political forces and the remedies which

have been suggested for easing the situation is necessary at this juncture. That the arrest of the Mahatma is deplorable will be gainsaid by no one. But could it have been avoided? The campaign of mass civil disobedience which was launched some weeks ago was a limitlessly intended not merely to break the Salt Law, but as a step in a programme for undermining the authority of Government, producing a feeling of disregard and defiance of the law of the land and rendering it impossible for the Government to carry on its essential functions by depriving it of that moral support which is the necessary foundation of any Government. It is nothing less than a crusade against Government and against law and order.

It is contended that the campaign is carried on by non-violent methods and that mass civil disobedience carried on without recourse to violence is an inherent civil right of the people. This contention involves legal and political issues of the highest importance. Ever since the internment of Mrs. Besant in 1917, it has been the fashion to appeal to the authority of Thoreau and other doctrinaires in justification of the policy of passive resistance or civil disobedience. Civil disobedience wears a different aspect, according as it is individual or collective. The legal and political aspects of the question have to be carefully distinguished. It is often suggested that any individual citizen has the right to break any law of the land of which he may disapprove. From the legal point of view, this is altogether a fallacy. Any person may disobey any law of the land; but he does so at his peril. There is no such thing as a legal right to disobey any law, and the State is entitled and bound to punish any infraction of the law. Even a conscientious objector can only

claim that he is morally justified by his conscience in breaking a law which he considers to be unrighteous. If individual civil disobedience is not legally justifiable, mass civil disobedience is still less so. This aspect of the question has not been ignored by Mr. Gandhi. For he has impressed upon his followers that they must cheerfully submit to all the legal consequences by way of punishment which may follow their breaches of the law. Whether from the legal or the moral point of view, collective action is far more serious in its consequences than individual action, and the State would be justified in dealing with the former with greater severity.

The legal aspect of civil disobedience by no means covers the whole ground. There are undoubtedly occasions in the history of a country, when it may become the moral duty of a citizen to express his disapproval of a bad law by disobeying it. But under what conditions does this moral right arise? It must be remembered that the general exercise of the right to act up one's own conscience above the law whenever any one disapproves of any law must engender a habit of lawlessness and end in the disruption of society. No state can allow every one the moral right to be a law unto himself. Under any system of well-ordered government, there are ways and means for a citizen who disapproves of a law to obtain its repeal or amendment by constitutional methods, by enlisting public opinion in his favour and by making representations to the Government. As a rule, a civilised Government will naturally listen to all just and reasonable representations and alter its measures and policy in accordance with public opinion. The occasions for resort to passive resistance to, or disobedience of, a law by the people at large should be rare. Occasions may arise when a people may desire to change the system of administration and bring about a change in the political constitution. Here also, there are lawful as well as unlawful methods

of bringing about such a change. A people must first exhaust every means of persuading the Government of the need for an alteration of the constitution and seek to bring it about by peaceful methods without subverting the authority of the Government. No wise Government can afford to ignore the united voice of a people. It is only when all such peaceful methods fail, and as a last resort, that a people would be justified in taking the extreme step of disobeying, defying and resisting the Government. Such occasions cannot arise under a system of responsible Government. They may, however, arise under a system of irresponsible Government, especially by one nation of another. In such cases, the issue between the Government and the people is not a legal one, but a political issue of the most serious import. The question for consideration would be whether a rebellion or a revolt against the State is justifiable. Many people in India seem to imagine that mass civil disobedience of the Government is constitutional, so long as it is conducted without recourse to arms or violence. This is an egregious mistake. The employment of violence, or non-employment of it in no way detracts from its character of a revolutionary movement. The subversion of the Government, by methods intended to destroy its authority and render it incapable of functioning is the essential characteristic of a revolution. A crusade against the Government and against law and authority with the object of completely paralysing it is just as revolutionary as an armed rebellion or a *coup d'état* and must be judged and dealt with by the same standards and methods that are applicable to the latter. For the reason that no organised society can exist without preservation of law and order and that some form of Government is preferable to anarchy, the government of a country would be justified in maintaining law and order by putting down any revolutionary movement. It would be justified in employing the force at its disposal to

secure these primary conditions of social existence.

On the other hand, if the ordinary rights and liberties of the citizens are trampled under foot, the tyranny and oppression of the Government become unbearable and as it is not possible to secure redress by lawful methods, the subjects would be morally justified in rising against the Government. But no reasonable person acquiesced with the conditions in this country can pretend for a moment that the administration of this country is characterised by such misrule as would justify a rebellion. Nor is it possible to contend that the peaceful and constitutional methods of securing a change in the administration have been exhausted. It may be admitted that the political aspirations of the country have not been satisfied and that there are reactionary sections of public opinion in England stoutly opposed to them. But so long as it is possible to secure the fulfilment of these aspirations by constitutional methods, it would be injurious to the best interests of the country to promote a movement which is bound to plunge it in anarchy and disaster. The advocates of civil disobedience imagine that the spirit of lawlessness or law-breaking once roused can be laid to rest when the right occasion has passed. This attitude is of course intelligible in a disciple of Tolstoy, the anarchist genius. Every citizen who cares for the peaceful progress of the country is bound to give his support to the forces of law and order against disorder and anarchy. Tried by the standards by which alone a rebellion can be justified, the civil disobedience movement lacks justification. What is the duty of the Government when faced with a movement of a revolutionary character? No one would suggest that its duty begins and ends with the suppression of the revolutionary movement. Side by side with the primary duty of maintaining law and order as the essential foundation of society, it has to conciliate the people by bringing the system of administra-

tion into accord with public opinion and securing popular support.

It is difficult to understand the attitude of those who counsel the Government to look with folded arms on the wide-spread growth of the movement of civil disobedience and take no steps to check or suppress it. They conceive that the only duty of the Government of India is to concede all the demands of Mahatma Gandhi, and that it is the only means which they would be justified in employing for the purpose of preserving law and order. But this attitude is based upon a very imperfect appreciation of the difficulties by which the Government is confronted. The Government have declared their willingness to discuss the problems of constitutional reform with public men, representative of the important communities in India, and arrive at a solution acceptable to all parties. The question of Dominion Status is open to discussion at the Round Table Conference. The whole problem can be discussed at that Conference and it will not be deemed to be concluded by the *ipse dixit* of Sir John Simon and his colleagues. Is it possible for the Labour Government to go further at this stage? Is it possible for them to ignore the Simon Commission which was appointed by Parliament with the concurrence of all parties and pre-judge the question in disregard of constitutional usages? Even with the best of intentions, it would be difficult for the Labour Government to adopt this course, and if they did, there is every likelihood of their being turned out of office by the combined opposition of the other parties. The Labour Party in England is the party which is the most sympathetic towards Indian aspirations and if the Labour Government should fall, it is bound seriously to affect the prospects of constitutional reform and retard the fulfilment of our aspirations.

In an interview given by Mr. Gandhi to Mr. Ashmead Bartlett, he said he realised these difficulties, but he wanted the Government to

promise definitely that they would support the demand for immediate Dominion Status. In the nature of things, it is difficult to see how it would be possible for the Government to give such a guarantee beforehand. Mr. Gandhi's own demands have not always been the same. He declared for Independence at the Lahore Congress and in the interview referred to, he wanted immediate Dominion Status. At an earlier stage, he put forward 11 points which, he said, must be conceded before he could think of attending the Round Table Conference. Many of his 11 points are of an utterly impracticable nature and are rather questions to be tackled by the Government of India itself when it becomes responsible. It is urged in some quarters that the problem is one in which the Parliament should have no voice and that it is entirely a question for self-determination by the people of India. Unfortunately, there has been no agreement arrived at between the majority and minority communities in the country, and there are many responsible leaders who declare that it is impossible to arrive at any agreement at this stage, and that the solution should be put off to the Round Table Conference. If it is possible for the different communities in India to arrive at some reasonable and enduring basis of agreement, it will immensely strengthen our hands, and the British Government will find it difficult to resist the demand of a united India. But should these differences between the communities persist even in the Round Table Conference, how are they to be settled except by the arbitrament of Britain or the sword? If our differences should not be settled between ourselves or by the British Government, a civil war must be the inevitable result. Mr. Gandhi's own solution of the question of minorities cannot possibly commend itself to the communities concerned or to any thoughtful person. His solution is that the majority should in every case allow the minorities to take everything they

want and that the majority should be satisfied with the remainder. His solution may therefore be dismissed as impracticable. If we are really keen about the attainment of our goal, it will be most impolitic to reject the hand of friendship extended by the Labour Party and press them to take steps which will lead to their downfall.

Assuming that a campaign of civil disobedience may be justifiable, one cannot help thinking that Mr. Gandhi made a great tactical blunder in starting it before the publication of the report of the Simon Commission and before giving time to the British Government to consider it. The declaration of policy which he is now demanding could then be demanded with greater show of reason. Having regard to the difficulties with which the British Government and the Government of India are faced, and the unavoidable interval which must necessarily precede any declaration of policy, it is difficult to understand the expediency of the policy which has been recommended by the Indian Press to the Government of India, that they should remain benevolent spectators of the civil disobedience movement and take no steps to maintain law and order. It has been suggested, and Mr. Gandhi himself maintains the view, that he is not responsible for the outbreaks of violence and lawlessness which have occurred in different parts of the country. There need be no doubt that Mr. Gandhi himself sincerely believes in non-violence and has succeeded in instilling a belief in non-violence in the minds of many of his followers. It may also be conceded that, on the whole, wide-spread as the agitation is, the outbreaks of violence have been comparatively few. But such of them as have occurred are sufficiently serious. The happenings at Karachi, Calcutta, Peshawar, Delhi and Sholapur are some of the prominent instances of lawless outbreaks. It is impossible for any movement which aims at disobedience of the law of the land to maintain a peaceful character. If out-



breaks of lawlessness are the natural consequences of such a movement and must be foreseen, those who have initiated the movement cannot disclaim responsibility. We may refer also to the many instances of terrorism, social persecution and oppression necessarily involved in the extensive employment of picketing. Picketing is seldom peacefully carried out and involves no little interference with the rights and liberties of persons.

The question whether Mr. Gandhi should have been arrested and interned reduces itself to one of high policy in the interests of law and order. In the case of a person like Mahatma Gandhi, a popular hero who is leading a movement for the overthrow of the Government, it is an exceedingly difficult question to decide whether and at what moment he should be arrested. To have left him at large with liberty to preach his gospel of civil disobedience with his enormous personal influence would have undoubtedly meant giving the freest scope to the further spread of the campaign. On the other hand, it is contended, not without some force, that his influence has exercised a check on the violent revolutionaries of young India. It is difficult to say which is more difficult for the Government to deal with, the campaign of civil disobedience with the steady sapping of the moral authority of the Government leading to its total paralysis or the sporadic outbreaks of the violent terrorist organisation. The view that the former movement is more dangerous and inimical to the maintenance of Government cannot be said to be unreasonable.

Again, there are some who think that the arrest should have taken place at the beginning of the movement and that it is inopportune now, as the strength of the movement is declining. It is not possible to accept the view that the movement was declining at the time of Mr. Gandhi's arrest. The question of the expediency of arrest and the exact time of arrest are matters which must be

left to be decided by the executive Government upon their own responsibility.

There are others who think that the arrest of Mr. Gandhi must produce wide-spread disaffection among the people. But if it has the effect of preventing people from committing breaches of the law, it cannot be said that it will serve no purpose. On the whole, one cannot find fault with the Viceroy for having given a long rope to the Mahatma and for not having interfered at an earlier stage to check his activities.

It must not be inferred from the foregoing remarks that the Government have been justified in all the measures they have taken in dealing with this extraordinary situation. It is conceded that the employment of anything more than the minimum force for dealing with law-breakers is not justifiable. Whether these limits have been exceeded or not is a question of fact. But having regard to the complaints which have appeared from responsible persons in different parts of the country, it is not unlikely that the limits of justifiable force may have been exceeded by the police in some instances. It behoves the Government to impress upon their officers the supreme necessity of restricting the employment of force to the barest limits of necessity.

As regards legislative ordinances passed by the Government, the Bengal ordinance may be justified by the activities of the terrorist organisation which came into public view at Chittagong. The ordinance for the speedier trial of the Lahore conspiracy and for putting an end to the scandalous, if unavoidable, delay in the trial of the accused may be justifiable. The revival of the Press Ordinance in a much more drastic form than the previous law has justly evoked wide condemnation throughout the country. The manner in which the Act has been applied by the Executive is even more objectionable. No distinction seems to have been made between newspapers already in existence and those to be started after the passing

of the ordinance; no warning or notice seems to have been given and large sums have been demanded by way of security on the very morrow of the issue of the ordinance. We cannot therefore be surprised at the decision of the proprietors of several of the newspapers to discontinue publication. The policy of sympathetic strike adopted by some of the journalists is, however, one of very questionable expediency as pointed out by Mr. Patel.

In the foregoing remarks, no attempt has been made to point out the necessity for making allowance for the difficulties under which the Labour Government is carrying on. But it is equally necessary to impress upon the Government the necessity for a full appreciation of the surge of national feeling in this country. The Government do not seem to have grasped the full extent and significance of the ferment of political unrest in India. There has been a remarkable growth of national consciousness and unless the Government can realise the depth and extent of the disaffection in the country and the urgent need for allaying all suspicions as to the sincerity of their desire to accelerate responsible Government, they are sure to commit mistakes in their policy towards India. There has been a rapid and remarkable change in the mentality of the people. The extent to which women have participated in the national movement is a phenomenon in the history of the country. The jail has lost its terrors for the people. The readiness with which people come forward to defy the law openly, and brave the authorities and are prepared to go to prison is a sure sign of the weakening hold of the Government. At no earlier stage it might have been possible to ascribe this readiness to a desire for cheap martyrdom, but when the offenders are becoming numerous and the punishments more severe and deterrent, the readiness with which volunteers come forward to take the place of those who have been imprisoned must

be ascribed to a real spirit of self-sacrifice. In passing, it may be remarked that the want of uniformity in the punishments inflicted is a matter which deserves the serious consideration of the Government even after making allowance for the necessary margin of discretion for the magistrates.

The signs of the times are apparent to all who can read them. The suspicion with which declarations as to the intentions of Government are regarded cannot be held to be altogether unwarranted. The speeches of Mr. Lloyd George and other members of Parliament after the declaration of October last, the enormous delay in the publication of the report of the Simon Commission the bungling of the tariff question in the last session of the Legislative Assembly and the insidious introduction of Imperial preference, are some of the circumstances which have conspired to strengthen the pre-existing feeling of distrust.

What is the remedy then for allaying this suspicion and bringing about an understanding between the people and the Government? Unless some attempt is made to bring about a rapprochement between the Government and the people, the prospects of a successful issue of the Round Table Conference are very gloomy. The Government should take the earliest opportunity possible of declaring their willingness to consider the proposals put forward by the National Liberal Federation and grant an amnesty to all the political offenders who have been convicted in the course of the campaign of civil disobedience, provided they agree to the abandonment of the campaign. It is to be hoped that the popular leaders of this movement will also realise the cost of the struggle on which the country has embarked and the advantages of a peaceful negotiation at the Conference. If Mahatma Gandhi's campaign has served any purpose, it is the indubitable demonstration of the wide-spread character of the national movement and the futility of expecting to put it down by a mere policy of suppression. The tide of nationalism can not be checked by the measures of Mr. Pargitton.

# EUROPEAN SCHOLARS & SANSKRIT RESEARCH

BY MR. P. S. PHADNIS, B.A.

THE profound interest that is to-day being taken in the study of Sanskrit literature, all the world over, is due to the pioneering activities of European scholars, who through patient endeavour, got themselves acquainted with Sanskrit works, and opened up the rich literary treasures of the East for the delight of the whole world.

Prof. Winternitz in his History of Indian Literature has given us a brief survey of the beneficent activities of these scholars. It would indeed be interesting to recall to our mind what the learned professor has to say on this topic of profound interest.

## THE EARLY EFFORTS

The beginnings of the study of Sanskrit literature by the Europeans were made as early as in the seventeenth century. These early efforts in the field of Sanskrit research, were, all of them, confined to travellers and missionaries. One such effort was that of the Dutchman Abraham Roger made in the year 1651. He was a preacher in Palacatta (Pulicat), which is to the north of Madras. He published a book on the Brahmanic literature of the Hindus called "Open Door to the Hidden Heathendom". He also published a few of the proverbs of Bhatihari. The latter were first translated for him by a Brahman into Portuguese.

In 1699 the Jesuit Father, Johann Ernest Hanxleden, visited India and worked for more than 30 years in the Malabar Mission. He was the first European to write a Sanskrit Grammar. His "Grammatica Granthamia Seu Samscrdumica" was not, however, published. It was later on used by an Austrian Carmelite, Fra Paolino.

This Fra Paolino, was by far the most important of this band of Sanskritists. He worked as a missionary from 1776 to 1788 on the coast of

Malabar. He died in Rome in 1805. His writings which included two Sanskrit Grammars and several learned treatises show a great amount of knowledge about India and her religious literature.

## THE FIRST FRUITFUL STIMULUS

The first fruitful stimulus to the study of Sanskrit literature emanated from no less important a personage than Warren Hastings—the founder of the British rule in India. Himself not much of a scholar, with his keen political sense, he perceived what an important bearing the study of Sanskrit literature by the English scholars would have on the relations between the English and the Natives. He realised the necessity of the rulers being well-informed of the social and religious practices and usages of the ruled, if that rule was to last long.

He proposed that the native scholars—the Shastris and Pandits—be allowed to attend the English law courts, that they may keep the presiding English judges informed of the precepts of the Hindu law on the points that came before them for decision.

In 1773 when he was made the Governor-General, and was invested with the supreme authority over the British possessions in India, he had a work compiled by the native scholars called "Vivadarnavasetu". This compilation of the Brahmanas dealt with all possible matters relating to the Hindu law—inheritance, family law etc. The work was originally written in Sanskrit and the difficulty of translating it into English was overcome by first translating it into Persian. From Persian it was translated into English by Nathaniel Brassey Halhead. In the year 1776, the work was published by the East India Company under the title, "A Code of Gentoo law."

## THE ENGLISH ORIENTALISTS

Warren Hastings wanted Englishmen to take up the study of Sanskrit works. Charles Wilkins was the first Englishman, who, at his request, acquired the knowledge of Sanskrit from the Pandits at Benares—which, then, was a great centre of Sanskrit learning. As a result of his Sanskrit studies in 1785, he published an English translation of the Hindu philosophical poem, Bhagavad-Gita. It was an event in Oriental Scholarship. For the first time, a Sanskrit work was directly translated into English. This first effort was followed by many others. In 1787, followed the translation of the book of fables—Hitopadesa. In 1795 was published the translation of the Sakuntala episode from the Mahabharata. His Sanskrit Grammar was published in 1808. He also translated a few of the Indian inscriptions.

A bright luminary now dawned on the horizon of Oriental Scholarship in the person of the indefatigable William Jones who delighted the lovers of Sanskrit literature by the brilliance of his wit and scholarship. Early in youth, Jones had cultivated a taste for Oriental literature by his reading of the Arabic and Persian poetry. Several of the Arabic and Persian poems he had himself translated into English. Jones experienced little difficulty in transferring his love for Arabic and Persian to the study of Sanskrit. In the second year of his residence in India as the Chief Justice at Fort William, he founded the Asiatic Society of Bengal for the promotion of Sanskrit learning. For many years he acted as its president. The Society under his expert guidance ably served the cause that it espoused. It produced authoritative editions of several Sanskrit texts and published from time to time a large number of valuable periodicals connected therewith. By far the most important of William Jones's productions was his translation of Kalidasa's celebrated drama, "Sakuntala". This work which for the first time introduced the

prince of Indian playwrights to the Western reading public was published in 1789. A couple of years later, a German rendering of it appeared and won for Kalidasa the unstinted praise from the German poet Goethe. Jones's translation of the Law-book of Manu which appeared in 1791 under the title "Institutes of Hindu Law, or the Ordinances of Manu" ranked next in importance to his work on "Sakuntala". Weimar immediately translated it into German.

## HENRY THOMAS COLEBROOKE

Jones's place in the literary realm was soon filled in by Henry Thomas Colebrooke. Colebrooke had entered the Bengal service as a youth of seventeen. Not until Jones's demise, he felt inclined to take up the work of Sanskrit research. In 1797 and 1798 was published Colebrooke's translation of a legal treatise on the Hindu law of succession and contract compiled by the native scholars. This work was entitled "A Digest of Hindu Law on Contracts and Successions". Unlike his predecessor, Colebrooke was more of a scientific bent of mind and chose to dive deep into the mysteries of philosophical, astronomical and philological speculations. In the year 1805 appeared his now famous essay "On the Vedas" dispelling for the first time the cloud of oblivion that enshrouded the earliest sacred writings of the Hindus. Besides, he edited the Amarakosa, the grammar of Panini, and several other works of note. He deciphered a large number of inscriptions. The cost of his private collection of Indian manuscripts, now forming part of the India Office Library in London, of which, on return to England, he made a gift to the East India Company, is estimated to £ 10,000.

## ALEXANDER HAMILTON

The profound significance of the apparently common-place event of the translation into German of every English work connected with Sanskrit research is brought home to our mind on

reading the life-story of Alexander Hamilton. Like Jones and Colebrooke, he too had taken to the study of Sanskrit towards the close of the 18th century. On his return to Europe in 1802, he made a halt at Paris. It rendered possible his acquaintance with Schlegel and laid deep the foundations of Sanskrit scholarship in Germany.

#### BROTHERS SCHLEGEL

The Romantic School in Germany headed by the Schlegel brothers felt a special attraction towards Sanskrit literature. Friedrich Schlegel expected from India nothing less than "the unfolding of the history of the primal world which up till now is shrouded in darkness; and lovers of poetry hoped, especially since the appearance of the *Sakuntala* to glean thence many similar beautiful creations of the Asiatic spirit, animated, as in this case, by grace and love." One who pinned such profound faith on the study of Sanskrit literature, no wonder, did not let go the opportunity that beneficent Providence afforded him of learning Sanskrit from one who had long stayed in India and was himself a perfect Sanskrit scholar. He made Alexander Hamilton his guru. In the years 1803 and 1804, he received instruction from him and spent the rest of his days in studying the Indian manuscripts in the Paris Library. These numbered about 200. The outcome of his labours was the publication in 1808 of a book entitled "Ueber die Sprache und Weisheit der Indier. Ein Beitrag zur Begründung der Alterthumskunde". Through the publication of this work, Friedrich Schlegel became the founder of Indian philology in Germany. The book also contained translations of passages from the Ramayana, Manu's Law-book, Bhagavad-Gita, etc., for the first time translated direct from Sanskrit into German.

Friedrich Schlegel's brother August Wilhelm von Schlegel far outshone his brother in the extent of his work in the field of Sanskrit research. Like his brother, he too learnt Sanskrit in Paris

but from a different master. His teacher was a Frenchman, A. L. Chezy. Chezy was the first Sanskrit Professor at the College de France. His disciple August Wilhelm von Schlegel became the first Sanskrit Professor in Germany and was in that capacity invited, in 1818, by the newly-founded University of Bonn. In the year 1823, appeared the first volume of the periodical "Indische Bibliothek". Most of the essays on Indian philology that it contained were from the pen of its distinguished founder August Wilhelm von Schlegel. In the same year he published a good edition of the Bhagavad-Gita with a Latin translation. By far the most important of his publications—an excellent edition of the Ramayana unfortunately remained unfinished.

#### FRANZ BOPP

Like his contemporary August Wilhelm von Schlegel, Franz Bopp learnt Sanskrit from Chezy in Paris. Unlike the Schlegel brothers he was not a literary adventurer. The path that he had chalked out for himself was that of a sober investigator. His ambition did not long remain unfulfilled. The publication of his book "Ueber das Conjugations-system der Sanskrit sprache in Vergleichung mit jenem der griechischen, lateinischen, persischen und germanischen Sprache", in 1816, established his claim to the title of the founder of the new science of Comparative Philology. His "Conjugations System" contained episodes from the Ramayana and the Mahabharata. These were metrical translations of the original texts. Bopp showed the remarkable skill, characteristic of a literary connoisseur, in singling out the Nala-Damayanti episode, as the best specimen of beautiful Sanskrit poetry, from the Mahabharata. He made it universally accessible by publishing a good critical edition of it with Latin.

#### WILHELM VON HUMBOLDT

The study of Sanskrit was exceptionally fortunate in that it received the attentions of 'the ingenious, versatile and influential', Wilhelm von

# Hasan Bin Sabbah, Founder of the Assassins

BY MR. A. HAMEED HASAN, B.A., LL. B. (Alig.)

THE word "Assassin" has now become a common word in the English language but very few people know that it is an Arabic word anglicised. It is associated with that master mind of Persia, well-known in history as the old Shaikh of the Mountains. It is nothing but a strange irony of fate—understandable fate—that one of two pearls, coming from one and the same shell, sometimes adorns a royal crown and the other pearl is pulverised and powdered into *Surama* (collyrium or ground antimony.) Of two roses adorning a hunch in a flower garden one often decorates the chest of a beauty and the other falls on the ground either by the roaring wind or a cruel hand and is invariably trampled upon. It is nothing but an irony of fate. But Fate has never thrilled mankind so immensely as it did in the commencement of the fifth century of the Islamic Hijri era. Imam Moosiquddio was the famous instructor of the age whose name and fame had attracted hundreds of pupils from different climes to resort to his Madrasa. Three youths of the Persian origin also joined this famous seminary. None of them had then dreamt that they would ever leave any name behind them for posterity to appreciate or condemn. Two of them were named Hasan and the third was called Oomer. Greatest friendship and intimacy existed between them. They had become so fond of and devoted to one another that it was highly painful and anguishing to be separated even for a short time. All these three were destined to become bright luminaries in their respective spheres of action. One day they solemnly covenanted with one another that if Providence favoured any of them with worldly riches or high office, it would be incumbent upon him to make the remaining friends also share his prosperity equally with him. After completing their education, these three youths left their school

and proceeded in different directions to carve out their careers. One of the Hasans reached Seljooki Royal Court by dint of his exceptional abilities and talents. The Royal Court appreciated his sterling worth. The Sovereign was so pleased with him that he raised him to the high office of his Prime Minister and conferred on him the title of Nizam-ul-Mulk Toosi. Nizam-ul-Mulk's name will always be remembered with gratitude and affection as the founder of the illustrious Madrasa-e-Nizamia named and styled after him. The other pupil, better known in later times as the immortal Oomer Khayam, was a famous mathematician, distinguished astronomer and illustrious poet-philosopher whose quatrains—*Rubayyat*—had won for him an undying fame in this world. The Persians ought to be grateful to him for the Parsi Calendar reformed by him. Oomer Khayam is now an international figure standing unique and matchless for his striking philosophy which breathes in his every line. The third pupil, bearing the name of Hasan Bin Sabbah, to distinguish him from his namesake known as Nizam-ul-Mulk, was certainly the most brilliant of three pupils. Nizam ul-Mulk was the first to come into prominence as the Prime Minister of the Seljooki State. Oomer Khayam was immediately promoted to the rank of the Poet-Laureate and awarded a charming garden and vast estate to support him.

## MUSLIM FREEMASONRY

The Freemasonry is nowadays a vast institution with its useful net-work scattered throughout the length and breadth of the world. As far as Muslims are concerned, the Emperor-Prophet Solomon is believed to be the founder of the Muslim Freemasonry, but unfortunately no historical proofs are now available. It will be a matter of great surprise to many readers that the first gigantic Mus-

m Masonic Society was established in Africa by Muslim belonging to the Ismailia Sect. The Fatimite Caliphs reigning in Egypt were its great patrons and benefactors.

The Ismailia Sect saw its secret birth in the convulsions of the internal intrigues and dissensions tearing asunder the Muslim lands. The principles and maxims of this sect were, therefore, initiated to only those who joined their fraternity on a solemn and unbreakable oath. The political needs of the times also made its existence secret and confidential. Its biggest Masonic Lodge was first established at Qarwan and then transferred to the City of Cairo, which was the capital and headquarters of the Fatimite Caliphate. The President of this Lodge was named "Dayee-ur-Darjat" which is equivalent to our present office of the Grand Master of the Modern Freemasons. But this Muslim Grand Master wielded very enormous powers. This Lodge used to meet twice a week and transact its ordinary and extraordinary business in the most secret and confidential manner then known. Allama Miqrizi states that originally there were seven degrees in this Lodge, but after its removal to Cairo it was extended to nine. The entrant to this Lodge had to swear to obey his superior, called Dayee in the Muslim masonic phraseology, most blindly and implicitly, and was forbidden to hesitate or to dispute the orders issued to him. Thereafter the doctrine of Imamate was explained and inculcated. In the third degree, the candidate would for the first time learn the chief principles of the Ismailia Mazhab. He has to believe in seven Imams with Ismail bin Jafer Sadique as the Highest Imam. In the fourth stage of his initiation, a devotee now called Fidsyee would learn more about the seven Prophets of God, viz., Adam, Noah, Abraham, Moses, Christ, Muhammad and Ismail bin Jafer Sadique. These prophets had also their

counterparts according to this sect to help them in their secret missions. After Jafer Sadique, the number of Hidden Imams ran up. Each counterpart had 12 Dayees under him who were disclosed in the 5th degree. The sixth degree of initiation made him believe that orders of Shreeyat were subject to reason and philosophy. The seventh taught him the secret signs and tokens, the eighth inculcated in him the unity of his actions and thoughts, and the ninth impressed upon him not to believe in anything except in his Dayee and to make bold to perform any or all acts which he might be called upon to perform.

#### HASAN'S EARLY CAREER

At the time of the advent of Hasan bin Sabbah in Khorasan this Ismailia Lodge was in full swing and its Dayees were found in important centres, and the Ismailia sect was gaining strength. Hasan bin Sabbah originally belonged to *Assa-Schiria* Shia Sect (a sect which believes in Twelve Imams). Since he left his two friends he wandered far and wide in search of a suitable employment but failed to get one. He proceeded to the Capital of the Seljuki Empire on having learnt the good news of the elevation of his classmate as Nizam-ul-Mulk and Prime Minister. He saw his old friend and asked him to perform his old promise. Nizam-ul-Mulk was a pious man. He received his friend with great warmth, introduced him to his sovereign and obtained for him a high post at the Royal Court. But Hasan bin Sabbah was undoubtedly an evil genius. His spirit could not brook to see Nizam-ul-Mulk higher than him in the royal favour. One day the Shah asked Nizam-ul-Mulk to prepare a complete report about the income and expenditure of his vast Empire in the earliest possible time. As the Empire was vast and scattered and as its accounts were not properly kept in the treasuries of the State, Nizam-ul-Mulk asked two years' time to be given for this task. But Hasan bin Sabbah, who was present in the Darbar, offered to have such a

report ready in 40 days only. The Shah was surprised and the Vizier stood simply stupefied. The Shah entrusted this work to Hasan to test his capacity. In the course of 40 days, Hasan was able to complete this stupendous work and, on the 40th day he appeared with this report before the Shah. It is alleged that Nizam-ul-Mulk had won over Hasan's confidential clerk to his aide and made him change the pages of the Report indiscriminately so that Hasan might not be able to answer the Shah satisfactorily. If Hasan was to succeed, Nizam-ul-Mulk foresaw his downfall as sure and certain. The Shah was immensely pleased with the work, but when he put questions to Hasan, Hasan referred to the pages and fumbled entirely. Nizam-ul-Mulk stepped forward and submitted "Your Majesty, in view of the tremendous work involved, those who are endowed with wisdom ask for sufficiently long time to be granted for such difficult works. But of course fools rush in where angels tread steadily". Hasan was shamelessly disgraced and expelled from the Court in ignominy.

This defeat of Hasan did not make him despondent and dejected in mind and in action. It spurred him to further and greater activities. From Syria he went to Iapahan and wandered from place to place. During his wanderings, he came in intimate contact with these Ismailia Dayees. Finally, he accepted this sect and took his oath of allegiance at the hands of his superior. He was recommended to meet at Cairo the Ismailia Imam, Khalifa Mustansir Dillab. He impressed the Imam greatly and rose in power rapidly. This alienated the party in power who packed him off one night on board a ship bound for Eastern Africa. His ship encountered the great storm which tossed it on water as a mere football. While the crew and passengers on board the ship were in despair of their lives, he was in his jolly mood, untroubled of the furies of the ocean. He cheered them and said: "Do not

be alarmed. God has promised me that we would not be drowned." It is alleged that he did so deliberately knowing very well that if the ship was drowned, he would also die, and if it was saved, it would add to his glory. It so happened that the storm abated and the ship was saved. All crew and passengers prostrated themselves at his feet and took the oath of allegiance at his hands in the Ismailia fold. In his further wanderings on the shore, he enlisted hundreds of new converts to the Ismailia fold and finally took up his abode in the Mountains, specially in the Fort Alamut.

#### THE ASSASSINS

Hasan, finding himself perfectly safe in this secure and impregnable fortress, now established a new sect which has come to be known as "Assassins". He modified the Ismailia cult and reduced its degrees to seven. His sect gained in strength from day to day and became a power in the land to be reckoned with. Innumerable fortresses were established throughout the hilly region and Alamoot or more commonly called Alamut witnessed the erection of magnificent palaces and loveliest gardens which men had then seen. Hasan in fact verily converted it into an earthly paradise to reside wherein and to enjoy its no-dream-of luxuries was the highest ambition of the new entrants. The summit of the Fort Alamoot was the loveliest spot then known. Orchards and gardens were reared up in the vicinity in abundance. Its dales and valleys were most charming and fascinating. Apartments in the palace were most luxuriously furnished, and every no-dream-of article and commodity to please and catch the fancy of man were provided in the palace. To crown all, the loveliest and most attractive girls—virgins in majority—were the pretty denizens of this mansion. New converts called Fidayees having passed the first initial stages of this sect used to be transported into this earthly paradise on making them drink a preparation or



beverage consisting of *Hashish*—*Bhang* or opium—which stupefied their senses. As these blind adepts, or *fidayees*, were given very large doses of *Hashish* (opium) on the eve of and during the course of their transportation to the summit, they were now called *Hashashin* or opium-eaters. After the *fidayee's* ambition and desires had been more than fully satisfied, he was taken down to the foot of the hill in the same stupor after making him covenant with the Shaikh of the Mountains, Hasan Bin Sabbah, that he would ever blindly obey his order when conveyed to him by his Dayee. Hasan's sect now had three sets of followers (1) *fidayee* (devotee) (2) *rafique* (comrade) and *dayee* (the Superior). All these followers spread themselves throughout the adjoining and outlying lands and countries. These *fidayees*, having tasted the cup of the elysian happiness at the summit, were prepared and in duty bound to lay down their very lives in blind obedience to their Superiors or Shaikh of the Mountains as he was then come to be called. They believed that they could have an access to the Elysium again by carrying out his orders conveyed to them through their Dayees. These persons, sturdy, well-built, and warriors as they used to be first chosen, were the most courageous of the time. They played with death as a child plays with water.

Such was the disciplined and well-organised army of stalwart and sturdy *fidayees* which he now vigorously launched forward to achieve his objects. One of his *fidayees* stabbed Nizam-ul-Mulk while he little suspected his would-be-assailant. Another of this faithful band left a dagger in the bed-room of Sultan Sanjar near his pillow on his own bed. The Sultan was frightened and coerced to make a humiliating peace with the Shaikh of the Mountains whom he had disgraced many years ago.

Peace was finally concluded between Sultan Sanjar and Hasan on three conditions (1) that

the *Isma'ili* sect people should not erect new military buildings in their fortresses, (2) new weapons of warfare should not be imported and, (3) thereafter Hasan should not make new converts to his creed. Under this peace, Sanjar had to pay the Shaikh of the Mountains a very big sum as an allowance. Hasan accepted these terms willingly as his creed was based on secret doings of his devoted and faithful followers.

#### RISE IN POWER

Hasan and his *Hashashin* had now become a terrible power in the continents of Asia and Africa. His devotees, scores of them, would most gladly hurl themselves down into the abyss of death simply on his order. Sultans and Kings were terribly afraid of him and his secret scourge. No precious human life was then secure from their sudden onslaughts. *Hashashin Bhang* or *Hashish* users had verily become the greatest murderers of the time and rightly come to be called in the West as Assassins. With the death of Hasan in 518 Hiji, their influence declined for the time being, but we hear of their ruthless campaigns again during the Crusades in Palestine. Several Fatimite Caliphs and other Moslim potentates lost their lives from the daggers of these Assassins. There was no place of safety from the attacks of these Assassins for any highly-placed person once he was marked out for death. His end was as sure and certain as night was to follow day. The Assassin then became verily a scourge to the humanity at large. Originally, he was a *Batinit* in the narrower sense—in the broader, that term meant only those who found under the letter of Quran a hidden, esoteric message. He believed in a divinely instructed Imam. Under Hasan Bin Sabbah and his successors, the Assassins entered on an open rebellion against the organised order and the established Government. The sect of the Assassins applied its poisoned principles most heartlessly at every time and in every clime.

# RELIGION AND CULTURE

BY PROF. T. L. VASWANI

**S**URVEYING the world's situation, I have felt again and again that a crying need of our civilisation is a new creative religious movement. The new apotheosis of the material interests of life has created in many places a religion of the Bolshevike. The religion of the "bourgeoise" is a religion of possessions and bank balances, of comfort and capitalism. The religion of the Bolshevike is a religion of materialistic Marxism. What a man effectively believes is in his religion. And Bolshevism believes effectively,—violently, in Marx and his disciple,—Lenin. Marx did well in bringing out an element of truth long neglected; but he went wrong in confounding the economic with the materialistic. The importance of the economic factor must be recognised, but economic interpretations must not be merged in a materialist conception of history. The new-materialism of Marx cannot satisfy the mind of man eager to know the universe. As a distinguished historian of our days, Prof. Le0 of the University of Rennes says in a significant little sentence:—"Reality is much more complex than Karl Marx imagined." It is unfortunate that in the new reactions of Russian political thought on India, there has been initiated a campaign against religion—and that in the name of 'Nationalism', I shudder to think of a "Nationalism" denying the Divine values of life. And my reading of Indian History has taught me that religion is an important element in the thought and life of India. Only let us be careful not to confound religion with creeds and forms. Seetarianism, as I have often said, is the very negation of religion.

Russia does well to recognise the value of the modern. New world-forces are marching on, and India must move with them or be left behind. But Russia sins against the deeper spirit of the modern in trying to eliminate religion. Russia has given ear to the suspicious German thinker who said that God was dead! Surely, the *Atman*

or Consciousness is a better clue to the cosmos than material forces; and the witness of recent science seems to be that the so-called material forces themselves are immaterial.

It is a pity Soviet Russia opposes culture to religion; and many of the young men in India echo the Soviet view. Young India's malady is imitation. Last year on Christmas Eve, after a street demonstration by 2,000 persons, a church in *Marxstadt*,—an important town in Soviet Russia,—was converted into a "Karl Marx Palace of Culture". The Cross was removed, and in its place was set up the blood-red flag of Revolution. The altar was torn down, and in its place was erected a stage; and one of the inscriptions put up was:—"There is no Higher Power to save us!" A number of other churches, too, have been converted into "Homes of Culture"! In India, too, is spreading fast a "Godless Culture" aiming at secularisation of all thought and faith and life. What I submit is, in part, this,—that religion and culture,—understood in their essence,—are not rivals. Religion viewed historically and sociologically has made important contributions to culture and civilisation. The great spiritual leaders of the race have appeared in times of crisis and proclaimed each his 'religion' as an answer to the deeper needs of his age. Historically, the great religious geniuses of the Race have been the saviours of civilisations. Not the prophets and saints but many of their disciples have again and again put up a fight against the spirit of religion, which is the spirit of freedom, and fellowship. So it is that again and again, the original inspiration has been stifled and inner spiritual values have been lost in mazes of dogmas, creeds, and controversies. Hence the necessity of repeated renewal and rejuvenation of religion. The prophets and saints come with a message of renewal and liberation. In a very real sense, religion is culture. The ancient

Indian name for religion is *Atmavidya* which means Culture of the Self. Humanism in the West turns away from God. The Humanism of the Gita and the Upanishads turns to God. God Himself is termed *Purusha*, the Supreme Person. Both religion and culture ask for inner renewal of the individual for apprehension and appreciation of the deeper values of life,—for liberation from within. This inner renewal is needed to transform this nervous heavy-laden, technical civilisation into a new civilisation of brotherliness, and broad human sympathies, a civilisation of simplicity and strength. To such a civilisation the Rishis have borne witness through the ages.

And the Rishis belong not to India alone. In every religion, in every age, in East as in West have the Rishis appeared, the true 'super-men' of history—men who have realised the harmony of

culture and religion. Is the Rishis is to be found the real key of history. And in a new, vital, creative co-operation with the wisdom of the Rishis is the hope of India,—ancient and gifted but to-day alas! a bewildered, broken nation.

Something better, broader, nobler, richer, something more true to the spirit of Indian History and genius of Indian life, something much bigger and more vital than Karl Marx's socialism is India's need. And poor and shrunken is that SWARAJ which is a denial of the Divine in life and humanity. Marx and Lenin were great, but the greater were the Rishis who saw the One Self in all. Their message is what young men need to make a new India. For they realise that true freedom was fellowship with humanity, and that true democracy was built not in blood and bomb but in the law of brotherhood and love.

## BANK FAILURES IN INDIA

BY MR. C. H. DIVANJI

WHILE talking on bank failures in India, it must always be remembered that the word "bank" signifies banking on Western lines. The Government records and other statistics available make no mention about the indigenous banking, and hence the figures and other references made hereafter are relating to banks conducted on Western lines only.

During the 15 years ending December 1927, the total number of banks that failed in India was 208 while Canada reported failure of 26 banks only during the last 62 years. It may be of interest to learn that Canada had only 10 banks with 3,870 branches in 1928, while India has had 123 banks with 695 branches in 1927. Lest an admirer of Indian banking be disheartened by comparing the figures of bank failures in India with that of Canada, it may be mentioned that more than 5,000 banks have failed in the United States of America since 1920, but that the United States of America reported more than 30,000

bank offices in 1928. The United States of America reported 936 bank failures in 1926, 662 in 1927, and 491 in 1928 while India reports 17 bank failures in 1925, 14 in 1926 and 16 in 1927; and Japan reported 292 bank failures and 1,162 banks in 1928.

The above figures have been given only with a view to show that India is not the only country that has reported bank failures, but that even countries like the United States of America and Japan are there to outbid India on that score.

Because other countries have shown a larger number of bank failures than that in India, we must not ignore the bank failures in India. India is still in the infancy of banking development, and that is why the lessons learnt from bank failures should be of great help and use for the future banking of the country. When discussing bank failures, a well-known writer has said :

In the long run the law of supply and demand works by driving out the weak banks that lose out in the rates

for larger deposits, higher rates and risky investments. The loss to the people from this exceedingly wasteful competition is great and does not seem to be a necessary part of progressive banking. We have learnt in the business that co-operation and consolidation are much more profitable to all concerned than is cut-throat competition.

But all this is not applicable to India as the reported bank failures in India are not due to competition from banks for larger deposits though they are partly due to higher rates and risky investments.

The authors of the "Money and Money Market" in India assigned the following six causes to the Indian bank failures:—

(1) The banks used to carry a cash reserve dangerously low in relation to their liabilities.

(2) The banks undertook transactions that could not fitly be characterised as banking transactions.

(3) The banks were controlled and managed by persons untrained in the technique and ignorant of the principles of banking.

(4) The directors were equally incompetent for their work.

(5) The desire to satisfy the shareholders by large dividends involved a sacrifice of the larger interests of banking.

(6) The European banks looked askance upon the Indian enterprise and were reluctant to co-operate, even less inclined to help the banking fraternity in times of difficulty.

Since the publication of the book referred to above, times have changed and the prominent Indian banks have by now bravely fought the first five causes. As for the attitude of the foreign banks, it must be said that to co-operate with the Indian banks is for them as good as strengthening their competitors and one cannot expect any sane man to so act as to strengthen his own rivals. It is now necessary for foreign banks to realise that India has till now given such banks a practical monopoly for foreign business and that they owe their prosperity in India on account of the faith and the patronage of the Indians who have given them large funds which enabled them to finance the country's foreign trade without any help from their Home Office. Under the circumstances, it is a moral obligation on such banks to see their way to co-operate with the banking fraternity of the country, otherwise time will come when Indians will have to devise means to restrict the activities of such banks.

When the bank failures in India are discussed, we ought to take into consideration the difficulties under which the pioneers of the Indian banking had to work. The history of the banks that have failed reveals that people deposited their funds with the bank not because of their faith in the bank but because of the man who was the moving spirit of the Institution. Thus the Institutions were, more or less, run as one man's show and this was directly or indirectly responsible for a large number of bank failures. Directly in the sense that a moving spirit in order to increase his own prestige and popularity had to resort to larger dividends to shareholders and high rates to depositors without any corresponding increase in the profits and without securing any safe, sound and profitable investments. Under such circumstances, the banks had to go in for risky advances and high dividends at the sacrifice of sound banking.

The bank management was very inefficient owing to absence of trained staff and the management was further handicapped by want of a developed market for the gilt-edged securities. All banks had to resort to investments in usance bills for keeping their assets liquid and many invested their surplus funds in the carry-over transactions alias *badlas* in the Share Bazar. The good yield of interest in both kinds of business induced the management to plunge morn and more in such transactions without taking into account the risk involved therein. The result was that the management could not meet their depositors at the time of panic. One of the mistakes of banks was that the majority of the funds that they procured were for demand and in short period deposits while their lending and investments were locked up in long period advances.

The management were further harassed by Court Cases brought against them by persons who were jealous of or had grudge against the moving

# THE INDIAN MUSIC

BY THE REV. H. A. POPLEY

RECENTLY, the British Broadcasting Corporation broadcast a programme of Indian music which was greatly appreciated by English people. In Germany and Austria, they are interested in it from the point of view of the musical student, and it is hoped that arrangements will shortly be made for the teaching of Indian music in the continent of Europe. The true musician, even when he uses a musical language so different from that of the West as is the musical language of India, always finds a response in real music-lovers everywhere.

The Begum Sahiba, who is the authoress of this book\* is a cultured and accomplished lady and has had many opportunities during her stay in the West of interesting English people in Indian music. Dilip Kumar Roy, on his travels in the West, found everywhere a keen interest in Indian music and a real appreciation of his own musical efforts. The world is ever narrowing and not only are people being brought together in politics and industry, in commerce and sciences, but also in art and æsthetics, and there is a growing desire to understand the cultural and æsthetic expression of the life of other peoples. 'Music brings peoples into contact at a deeper level than the spoken word', says a Western writer, and if ever the peoples of the West and the East are to understand and appreciate one another, explorations must be made in the avenues of understanding of their artistic life as well as in other ways. It is in music and art that the deepest things of life are expressed. Who can truly understand St. Francis and his troubadour spirit who has not known and appreciated his 'Canticle to the Sun'?

The Begum Sahiba, in the opening sentence of her book says, 'Few subjects have been more co-

veloped in mystery and darkness than Indian music.' The old idea of India as a land where all was mysterious and unintelligible may have helped India to become the modern tourist's cave of Ali Baba, but has hardly conduced to the understanding of her thought and life among Western peoples. The West, with the exception of a comparatively few scholars, mystics and philosophers, thinks of India as a land of primitive things, having a weird mystical background, almost unintelligible to Western minds.

The Music of India is always thought of as a minor music with a fascinating rhythm, but almost entirely unconnected with musical facts as the West understands them. As the book under review treats of Indian music almost entirely from the Indian stand-point alone, Western musicians will probably not find much to dispel that idea. It is by no means true, as so many of them believe, that Indian melodies are mostly in the minor key. There are a very large number of melodies in the major key. It is really the unaccustomed intervals which give rise to that idea as well as the large number of different minor modes that are in use. The chapter on Tala or Rhythm will help the Westerner to appreciate the wonderful variety of time-measures which India possesses.

The Begum Sahiba's book treats only of North Indian music or 'Hindustani music' as it is called. Classical music has been greatly modified on the North by contact with Persian and other foreign models. It is in South India that classical music is found in its greatest purity and perfection. The Veena is the most perfect classical musical instrument of India, and it is met with in the South far more than in the North. In the Hindustani area, the *Esraj*, *Dilruba*, *Sitar*, *Sarang* and *Surbahar* have become the most

\*The Music of India by Atiya Begum Fyzee Rahaman. Luzac & Co. (Available of G. A. Natesan & Co., Madras. Price Rs. 5-10.

on the one hand and the backward and undeveloped provinces like Assam and Bihar and Orissa, on the other. They want that customs duties and income-tax and all other central sources of revenue should be provincialised and that the Central Government be reimbursed from provincial funds for the purpose of carrying on the duties allotted to it, each province contributing that portion of its revenues as may be decided upon by an impartial tribunal.

In this scheme adumbrated by the Central Committee there are two obvious defects, which should have been apparent to its members; in the first place, it militates against the very principle of provincial autonomy, which the committee profess to have so much at heart and which is so absolutely necessary for a harmonious and full-blooded development of the Provinces along the lines of advancement of the Nation building departments and the consequent progressive amelioration of the masses of the population. Not only do the provinces require to be rendered financially independent but they should also have sources of revenue which are easily expandable and capable of enabling them to cope with the increasing expenditure which they have to incur in times to come in connection with the carrying on of developmental schemes. A system of doles from the Central Government on contributions from the Provincial Government is, from this point of view, sure to work out as a detriment to the one or the other of the branches of Government and lead to injustice and inter-provincial wrangling, however impartial may be the basis of the proposed tribunal.

The danger is all the more imminent in view of the recommendation that customs and income-tax should be appropriated as provincial sources of revenues, and it is the point on the second objection above-noted, i.e., that the Central Government should be deprived of all its tax-resources. First, as regards the customs duties,

they are a fit source of income for central rather than for Provincial Government for very obvious reasons. Indirect taxation is a thing to be levied by the Central or Federal Government in almost every well-ordered Federal system, in so far as there is a necessity for uniformity in the rate of customs duties, and as there is scope for an inequitable distribution of the proceeds as between province and province, which will be avoided if the whole of it goes into a central exchequer. For example, the province which collects the customs revenue may not be synonymous with the province which actually consumes the duty-encumbered article as it ought to be in justice and the province with a port of call like Bombay will be enriched at the expense of an inland province, albeit the fact that the people of the latter it is that ultimately pay the main burden of the duty being the actual consumers of the article. The note of dissent of the Indian Central Committee's report contributed by the chairman and two other members examined the particular proposal, but came to the conclusion that there would be no ground for any difficulties on this score; but it is not easy for one to agree with their opinion that an 'impartial tribunal' will obviate all difficulties that may arise. There is something very cumbersome, round-about and indefinite in the procedure suggested for settling conflicting claims, which are certain to arise and which would render the whole machinery of financial adjustment unstable and fidgety, and it would be well if it could be avoided by arriving at a definite formula in regard to the financial relations between the Central and Provincial Governments.

But what has been said above as regards the customs revenue need not apply to the revenue derived from income-tax, for there is much to be said in favour of its being made a provincial revenue source. For one thing, it is an elastic source of revenue which can be utilised by the Provincial Government in such a way as to suit

their local requirements and necessities of the situation, for another it is a direct tax and all direct taxes are best levied by the Provinces only, in view of the greater facilities they possess for scrutiny and supervision and the greater easiness with which they can carry on the duties connected with the levy and collection of the tax. In return for this and in order to make up for the deficit which may arise in the central budget owing to the change, excise revenue, which is at present assigned to the provinces, may be transferred to the Central Government. The revenue from excise ought nationally to diminish in course of time in view of the gradual introduction of prohibition; but if corresponding to the reduction from that source, there is also a reduction in the heavy item of military expenditure and an increase or progressive expansion in the customs revenue, due to the raising of the rate of import duties, there is every reason to believe that the Central Government will be able to make both ends meet.

For, while there is every reason to ensure and maintain the financial autonomy of the provinces and provide them with the necessary tax resources, there is also an equally grave necessity for placing the Central Government beyond all necessity of depending upon the provincial Governments for its very existence. The Central Government has to discharge some important and national responsibilities like defending the country, conducting her foreign relations and regulating the currency; and any weakening of it on the financial side will produce repercussions on its proficiency in all these spheres of its activities. It is with this consideration in view that it had been suggested that while customs should continue to remain a central source of revenue along with the revenue from railways, excise and commercial stamps may be transferred to it with the salt tax in reserve as an emergency measure. Income-tax should be given over to the Provinces and its

scope for expansion provided for by authorizing them to levy an income-tax on agricultural incomes and death and inheritance taxes together with a tax on urban site values, whenever and wherever the local circumstances require it and the local financial needs demand it. The central government may also add to its sources of income a tax on corporation profits, which may be on a graduated scale, the tax rising with the proportion of foreign capital invested and the degree of foreign control existing in those concerns.

In dealing with the financial recommendations of the Indian Central Committee, it will be permissible to note the opinion of the minority report of Sir Sankar Nair and two other members already referred to, which has definitely and unequivocally expressed itself in favour of a clear-cut separation of the central and provincial revenues. After examining every other alternative e.g., the system of divided heads, dues from the Central Government, and contributions from the provinces the three dissentient members arrived at the inevitable conclusion that "complete provincial autonomy, full freedom for development under different and varying conditions is essential" and they considered it "lamentable if all this is prevented by reversing the policy followed for more than 50 years". One has necessarily to endorse the view, though it is difficult to reconcile it with their other recommendation that customs revenue should be provincialised along with Income-Tax, which exhibits an unmeaning disregard of the needs of the Central Government and an excessive suspicion of its *bona-fides*. There is a great necessity for caution and a careful handling of the situation and for devising a scheme which would secure the readjustment of the varying and different view-points and interests and towards reaching this end, the changes proposed above may prove contributory factors.

# IF WISHES WERE HORSES

BY

PROF. V. K. ANAPPAN PILLAI, M.A.

MR. H. W. Fowler needs no introduction to the English-speaking world. As the prince of lexicographers who planned and executed, in collaboration with his younger brother, the late Francis George Fowler, the admirable Concise Oxford Dictionary and the Pocket Oxford Dictionary, as the Master of 'The King's English' who produced a classic on English Composition which is alike the admiration and despair of authors and stylists, and above all, as the author of the Dictionary of Modern English Usage which combines delight with instruction in equal proportion, Mr. Fowler has kept himself too much in the public eye by first-rate work to require any special notice at the hands of a reviewer. Lexicographers and Grammarians are usually not authors properly so called, and Mr. Fowler's work has mostly been of a kind which, however valuable and interesting to the initiated, could not, in the nature of things, command a wide appeal. A discourse on the question of *being* or on the preposition at the end or the split infinitive, even if it be made with authority and is enlivened with humour, is apt to repel the general reader. The title itself in such cases is perhaps sufficient for him. The present volume,\* however, is neither grammar nor dictionary nor literary encyclopaedia, and just because it is none of these, perhaps all the more welcome. "If Wishes Were Horses" is virtually a charming little book of confessions, a sort of *apologia pro vita sua* of a middle-aged man, a grammarian, a scholar and something of a recluse. The book is indeed not new. It was published anonymously by its author more than twenty-two years ago under the title *Si Mihi*—! The mask of anonymity is here removed and 'Egomet' gives place to H. W. Fowler. In the

new preface which Mr. Fowler has contributed to this welcome re-publication, the author says: the *Egomet* who published *Si Mihi*—! anonymously more than twenty-two years ago was a sensitive young thing of under fifty, whom nothing would have induced to give himself so freely away under his own name. The married senior of over seventy who re-publishes it declines responsibility for the views of this callow youth who was, and is not, he. But having himself found them not without interest, he has thought that others too might read them with an indulgent smile!

The book is made up of the views of this callow youth, the sensitive thing of under fifty. If it is not a great book in the real sense of the term great, it is because the mind whose portrait it is has not all the accents of that quality which we imply by greatness properly understood. The book may be described as a spiritual autobiography; devoid, it may be, of power, passion or any striking degree of imagination. But it is a true autobiography and of exceptional interest as the faithful and unaffected presentment of a cultured and high-minded soul. "If Wishes were Horses" is in the nature of the travels of a scholar and a lover of books round his own mind, as series of self-analyses full of wit and the mellow wisdom of an equable and contented mind, who looks on life with a suave Horatian philosophy. The author himself, in the course of the eleven discourses which make up the volume, provides the best characterisation of his work. '*Si Mihi*?' (If I had) has been a common cry in all ages. Nothing new or original about mine except that I have filled a whole little book with it, put my wishes into a bottle, as it were, to be quit of them once for all. Again, 'my book is a *catalogue raisonné* of the things I wish the gods had given me.' In one of the most interesting of these little pieces of self-

\* If Wishes Were Horses. By H. W. Fowler, George Allen & Unwin.



portrature entitled 'If I had Imagination', he says: 'Now I am a plain man, and I am sorry for it; I should like to have an imagination, and I have not; but being of a cheerful temper, I look round for consolation'. This, in fact, is just what he does in these essays.

It need hardly be said how every page of the book reveals the mind which has lived in hourly communion with the best that has been thought and said in the world. Shakespeare or Milton, Virgil or Dante, *Tristram Shandy* or the *Apology* of Socrates, provide him with allusions and quotations which surge to his mind with that ease and perfect appositeness which reveal the true scholar who has entered into the domain of the immortals and has found a welcome there. In the discourse on 'If I had Charity' we read: *Miseremini Mei Lectores* (have pity on me, O ye readers) I am neither charitable nor uncharitable; I have neither the gentle satisfactions of the one class nor the fierce joys of the other; I am a contemptible mortal, fit for neither heaven nor hell but only for that Dantesque limbo described by the poet in memorable lines which to Arnold are among the few touchstones of excellence in poetry. Opinions which he can call his own he disclaims save on books. As all that portion of my time which remains over from writing is devoted to reading, it might fairly be expected that on literature at any rate I should have some real opinions. Well, if grammar is part of literature, I have; consult me on a grammatical point and you give me the rare felicity of being able to say with confidence, if not with correctness. This is legitimate and that is not, and of adding the reason for my faith. But take me beyond grammar, and I am disconsolate again. In the same essay we get an excellent sample of his wit. 'I shall have to resign all thoughts of that legitimate object of an Englishman's ambition, the writing of M. P. after his name; a modern member of Parliament is the mouthpiece of his caucus's opinions; he

must not have any of his own. Pending the actual arrival of my opinions, I do not feel capable of deciding whether I would rather be an M. P. without opinions, or a letterless private person without them. He who would be an M. P. must have, besides no opinions, a modest £500 a year to support his dignity upon. Which not having, I need not hesitate to incur the other disqualification as well.' The discourse on 'If I had a religion' is of more than usual interest. Here he holds rather definite views. For he is not one of those who envy the religions for (?) their emotions. Human progress strikes me as practical, and immortality as moonshine; in the latter, I see no reason whatever to believe. I have no disposition to believe in it either any more than in the barnacle goose.' Another bit of self-revelation is in the following interesting passage: 'If your treasure is in heaven, earthly things are of no great moment; only what and where is heaven? It is a temper of the mind, say the Stoics; it was the Stoic emperor who wrote: and thy journey in content, just as an olive falls off when it is ripe, blessing nature who produced it and thanking the tree on which it grew.' To attempt to illustrate more of his views would be to quote the whole book.

The style of a work written by the Master of the King's English whose life's mission was to conduct a crusade against the slipshod, the slovenly and the inaccurate in composition, naturally calls for special remarks. 'Le style, c'est l'home memo' is the celebrated, if now rather trite, saying of Buffon's. But it is applicable to the present work in all its force. His prose is not touched by passion or the glow of imagination, but it is precise and exact, a completely adequate vesture for the thought. Fine writing, rhetoric of every description is rigorously excluded. Proper words in proper places is his ideal. 'One of my peculiarities', he says in one of the essays, 'is that the exquisite and the Virgilian repels me; I resent the

Stevensonian elaboration of style in literature, I tend to the negative view, and the negative virtues outweigh the positive; lucidity and faultlessness appeal to me more than they should for the first instance that comes to hand, there is, I believe, a great deal of human nature and refreshing prejudice and rude vigour in Borrow; but I cannot read with patience a man who so

murders the grammar. Elsewhere, in the Preface to the King's English, Mr. Fowler truly says that the positive literary virtues are not otherwise attained than by improving the gifts of nature with wide or careful reading, and it may be confidently said that the present work is a model of excellence in composition which will repay careful reading.

## Economic Tendencies in India\*

BY MR. R. W. BROCK,

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PROBABLY the one statement likely to command general agreement is that economic conditions in India are unsatisfactory. The intellectually indolent dispose of the problem by laying the entire blame upon Government; overlooking the fact, rightly emphasised by Mr. Clurehill during a recent Parliamentary debate on unemployment in Great Britain, that "the economic forces of the modern world transcend at the present time the power of individuals and individual Governments to foresee or control." The depression is general and no country is passing through a more severe trial than Great Britain herself. That fact is of some importance to India inasmuch as Great Britain remains incomparably the largest single outlet for Indian produce, and despite higher import duties, the natural growth of Indian industries, and even political disaffection, India still remains the largest market for British goods. To no slight extent, therefore, the economic welfare of the two countries is interdependent. If India moves ahead, develops her resources and raises her standard of living, no country will benefit more than Great Britain.

### UNDOUBTEDLY DISCOURAGING

Whether India's imperfect development is due, as Basil Blackett recently maintained, to the persistence of mediæval abstractions, or, as Indian critics assert, to modern superstitions and restrictions, fiscal, financial and political, is entirely a matter of opinion; whatever the explanation, the immediate position is undoubtedly discouraging. Probably no single factor has hit Indian producers harder than the world-wide fall in commodity prices. Indian producers, in certain instances, are also affected by the formation of vast combines to control the purchase, and to a certain extent the prices of raw materials. No important industry has escaped. Jute, which for so many years, contrived to maintain a precarious position on the uplands of prosperity, has recently, as the result of a somewhat precipitous decline, joined tea, cotton and coal in the valley of depression. Political tranquillity has disappeared; labour is restive; capital (urgently required for India's own development) is going abroad; and, while old-established industries are either working at a loss or earning only negligible profits, no new industrial enterprises of outstanding importance are being launched. Owing to loss of confidence in gilt-edged securities, due to progressive depre-

\* Lecture delivered at the Calcutta Rotary Club, on April 22.

ciation, Government borrowing has been reduced to a nominal figure, and official outlay on capital projects has been correspondingly curtailed, thereby accentuating the industrial depression. There are no bright lights shining through the encircling gloom; the producers of raw materials and food-stuffs, the factories which produce predominantly for domestic consumption, such as the cotton mills and those which rely almost entirely upon demand overseas, such as the jute mills, are suffering simultaneously. In one direction, there is cause for real anxiety. India has for decades been a large importer of manufactured goods but recently she has become in addition a large purchaser of food-stuffs, wheat and even rice, and of raw materials, including cotton, which a more scientific system of agriculture would enable her to produce from her own soil. It is no comfort to be told that such imports are abnormal and exceptional. India's consumption of wheat and rice is apparently increasing more rapidly than her production. If India has to buy foreign food-stuffs and raw materials, her ability to purchase manufactures, Indian or imported, must be diminished correspondingly.

#### PROTECTIVE TARIFFS

As the result of the Montford Reforms side-tracking the recommendations of the Industrial Commission, including the creation of a strong Central Industries Department, the sole stimuli applied to industrial development in recent years have been protective tariffs which, while inevitable in India and perhaps to a certain extent beneficial, are a mixed blessing. Revenue considerations, as in the Budget just adopted, have raised the tariff to even higher levels than could be justified by purely economic considerations. Partly as the result of this artificial stimulus, India is undoubtedly more economically self-contained than she was a decade ago. Steel manufacture is firmly established, and the opening of new steel works, capable of absorbing the pig-iron now exported,

is only a matter awaiting more favourable conditions, commercial and financial. Tin-plate production is a technical although not yet a financial success. The cement industry, recently so decreased, is now increasing its facilities for production. Match factories are multiplying and match imports are approaching vanishing point. Cotton mills in Bombay, under the strain imposed by the competition of the more efficient Japanese mills, have lost a large percentage of their capital resources, but the new protective tariff has created an opportunity, which the millowners evidently intend to grasp, to increase their competitive power against inland as well as foreign mills by resorting to rationalisation. A survey suggests that there are very few other industries on whose behalf tariff aid could be invoked. Salt manufacture has recently engaged a good deal of attention, not only on the part of the Tariff Board. A report on the chemical industries is under official consideration. But beyond these, there appear to be few outstanding industries which do not already enjoy such assistance as tariffs afford. Where then is the hiatus? For that India has reached an industrial position proportionate to her resources and opportunities, few would contend. I am inclined to think that the most convincing explanation of the failure of high tariffs to yield a larger and more rapid expansion of industries in India is to be found, in many although not in all cases, in the low level, and the very slow rise in the purchasing power of the rural population whose primitive methods of crop production, and serflike subordination to the money-lender and the middleman, sufficiently explain their limited demand for factory products.

#### BEHIND THE TARIFF WALL

Behind her tariff wall, India enjoys a free trade among a larger percentage of the world's population than is comprised in any other economic unit in the world. But while the protectionists have concentrated all their energies on increasing

production, the necessity of the equally strenuous efforts to increase consumption has been overlooked; nevertheless, the absolute and continuous interdependence of rural and urban industries is apparent at every stage. If the cultivator, after meeting prior charges, retains only a negligible margin of income available for the purchase of factory products, industrial production will be restricted proportionately. The smaller the crop the cultivator extracts from the soil, the higher the interests he has to pay to the money-lender, the larger the commission insisted on by the middleman, the less he has available for the purchase of manufactures. It is no use multiplying mills and factories unless there is a demand large enough to sustain them and it is in this vital respect that India at present is most heavily handicapped. The foreign manufacturer is certainly a factor in restraining the development of Indian industries, but an even more formidable enemy is the Indian money-lender, and it is hardly necessary to explain why. Including Burma and the Indian States, the total agricultural indebtedness in India is probably not less than 800 crores. It is the habit of the money-lender to keep the borrower in a condition of financial serfdom, and probably the interest charges payable, taking everything into consideration, do not fall below 200 crores per annum. In the Punjab, the Registrar of Co-operative Societies puts the debt at 50 crores, equivalent to 19 times the land revenue, or Rs. 76 per head of those, who are supported by agriculture, a sum equivalent to 3 years' net income of the land. The economic consequences of such conscienceless usury are reflected in the depressed conditions of the industries dependent on the Indian market. After all, protective duties imply dependence on the domestic market and if that fails, an expansion is possible.

It is necessary to draw a distinction between industries dependent on capital outlay, and industries dependent upon individual outlay to meet

individual needs. Instances of industries dependent on capital outlay are those which supply railway rolling stock and materials, hydro-electric power projects, mill machinery, and so forth. When the investors' pockets are wide open, such industries prosper. When the investors' pockets are only half-open or entirely closed, they experience a lean time.

#### PIECE-GOODS TRADE

Of the bazaar trades, which meet individual requirements, the most important is, of course, the piece-goods trade, which incidentally forms a test of progress. In the years 1909-14, the balance of cloth available for consumption in India averaged 3,582 million yards; and in 1927-28, the total, was 4,128 million yards, and, as meanwhile Indian mills had more than doubled their output, it is evident that many consumers have been forced by the higher price level to abandon the finer and more expensive imported goods for the cheaper and coarser goods manufactured in India. Whereas before the War, Lancashire exported over 6,000 million linear yards, last year's shipment was under 4,000 million yards, and of the decline, India accounts for 1,200 million yards—due, on the one hand, to larger production in India, and on the other, to larger imports from Japan. If the consumption of piece-goods affords a reliable measure of progress, the improvement in the economic condition of the rural population in the last two decades has been insignificant. Such a conclusion is supported by the calculation that, instead of diminishing, the percentage of the population dependent on agriculture is increasing, despite the intervening expansion in urban industries.

Three facts emerge:—(1) That industrial development is not proceeding at a pace involving, or likely in the near future to involve, any appreciable withdrawal of labour from agriculture, (2) that the activities of the Agricultural Departments, although essential and beneficial, have been too limited to effect any substantial improvement in

agricultural production or in the cultivators' standard of living, (3) that the extension of the co-operative movement, as far as can be calculated, is, at best, only acting as a brake on the increase of rural indebtedness.

As a means of reducing the percentage of the population dependent on agriculture, the development of urban industries in India cannot be regarded very hopefully, and for two reasons; (1) as already noted, the negligible purchasing power of the average cultivator; (2) the effect of the methods of mass production and rationalisation in reducing the number of industrial workers required to produce a given output. The figures concerning cloth production and consumption in India afford a good illustration. In 1927-28 the production of India's 306 cotton mills totalled 2,354 million yards against 1,973 million yards imported. That is to say, in that year, the Indian mills met well over half the total Indian demand for mill-made goods. In order to achieve this output, the Indian mills employed well under 400,000 workers. In regard to mechanical equipment, cotton mills in India cannot afford to be less efficient and up-to-date than competing mills abroad, and that means that, sooner or later, Indian mills will be forced to instal automatic looms which, according to reliable testimony, are more efficient and economical than the present looms and involve the employment of only half as much labour. Allowing for the relative inefficiency of the Indian mill-worker, it does not appear risky to assume that Indian mills, equipped with automatic looms, could with the aid of 500,000 workers (only 100,000 more than are already employed) manufacture all the cloth India now consumes. This is, for many reasons, not an immediate possibility, and the figures quoted are already 15,000. Automatic looms in operation, economy and efficiency are further subserved by the concentration of 40 per cent. of the cotton trade in the hands of only four firms.

## MODERNISATION OF AGRICULTURE

In India, mass consumption, on the scale rendered necessary by modern methods of mass production, can be created, only by a concurrent modernisation of agricultural processes enabling larger and better crops to be produced, and also enabling the cultivator to retain a larger share of the profits of production. So long as Indian agriculture remains on its present primitive basis, urban industries employing modern machinery, occupy a position comparable only to a motor car "paced" by a bullock cart.

## THREE R'S OF ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT.

To sum up, the three R's of economic development in India are rural reconstruction; rationalisation of urban industries; and "rationing" of the country's limited investment surplus in order to secure the maximum development and profit within the minimum period.

There might be less apathy in some directions, and less opposition in others concerning industrial expansion in India if it was more generally realised that economic development is necessary not only for its own sake but in order to enable India to enjoy the amenities of modern civilisation. The Indian Fiscal Commission urged a considerable development of Indian industries on the ground that "such a development would be very much to the advantage of the country as a whole, creating new sources of wealth, encouraging the accumulation of capital, enlarging the public revenues, providing more profitable employment for labour, reducing the excessive dependence of the country on the unstable profits of agriculture, and finally stimulating the national life and developing the national character." There is nothing to object to in that statement of the case, and I have only endeavoured to indicate that unless rural development proceeds concurrently, industrial expansion cannot go very far. The jute industry is the only Indian manufacturing

industry which has succeeded in building up a large export trade and its ability to do so is not unconnected with the fact that jute is a monopoly product never yet grown outside India. Other Indian industries depend on the purchasing power of the Indian market which in turn is determined mainly by the economic condition of the rural population. The limit of industrial development obtainable by tariffs is, in fact, already in sight. This is not to say that State aid to industrial development should be withdrawn or diminished but only that it should take more varied forms, tariffs still being retained and imposed where a case is made out for assistance being supplemented and reinforced by a more vigorous pursuit of ancillary measures, equally essential, such as scientific research, technical and commercial education, manipulation of railway rates, improvement of all forms of transport facilities, development of electric power projects and so forth. The Government of India is considering the formation of an Economic Advisory Council, on the British model, and, given the necessary status and staff, such an organisation would probably be able to secure a more rapid, even and co-ordinated development of the country's economic resources than has been achieved so far.

#### RURAL RECONSTRUCTION

In regard to rural reconstruction, only the rural population can finance rural amenities, and they will not be able to do so until measures are adopted facilitating the growth of larger and better crops thereby increasing the income of the cultivator to a point enabling him to bear larger local taxation without hardship. To accelerate crop improvement, India needs a series of Crop Committees modelled on the Central Cotton Committee. A Central Jute Committee is planned, and the formation of a Rice Committee, financed by a small export cess, is under official considera-

tion. A Sugar Committee has been formed by the new Agricultural Research Council, and a Wheat Committee financed by a cess on wheat imports as well as wheat exports, is desirable.

One final word in regard to finance. When estimating the demands on India's savings, the capital required for non-industrial purposes should not be overlooked. In England and Wales, with a population smaller than that of Bengal, the outstanding Loan Debt of the local authorities exceeds £1,000 millions, expended on public utility or trading services, housing and town-planning schemes, etc. In India, expenditure of this description has hardly begun. Such outlay, however, represents the price of progress, and the borrowing involved cannot be ignored in calculating the demands, immediate and potential, on India's very limited surplus capital.

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# HINDU EXOGAMY

BY MR. K.S. SANKARA AIVAR, B.A., B.L.

*Advocate, Madras.*

JOHN D. MAYNE, in his well-known work on Hindu Law, gives two rules for the selection of persons for marriage. 1. They must be outside the family. 2. They must be inside the caste: to which a third is added, that they must not belong to the same Gotra or Pravara—this rule being mainly applicable to Brahmins. This last rule is the subject dealt with in this book.\* The subject is obscure, the authorities ancient and conflicting, the historic evolution not easy to disentangle nor capable of being postulated with any degree of definiteness. If from these materials one has to build a theory which can stand the test of criticism, it is certainly a difficult and arduous task. It does great credit to the author to be able to sift from the obscure and elusive texts, and present his conclusions which are well worth the careful study of every student of Sociology.

Among the non-Aryan tribes to day, one finds exogamy observed in varying degrees, more or less corresponding to the degrees of progress made by them which might, to some extent, be said to mark the successive stages of recognition of the rules of exogamy amongst the Aryans themselves. The ancient Indo-Iranians had it not, as the Zend Avesta and the Pahlavi texts indicate. In the Rig Veda times, the Sept exogamy had not come into vogue, though the marriage was outside the family. Marriage among near cognates was recognised. One finds the rules of exclusion based on Sept exogamy in the Brahmana times, and Sagotra marriages are condemned in the strongest terms. But with the advance of time, Smriti writers gave a new content to the Gotra and Pravara, and forbade all marriages between Sagotras. The author combats the theory that Gotra indicated the name of the

ancestral Rishi the founder of the family. He cites the instance of Kshatriyas and Vaisyas who had no Rishis for their ancestors. He points out how in the beginning there were only four Gotras, Angiras, Kasyapa, Vasishtha and Brighu, and how they had multiplied in course of time. He draws attention to the hopeless contradictions into which an analysis of the Pravaras leads. His theory is that Gotra and Pravara were originally invocations of the names held sacred or venerable at the sacrificial rites, and they had been elevated by the ordent priest-craft to be the heads of family pedigrees. This confusion led on to the rule of exclusion of members of the same Gotra and Pravara from being eligible for marriage. The Gotras themselves came to include not only the original Rishis but also others who assumed the prefix of Kevala.

The sanction for the rule of exogamy was not severe in the days of Manu. The stricter observance of the rule in course of time resulted in the Puritan Rishi Gauthama laying down severe penalties. Side by side with this extension, rules of exclusion based on Sapinda relationship also evolved. Agastie side was to some extent always avoided; the cognatic but rarely. But the development of social customs grew to such an extent as to prohibit the agnatic up to seven degrees and the cognatic up to five. In South India, however, the exclusion of the cognates has never been accepted, and custom has made inroads into the law. The evolution of the rules from the Vedie, Brahmanic, Sutras, Smritis to the time of the commentators presents an interesting study and deserves our careful attention. When the author draws the conclusion that Sept exogamy was not the original heritage of the Aryans, nor evolved by them out of their own social institutions, but borrowed by them from the custom of Sept exogamy from the aborigines, he may perhaps be treading on a very debatable ground. The basis for the conclusion is so slender that one is tempted to doubt the correctness of his theory.

\*Hindu Exogamy. By S. V. Karandikar, M.A. Published by D. B. Taraporevala Sons & Co., Price Rs. 6/-Net.

# After the March: the Arrest

IN our last Number we gave a rapid review of Mahatma Gandhi's famous march to the salt pans of Surat and narrated the events leading to the arrest of prominent leaders of the Satyagraha movement down to the end of what is known as the "National week" in India. Since then events have marched with startling rapidity and in the following pages an attempt is made to give a resume of subsequent events culminating in disturbances in different parts of the country and the revival of the Bengal Ordinance and the Press Act and finally the arrest and internment of Mahatma Gandhi himself. Of the inefficiency of these methods of coercion without tackling the root cause of the discontent it is needless to write at length. It is enough to show the vicious circle in which attack is met by counter-attack and the normal life of the people is being disturbed without any compensating gain. Blessed is the country, said a profound thinker, which can boast of no history. For what between the persistency of the Satyagrahis and the "prestige" of the bureaucracy the country is distracted beyond all measure and a crisis is impending the end of which, if things go on in this strain, it is difficult to contemplate with equanimity.

## PROGRESS OF CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE

As we have already shown Mahatma Gandhi's gesture of Civil Disobedience was a prelude to a campaign against the Salt Law all over the country. Groups of Satyagrahis from one end of the land to the other took to the manufacture of illicit salt and thousands of people had taken part in the campaign. The Government was faced with a situation far more difficult than the one that faced them in 1921. Obviously they could not arrest all the salt culprits which would require new jails to accommodate. So what they did was to arrest the leaders and leave

the volunteers helpless. In most cases new leaders sprang up to take the place of the sentenced leaders and the movement spread far and wide alike in magnitude and intensity.

After the arrest of the Congress President, the campaign flourished with renewed vigour. It was impossible to ignore the growing tendency to disregard the law. So the executive began to disperse the Satyagrahis. Early in the second week of April when the Satyagrahis at Aat attempted to carry contraband salt the Police tried to wrest it by force from their hands. Gandhi said "they had no right to do that if they were representing a civilised government." When one of the volunteers was slightly injured on the wrist Gandhi wrote:

This laying hand on the people for the purpose of seizing the salt they were carrying was morally wrong, and even wrong, I fancy, according to the English common law. But I do not know what powers are given by the statute.

## Concluding Mahatmaji said:

The legal procedure may be a cumbersome business for the Government, but since they have begun well, let them not end ill. If they resort to terrorism, they will find the people prepared. Let the people defend the salt in their possession till they break in the attempt, but they should do so without malice, without anger and without an angry word. The police have the easiest way open to them for taking possession of the salt. Let them arrest the civil resisters and they can take possession of the salt, because they have possession of their persons; but it can become forfeit only after conviction, not before.

The result of the campaign and of the numerous arrests and imprisonments of prominent workers in the various Provinces had been to give an enormous stimulus to the movement. Huge public meetings were held in centres like Bombay, Calcutta, Karachi, Madras, Allahabad, Lahore, and Lucknow. An energetic campaign for the violation of the Salt Law was being conducted every day in Bombay, 500 volunteers dividing themselves into 5 batches of 100 each. The meeting held on the sands at Chowpathy, (a spot hallowed by the



cremation of Lokamanya Tilak's dead body) was reported to have been attended by no less than 500,000 people. Equally large meetings were held at Cawnpore with an audience of 53,000, and at Nagpur with 15,000. At Cawnpore, Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya addressed the meeting and took a pledge from all present that they would boycott British cloth at least for a period of twelve months. Over a thousand women were present at the meeting and made an enthusiastic response to the appeal.

The Maharashtra, which has thrown in its full weight with Gandhiji, under the leadership of Messrs. N. C. Kelkar, D. V. Gokhale, L. Bhopatkar and other lieutenants of Lokamanya Tilak, organized its own campaign for the manufacture of illicit salt. Mr. K. M. Munshi, a member representing the Bombay University in the Legislative Council, resigned his seat in the Council and proceeded to Dandi to take an active part in the campaign. He was arrested and sentenced to six months' S. I. and a fine of Rs. 200 on April 22. Others arrested and convicted included Dr. Manubhai, Dr. Chait Ram, Mr. Jamnadas Mehta, Mr. Mahadev Desai, Messrs. Banker, Bhopatkar, D. V. Gokhale and Swami Anand, Mr. Jamnadas Dwarkadas and Mrs. Kamaladevi Chattopadhyaya.

In Bengal, Dr. Ganesh Chandra Bannerjee was sentenced to 2½ years' rigorous imprisonment, and Dr. Prafulla Ghose and Mr. Premnath Bannerji to 2 years' R. I. Messrs. W. N. Neogy, P. N. Dhar, and Prof. B. K. Bhattacharya were also arrested and convicted.

In Madras, Mr. K. Nageswara Rao, Editor, *Andhra Patrika*, and Mr. T. Prakasam, Editor, *Sivaratna*, were sentenced to a fine of Rs. 500 for the violation of the Salt Act, and on their refusal to pay the fine, their motor cars were attached by the police. A campaign of civil disobedience began on the last day of the National Week (April 13th), when Mr. Prakasam was arrested and later released. Since then, the campaign went on

with a good deal of propaganda by way of meetings and ostentatious manufacture of illicit salt till the two leaders were finally arrested and sentenced. The Satyagrahis were then led by Miss Dhurgabai.

In Tamil Nadu Mr. C. Rajagopalachari marched with a band of hundred volunteers to Vedaranjam where he was arrested and sentenced to six months. Mrs. Rukmani Lakshminipathy was also arrested and sentenced a fortnight later. The Collector of Tanjore issued a warning to the villagers against helping this movement and as we write more than one Mirasidar has been booked.

The movement has been as active as ever in Andhra Desa particularly all along the coast line. Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramaya and Konda Venkatappaya were arrested and sentenced in Andhra Desa.

The most active areas, both from the point of view of the civil disobedience campaign and the Government, are undoubtedly Gujarat and the United Provinces. In the latter area, the latest arrests include those of Mr. Mahaulal Saxena, Babu Sri Prakasa, Maulvi Ahmed Zamankhan, Sardar Narbad Prasad Singh and several others in Lucknow, who were sentenced to various terms of imprisonment.

#### WOMEN IN THE MOVEMENT

Women have more than ever participated in the campaign. A large number of women were enlisted as volunteers for organizing the picketting of liquor shops and foreign cloth shops in Bombay and Ahmedabad. In the latter city, Mrs. Amabai Sarabhai, the wife of a leading mill-owner, organized a deputation to Gandhiji, her programme being the Swadeshi vow and organization of the country for the boycott of British goods.

Gandhiji himself, addressing a meeting of women in a village near Navsari, requested them not to take part in the violation of the Salt Law. He observed:—

Women ought not to take part alongside of men in defence of salt pans. I still give credit to the Government that it will not make war upon our women. It will

be wrong on our part to provoke them into so doing. This is men's fight so long as the Government will confine their attention to men. There will be time enough for women to court assaults when the Government has crossed the limit. Let it not be said of us that men sought shelter behind women, well knowing they will be safe if they took women with them in what may be called, for want of a better name, aggressive non-violence. Women have, in the programme I ventured to place before them, enough work and to spare and all adventure and risk they may be capable of undertaking.

#### VIOLENCE

Gandhi had always insisted on carrying on the "warfare" in quite a gentlemanly fashion. But all warfare is ugly. Mass civil disobedience went on for a time without a hitch. But law-breaking led to arrests, and arrests to demonstrations and brawls, to be followed in turn by further arrests and consequent disturbances. The whole thing, as feared by many, worked in a vicious circle. The Satyagrahis were by all accounts non-violent and observed their great leader's commands with praiseworthy discipline. But a mass movement gathers all and sundry, who without imbibing the spirit of the movement and of its great leader are easily led astray by the excitement of conflict. And then the magnitude of the concourse and the general unrest are just the occasion for the eruption of sporadic outbursts of violence by the rowdies. It is just the atmosphere of confusion in which the vagabonds ply their trade with comparative ease. The police appear on the scene charged with the duty of preserving law and order. In their attempt to get at the culprits the innocent invariably fall. This again exasperates the people whose gesture of challenge is easily mistaken for a menace to public peace. It is not all Commissioners that have the sensitiveness of the Chief of the Bombay Police who said that he was reluctant to use force against passive resisters. Left to individual discretion the whole thing depends on the mood of the men on the spot. An irate police man or a tactless or panicky officer may change the character of a whole gathering, from a concourse of non-violent and passive spectators

into an aggressive mob intent on mischief. Whatever it is the happenings in Karachi, Patna, Poona, Calcutta, Peshawar, Sholapur and Madras throw a lurid light on the situation. "By their indiscriminate beating and assault," said Babu Rajendra Prasad addressing a public meeting on the day following the incident in Patna, "the authorities had perhaps done more of propaganda and infused more spirit among the people than he could ever do by means of his speeches. Therefore, in this matter at least he admitted his defeat at the hands of the Government."

So much for Patna. Mr. Gandhi referring to the Karachi tragedy wrote:

Brave young Dattatreya who is said to have known nothing of Satyagraha and being an athlete had, merely gone to assist in keeping order, received a fatal bullet wound. Meghraj Kevachand, 18 years old, has also succumbed to a bullet wound. Thus did seven men, including Jairamdas, receive bullet wounds.

It was a gruesome tragedy in Peshawar where twenty-two persons were killed as a result of military firing following a disturbance in which two armoured cars were set fire to.

In Madras the Police assault on the peaceful Satyagrahis on the morning of the 25th of last month was an equally gruesome spectacle. Then began the dispersal of a public meeting by armed sowars and police firing following the mischief of some among the mob. Whether the Police were justified in breaking the meeting by force of arms and transcending their simple duty of clearing the road of mischief mongers and whether only the minimum force was used, are questions which will continue to elicit very strong and divergent views in view of the Government's decision not to have an independent and impartial inquiry.

Above all there was a most unexpected outburst of violence at Chittagong, where a number of young men armed with revolvers made an attack upon the police, killing six and wounding a few more. It is evident that this has nothing to

do with the Satyagraha movement, but it was most unfortunate it should have occurred at all.

#### THE BENGAL ORDINANCE

The Government of India considered the situation at an emergency meeting of the Executive Council, and the Viceroy immediately issued an Ordinance renewing the Bengal Ordinance, which normally lapsed on April 23rd, in view of the grave happenings in Chittagong. Gandhiji, interviewed on the subject, said that the Chittagong news, made sad reading, and "shows that there is a large or a small body of men in Bengal, who do not believe in non-violence as a policy or a creed." "If it is an indication, and not an isolated act," Gandhiji said, "it is a serious affair. But however serious the situation becomes, there can be no suspension of the fight. There can be no retreating." Civil resisters, in his opinion, "must therefore fight an unequal struggle with the violence of the Government and the violence of those who have no faith in non-violence."

Commenting on these ugly incidents Mahatma Gandhi's trusted lieutenant Mr. Mahadev Desai (who was subsequently arrested and convicted) wrote in *Young India* (April, 24) that the second week of the campaign brought a distinct 'victory for the devil.'

Pledged as we are to strict non-violence and truth, any manifestation of force or fraud or violence on our part means a victory for the devil in us. The fight we are engaged in is not only a fight against the 'Satanic' British Government but also a constant fight against the Satan in us. And the mob manifestations in Calcutta, Karachi and Poona, whatever may be the responsibility of the police for them, are a distinct loss to the cause.

#### AN EX-ADVOCATE GENERAL ON POLICE ASSAULTS

While that was the feeling of the Satyagrahi, opinion was fairly consolidating against police assaults on peaceful Satyagrahis. In using violence against Satyagrahis. Government servants were committing an act, for which they would be criminally and civilly liable, was the warning sounded by Mr. Balabhai J. Desai, ex-Advocate General, Bombay. Mr. Desai

lengthily examined the various provisions of the Salt Act as well as relevant Sections of the Criminal Procedure Code and pointed out that the personal violence alleged to be used in a number of instances was not justified by law. He concluded:—

The result is that individual servants of Government who are guilty of acts alleged against them have no protection of law and it is impossible that Government administering the law can countenance or support or justify them or any of them. Apart therefore from individual liability, both civil and criminal, which Satyagrahis will not enforce, it is the bounden duty of Government to see that law is observed as much by its own servants.

Mahatma himself writing under the caption "Black Regime" reviewed the outstanding events and observed that "if Government neither arrest nor declare salt free they will find people marching to be shot rather than be tortured." Referring to the reported poisoning of salt pans, Mahatma pointed out that "the blackness of the regime becomes blacker still." The Bombay Government thereupon, issued a *Communiqué* emphasising their view of the poisonous character of natural salt.

#### THE PRESS ORDINANCE

While events were taking this untoward turn H.E. the Viceroy promulgated on the 27th April, another Ordinance reviving the powers of the Press Act of 1910, with certain amendments. His Excellency pointed out that many writings in the Press incited openly to violent and revolutionary action, others by consistent laudation of the civil disobedience movement had encouraged a spirit of lawlessness throughout the country.

The Ordinance was enforced with the utmost promptness in Delhi the Government demanding a security of Rs. 5,000 each from the *Hindustan Times*, the *Tej Arjun* and three Nationalist dailies, Rs. 4,000 from the *Riyast Illustrated Weekly*, devoted to the Indian States, and Rs. 2,000 from the *Millat Khalifatist*, with the stipulation that unless the securities were deposited immediately the papers would be deemed to have ceased publication the next day.

It was next the turn for Calcutta where Mr. Sen Gupta's *Advance* and several other papers ceased publication on demand of security. The journalists of Delhi met in Conference and decided on a concerted action to discontinue publications under the circumstances and calling on the Indian Press throughout the country to answer the challenge with a united front. Mr. Gandhi in a press statement declared:—

Revival in the form of an Ordinance of the Press Act, that was supposed to be dead was only to be expected and that, in its new form, the Act contains additional provisions making the whole piece deadlier than before.

Whether we realise it or not, for some days past, we have been living under a veiled form of martial law. After all, what is martial law, if it is not the will of the commanding officer? For the time being the Viceroy is that officer and wherever he considers it desirable, he supercedes the whole of the law, both common and statute, and imposes ordinances on a people too submissive to resort or resist them. I hope, however, the time for same submission to dictation from the British rulers is gone for ever.

I hope that the people will not be frightened by this Ordinance. Pressmen if they are worthy representatives of public opinion will not be frightened by this Ordinance. Let us realise the wise dictum of Thoreau that it is difficult, under tyrannical rule, for honest men to be wealthy, and if we have decided to hand over our bodies without murmur to the authorities, let us also be equally ready to hand over our property to them and not sell our souls.

I would therefore urge Pressmen and publishers to refuse to furnish security, and if they are called upon to do so, either to cease publication or challenge the authorities to confiscate whatever they like. When freedom is actually knocking at our doors, and, when for the sake of wooing it, thousands have suffered tortures, let it not be said of Press representatives that they were weighed and found wanting. They may confiscate the type and machinery. They will not confiscate the pen and still less the speech, but I recognise they can succeed in confiscating even these last two, but what they will never succeed in stilling and what is after all the thing that matters, is the thought of the nation.

Mr. Gandhi directed the manager of his *Navajivan* press to allow it to be forfeited rather than deposit security if security was demanded by the Government under the new Press Ordinance.

#### MR. PATEL'S RESIGNATION

It was at about this time too, that President Patel resigned his office of speakership of the Assembly as well as his membership. In his letter to His Excellency the Viceroy he declared that he

would serve the country better outside the Assembly by joining his countrymen in the "movement for freedom." He also outlined the difficulties and obstacles he had to contend with. "The Chair," he declared, "had been a bed of thorns for me all throughout." His movements, he alleged, had been constantly watched and he had been shadowed. During the last five years his health had been seriously impaired by strenuous work. "A man with weaker nerves," he declared, "would have resigned long ago or become subservient to the bureaucracy." He found that he had laid down precedents and conventions which in his opinion "might be a credit to any Assembly in the world."

"I would ask you to lay aside in the larger interests of respective countries all considerations of prestige and invite Mr. Gandhi for a settlement," wrote Mr. Patel in the course of his second letter to the Viceroy, tendering his resignation.

Mr. Patel in this letter reviewed the political situation in the country and described the advice that he constantly gave to the Viceroy, dwelling on the importance of the Congress in Indian politics.

In concluding, he paid a warm tribute to the Viceroy. "You sincerely wish to solve India's problem," he said. "Your influence with all the parties in England is great.....If therefore, you take courage and rise to the occasion you will serve both India and England as no man has served in the past. If you fail, it must be India's good-bye to England."

The Viceroy accepting the resignation refused to reply to all the allegations against the officers of his Government as "these charges bear on their face their own refutation." He referred to Mr. Patel's misunderstandings of events as evident in his letter of resignation and he hoped that Mr. Patel "and his friends would realize the 'great harm' they were doing to India by refusing the 'way of peace' for the solution of the country's political problems."

## SIR TEJ BAHADUR SAPRU'S WARNING

Towards the close of April, when the movement of civil disobedience was at its height and the Government began to retaliate with coercive measures and the revival of repressive legislation, Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru issued an important statement to the press on the present political situation. He wrote.

If we could devote a fraction of the energy we are dissipating at present on the consolidation of opinion in favour of Dominion status and the settlement of domestic differences, we should have made such a strong case that it would be impossible for the 'diehards' in England to ignore the signs of the times and say 'No' to us. ' \* \* \*

Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru personally thought the people were heading to disaster from which it might take them some time to recover and he seriously questioned the wisdom of a policy which thought, by making the task of Government utterly impossible they were ensuring success and even improving their chances.

While I feel thus over the situation that is unfolding itself before our eyes I cannot help feeling that the Government themselves missed some opportunities of carrying with them public opinion. I can only hope they may yet see the wisdom of expediting the execution of a constructive policy.

## MAHOMED ALI'S PEACE EFFORTS

Maulana Mahomed Ali telegraphed to the Viceroy on the 15th April as follows:—"I earnestly appeal to Your Excellency not to permit the situation to become graver by the arrest of Mr. Gandhi." Both he and the Government, continued Mr. Mahomed Ali, have made a sufficient demonstration of their strength. "I pray that considerations of prestige will prevent neither from seeking a rapprochement by retracing their steps and bringing about peace and freedom. With an assurance from you we shall try our utmost to bring about peace honourable to both. I am telegraphing this to Mahatmaji also and am similarly appealing to him." The Private Secretary replied in a letter dated the 25th, conveying His Excellency's recognition of the spirit of goodwill which prompted the message, and referring to what the Viceroy said at the

opening of the Legislative Assembly on the 25th January. The Viceroy said that so long as the law was openly defied neither he nor his Government could do anything but resist its subversion by whatever means might be in their power and in whatever manner that might seem most appropriate.

## GANDHI'S ACTIVITIES

Meanwhile Mr. Gandhi's own activities continued unabated. He travelled through the villages preaching incessantly now against untouchability, now against drink, now urging the people to go on with Khadi work and the manufacture of illicit salt, and calling upon the women to take the place of men in national service. At one place he asked the people to cut off all the palm trees in the village—himself inaugurating the ceremony of destruction by cutting at the root of one—and he called upon the village officers to resign and join the national work. Addressing a meeting of women in Surat on May 4. Gandhiji said that they should not attend his meetings in future without their Takli. They could spin the finest counts on the Takli. Women of Surat had to atone for the admission of foreign cloth through the port of Surat. At the same place he called upon the caste panchayats to observe their pledge to abstain from drink. At Navsari however he warned the people against the social boycott of Government officials. "Kaira District appears to have become the theatre of war in Gujrat," wrote Gandhiji in an article in "Navsijan."

People have preserved peace but there are anger and malice and therefore violence in their intensive social boycott. They censure and harass Government officers in small matters. They will not succeed in this manner. We should expose the evils of the offices of Mamlatdars, Fozdars etc., but we should not harbour anger towards Mamlatdars and Fozdars. There should be sweetness and respect in our intense boycott. Otherwise there will be riots some day. Mamlatdar and Fozdar etc., will cross the limit. Fozdar is already said to have crossed the limit. What wonder if the people crossed the limit? Similarly if some abuse how can they blame those who resort to blows.

People of Kaira District should take a warning and enforce boycott within limits. I have indicated for instance boycott of village officers should be with regard to their office only. Their order should not be obeyed

but their food supplies should not be stopped. They should not be ejected from their houses. If we are not capable of doing this we should give up the boycott.

Gandhiji was then drafting his second letter to the Viceroy and had also announced his intention of raiding the salt works of Dharsana and Chharrada.

#### THE ARREST

It was obvious that Mr. Gandhi's arrest was only a question of time. The Government of India had made up its mind to put a stop to his activities, a view in which the Home Government had no hesitation in concurring. But the whole affair was kept confidential and not until Mr. Gandhi was removed to Yeravada, on the morning of the 6th was it known that the arrest had taken place.

For at dead of night on the 4th May Gandhiji was arrested in his camp at Karadi. The newspapers have given the story of the arrest in some detail. It would appear that the District Magistrate and District Superintendent of Police with the Deputy Superintendent of Police and about 20 armed Policemen proceeded from Jalapur to Karadi and reached there at 12-45. They proceeded straight with the help of a flashlight torch to the cot where Mr. Gandhi was fast asleep. They directed the flashlight on Mr. Gandhi, who woke up. Policemen surrounded Mr. Gandhi's cot. Mr. Gandhi asked if they wanted him. The District Magistrate replied in the affirmative and said: "We have orders to place you under arrest."

Mr. Gandhi inquired if they minded his cleaning his teeth. The District Police Superintendent replied that he had no objection. While Mr. Gandhi was thus engaged in applying salt to his teeth with a brush, his "volunteers" assembled. Mr. Gandhi asked the District Magistrate if he would let him know the charge under which he was arrested. The District Magistrate then read out the warrant.

As Government views with alarm the activities of Mr. M. K. Gandhi, they direct that he should be placed under restraint under Regulation 23 of 1927 and suffer imprisonment during the pleasure of the Government and be immediately removed to Yeravada Central Jail.

Mr. Gandhi thanked the District Magistrate and went about his morning routine. It was by this time nearing 1 A.M. and the District Magistrate requested Mr. Gandhi to speed up. Mr. Gandhi was soon ready to go. He handed over a letter which he had written to H. E. the Viceroy and some other letters to one of his "volunteers" and he took his two bags, and a "takli". Before Mr. Gandhi departed his "volunteers" bade him farewell. By this time it was ten minutes past one and Mr. Gandhi was placed in a motor lorry, accompanied by Policemen.

Mr. Abbas Tyabji, who was selected by Mr. Gandhi to lead his "volunteers" after his arrest, only took Mahatmaji's place.

#### GANDHI'S SECOND LETTER TO THE VICEROY

Mr. Gandhi's second letter to the Viceroy which was released soon after his interment was a strong but outspoken indictment of the Police treatment of Satyagrahis and against what he called "the veiled form of Martial Law" that had come into being. It was also a notice to the Government announcing his intention to set out for Dharsana to take possession of the salt works. Gandhiji concluded:—

You may condemn Civil Disobedience as much as you like. Will you prefer violent revolt to Civil disobedience? If you say as you have said that Civil Disobedience must end in violence, history will pronounce the verdict that the British Government not bearing because not understanding non-violence goaded human nature to violence which I could understand and deal with.

But it is your governing of India which will give the people of India wisdom and strength to withstand every temptation and provocation to violence.

If therefore, you cannot see your way to remove the Salt Act and remove the prohibition of private salt making, I must reluctantly commence the march advertised in the opening paragraph of my letter.

As Gandhiji was arrested before attempting the raid it is needless to discuss the details of that letter at any length.

## HIS MESSAGE

Before the arrest, however, Gandhiji had dictated at Dandi, what may be called his last message in which he expressed his satisfaction at the way Guzerat had responded to his call.

If such an auspicious beginning is carried to its full conclusion, complete Swaraj is a certainty and India will have set to the whole world an example worthy of her. Swaraj obtained without sacrifice, never endures. People may have, therefore, to make endless sacrifices. In real sacrifice there is only one-sided suffering, that is without killing others one has to die. May India accomplish this ideal! At present, the self-respect and everything of India are concealed in a handful of salt. The first may be broken, but it should never be opened.

After I am arrested, neither the people nor my colleagues should be daunted. The conductor of this fight is God and not I. He dwells in the hearts of all. If we have faith in us, God will certainly lead us. Our path is fixed. Whole villages should come forward to pick at manufacture salt. Women should picket liquor and opium shops and foreign cloth shops. In every house young and old should begin spinning on takli and heaps of yarn should be daily woven. There should be bonfires of foreign cloth. Hindus should regard none as untouchable. Muslims, Mahomedans, Parsis and Christians all should heartily embrace one another. The major communities should be satisfied with what remains after satisfaction of minor communities. Students should leave Government schools and Government servants should resign and be employed in the service of the people like brave patels and taluqs who have resigned. Thus shall we easily complete Swaraj.

## MRS. GANDHI INTERVIEWED

Interviewed by the Associated Press, Mrs. Gandhi said:

Bapu has been removed, but his removal will in no way hamper the great task of winning India's freedom undertaken by him. If the nation sincerely followed Bapu, they should carry on the work with double vigour. Lawyers should now leave the courts, and women should justify the faith reposed in them by Bapu, and should leave no stone unturned in the boycott of foreign cloth and abolition of the drink evil. I fervently hope that India will show her mettle, and give a fitting reply to the Government's unwarranted action.

## MRS. NAIDU ON GANDHI'S ARREST

Mrs. Sarojini Naidu in a statement to the Press on Mahatma Gandhi's arrest said:—

A powerful Government could have paid no more splendid tribute to the far-reaching power of Mahatma Gandhi than by the manner of his arrest and incarceration without trial under the most arbitrary law on their statute book. It is really immaterial that the fragile and ailing body of the Mahatma is imprisoned behind stone walls and steel bars. It is the least essential part of it,

The man and his message are identical and his message is the living heritage of the nation to-day and will continue to influence the thought and action of the world unfettered and unchallenged by the mandate of the most autocratic Governments of the earth.

The arrest of Mahatma Gandhi, naturally created considerable excitement, not only in India, but all over the world. It was followed by spontaneous demonstrations of sympathy from one end of the country to the other. Gandhiji's arrest was the signal for a voluntary and complete hartal in Bombay, Calcutta and several other places. The day after the arrest, the hartal was even more wide-spread. In Bombay, a huge procession was taken out, and a public meeting in the evening had to be addressed from seven different platforms. About 40 out of the 80 mills had to be inactive, because over 50,000 men had come out in protest. The workmen of the G. I. P. and the B. B. & C. I. Workshops also came out and joined the hartal. The cloth merchants decided on a six days' hartal to indicate their disapproval of the arrest. In Poona, where Gandhiji is interned, the hartal was complete. The disturbances in Sholapur which resulted in the burning of six Police Chankies led to police firing in which 25 were killed and about a hundred wounded. Six members of the Bombay Legislative Council, Messrs. V. N. Jog, Bhimhai Naik Dixit, Prof. J. C. Swaminarayan Mr. Rewchand Ratanchand and Sheth Sakarlal Balubhai resigned their seats in the Council as a protest. Mr. D. P. Sinha resigned his seat on the Bihar and Orissa Council. Mr. Ratansi D. Morarji, Member of the Council of State, resigned his seat "as a protest against the policy of ruthless repression." Mrs. Hansa Mehta, wife of Mr. Jivarnj Mehta returned to the Government her certificate of appointment as Justice of the Peace. Mr. Walchand Hirachand, President of the Maharashtra Chamber of Commerce and ex-President, Indian Merchants' Chamber, relinquished his title of C. I. E. In Calcutta, though the hartal was peaceful in the City, there were disturbances at Howrah

where the police opened fire; at Panchsamtala, a crowd which tried to hold up a train was fired upon by the police and fifteen were injured. Section 144 was at once promulgated at Howrah, and numerous arrests were made. There was firing also in Delhi, following the refusal of a crowd to disperse. Under Section 144, all assemblies of more than five were prohibited. In Simla, Mr. I. H. Desai, Superintendent of the Commerce Department of the Government of India resigned in protest. The police charged the crowds in two places and several people were injured. In the Punjab, a big students' procession was dispersed by the police by force, and another crowd was charged in Jullundur. Five members of the Madras Legislative Council, Mr. C. Veekatarangam Naidu, Mr. P. B. Chondhury, Mr. L. K. Tulasingam, Mrs. Muthulakshmi Reddy and Mr. C. S. Govindaraja Mudaliar resigned their seats.

#### MR. TYABJI'S LEAD

In the meanwhile, Mr. Abbas Tyabji announced his intention to lead the volunteers to Dharsana to raid the salt works. He would not allow Mahatmaji's plans to be frustrated by his absence. The work should go on uninterruptedly. Accordingly on the appointed day (May 12) Mr. Abbas Tyabji and 59 volunteers started for Dharsana and were promptly arrested. They were duly tried the next day. Mr. Tyabji dictated the following parting message to his countrymen:—

"Friends.—In one short month, Mahatmaji has succeeded in arousing a desire for complete independence in millions of India's sons who had previously thought, if at all, most perfunctorily about it.

"To all those who have worked according to Mahatmaji's instructions during the one month, it is evident that no amount of coercion is going to subdue the spirit of the people. There can now be no peace in India till freedom is won.

"I call upon all my countrymen to work out the programme chalked out by Mahatmaji with all the intensity they are capable of and to keep our flag flying."

Mr. Tyabji was sentenced to six months' simple imprisonment and others to various terms. The leadership, as arranged, thus fell to Mrs. Sirojil Naidu.

#### PROTEST IN OTHER PARTS OF THE WORLD

But Gandhi's arrest had a world-wide interest. Indians engaged in business in Pansma called a 24-hour-sympathetic 'hartal.' A similar step was taken by Indians on the East coast of Sumatra, who wired to the Viceroy and the Congress regretting Mr. Gandhi's arrest. French papers were full of Gandhi and his doings which culminated in the arrest. The boycott movement has had a repercussion in Germany, where textile exporters were advised by their agents in India to suspend exports. Renter reported that Saxon manufacturers of cheap printed cotton-goods were particularly hard hit. The Indian community of Nairobi declared a 'hartal' in consequence of the arrest.

#### AMERICAN SYMPATHY

Meanwhile, an influential signed message has been cabled to Mr. Ramsay MacDonald by 102 American Clergymen of various denominations urging him to seek an amicable settlement with Mr. Gandhi and the Indian people. Signatures were collected by Dr. John Haynes Holmes, New York, and the message appeals to the Prime Minister in the interests of Britain, India and the world to avoid the tragedy of a conflict which would mean catastrophe for all mankind.

The signatories say, they refuse to believe Mr. MacDonald, representing principles of freedom, democracy and brotherhood, can find it impossible to negotiate with Mr. Gandhi and make peace with the spiritual ideals he so sublimely embodies.

#### THE LIBERAL MOVE

It would appear that Government were keenly alive to the seriousness of the situation. H. E. the Viceroy interviewed the Liberal Leaders, Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru and Sir Chiman Lal Setalvad at great length. The Council of the Liberal Federation met at Bombay on the 14th to consider the political situation and leading Liberals had given expression to the urgent need for another



announcement from the Viceroy fixing the early date of the Round Table Conference. But the day before the meeting of the All-Parties Conference and the Council of the Liberal Federation, H.E. made another important announcement and released for publication his correspondence with the Prime Minister. The Council of the Federation also issued a statement on the present situation which is published elsewhere in this Number. The Council, while unequivocally condemning the civil disobedience movement urged the Viceroy to speed up the preparations for the Round Table Conference for the discussion of Dominion Status.

It stressed the importance of the Government

indicating the terms of reference and the scope of the Round Table Conference in order that even at this stage those who keep aloof may join hands with the Liberals and other Parties who are proceeding to the Conference.

It further laid stress

on the simultaneous cessation of civil disobedience and the initiation of active conciliation on the part of the Government to be manifested by the release of those whose freedom has been restrained for political reasons, and the taking of all political Parties into Government's full confidence.

#### HIS EXCELLENCY'S ANNOUNCEMENT

In the course of a statement announcing the date of the Round Table Conference, His Excellency the Viceroy reviewed the course of political events since his announcement of November 1:—his meeting with prominent Indian leaders at Delhi on December 23; the Congress session and the resolution of Independence; Mr. Gandhi's letter, the reply thereto; the start of the Civil Disobedience Campaign and the outbreaks at Peshawar and Madras, Bombay and Calcutta, Chittagong and Karachi, and Delhi and Sholapur where martial law has since been proclaimed.

Lord Irwin reiterated his desire to continue his work for India despite these lamentable happenings, and concluded with the remark:—

Our purpose remains unchanged. Neither my Government nor His Majesty's Government will be deflected by these unhappy events from our firm determination to

abide by the policy I was privileged to announce on November last.

After reviewing the developments in this country since October 1929 and pointing out how his warning to Mr. Gandhi against the consequences of a campaign of civil disobedience has been proved by recent riots, Lord Irwin declared that steps are being actively taken to arrange for the assembling in London of the representatives at the Round Table Conference on October 20 next.

His Excellency added, "I have learnt to love India too well to relax my efforts to assist what I hold to be the natural and true development of her political life," and emphasised that no settlement can be considered satisfactory which did not carry the consent of, and give a sense of security to, the important communities who will have to live under the new constitution.

#### THE WORKING COMMITTEE'S DECISION

But, in the meanwhile, the Congress Working Committee met at Allahabad on the 16th and expressed its abiding faith in civil disobedience. It balked out the lines to follow in the coming weeks and recommended in its resolutions:—

- (1) Civil Disobedience Campaign to continue;
- (2) Complete boycott of foreign cloth;
- (3) Inauguration of a no tax campaign;
- (4) Weekly breaches of the Salt Law;
- (5) Boycott of British Banking, Insurance, Shipping and other institutions;
- (6) Picketing of liquor shops;
- (7) Delegation of full powers to Pandit Motilal Nehru.

#### MRS. SAROJINI'S LEAD

Mrs. Naidu who had proceeded to Allahabad to attend the Working Committee Meeting, on hearing of Mr. Tyabji's arrest, hurried to Dharsana, in fulfilment of her promise to Mr. Gandhi and continued to direct the raid. She and her batch of volunteers, who had pursued a policy of "wait and see" for over 24 hours, were formally arrested on the 16th morning, taken out of the police station and then released.

After the first batch had left the prohibited area a few volunteers, taking advantage of the fact that the majority of the police party had moved out to the lunch camp leaving only a handful to keep watch, rushed towards the salt mounds. They were chased out, and in the scuffle, a few volunteers were injured.

The same evening, over 220 volunteers were arrested by the police on a charge of being members of an unlawful assembly and were detained in the segregation camp at Dharsana.

According to the decision of the Bombay Congress Committee, a large number of volunteers converged on the Wadala salt works on the 18th morning. The 'raid' was frustrated by the prompt action of the police, who, armed with revolvers, arrested over 400 of the *Satyagrahis*. There was an exciting chase after a batch of the arrested persons, who had broken loose from the police cordon and dashed out for Wadala, but were also soon rounded up.

#### THE EFFECT OF THE MOVEMENT

The repercussions of the Indian boycott movement in the London market and in the manufacturing centres in England became more and more pronounced. The Free Press Correspondent, writing of the effect of the arrest, observed:

*Since the attack seems to be concentrated on the textile goods, it is here that the effectiveness of the movement is most visibly felt. But what worries manufacturers is not so much the feeling that they would ultimately lose the Indian market as the fear that the existing contracts would either not be fulfilled or would be cancelled. The tendency to cancel the present orders seems to be on the increase, and the Manchester correspondent of The Daily Mail says, "The latest news from India is likely to bring Lancashire's Indian trade to a complete standstill. Already spinning mills and weaving sheds are closing down indefinitely, and thousands of operatives are joining the ranks of the unemployed."*

Thus nobody, least of all the Viceroy and the Secretary of State for India, could believe that the trouble was all over with the arrest. It would appear that they were forced to it rather painfully. It is easy enough for the ignorant or

the reactionary Press in England as in India, to goad the Government on to acts of repression. But they forget that the Mahatma himself, who free, was a great force working for peace. Mr. Banno and Lord Irwin know that there could be no peace in the country until the whole problem of the Indian constitution is discussed *de novo* and a settlement in conformity with the legitimate aspirations of the people is arrived at. Hence it was that, in reply to questions in the House of Commons on the morrow of the arrest, Mr. Wedgwood Benn emphasised "that the invitations to Indian leaders for the Round Table Conference still stood despite anything that has happened."

In an article in the NEW LEADER, on Mr. Gandhi's arrest, Mr. H. N. Brailsford opined that the only hope lay in a fresh start. He urged the Labour Government to pledge itself for provincial autonomy immediately and Dominion Status within 10 years at the most, and to inform Mr. Baldwin and Mr. Lloyd George that the Government would resign unless they consent to a prompt and precise promise of self-government.

THE NEW LEADER in an editorial advocated an immediate declaration that the Round Table Conference would meet on the basis of full equality with full powers to determine the form of Government acceptable to Indians themselves.

In this connection it is interesting to read the comments of the MANCHESTER GUARDIAN on the ticklish situation created by the 'March,' and we will conclude with the wise words of that paper. The GUARDIAN rightly observes:

*The doubt is that if things go wrong in India, the blame should rest not so much on the human agents on the one side or the other as on the unnatural relation in which we stand in India. The rule of one country by another is, and is now felt to be, a monstrous and indefensible system. The readjustment of our relations is a task which cannot be completed in a year or two, but we must not be surprised at any violence on the part of Indians till we have shown beyond all shadow of doubt that we are in earnest about accelerating the readjustment and putting our relations upon a footing of genuine equality.*

# INDIAN TAXATION\*

BY DR. P. J. THOMAS, M.A.

INDIAN Government is a colossal experiment in State Socialism; as Lord Meston puts it, it is a 'universal provider, a mundane counterpart of divine providence.' Other governments might be interfering much more with social relations, but in all other matters connected with the corporate life of the community, hardly any government outside India fulfils a more comprehensive function. Such a government must have at its command a steady supply of funds and it is but natural that taxation should have so engrossed the attention of State officials in India.

In this book, the author tries to give a historical view of the taxes in India. License tax, income-tax, customs, salt, opium, land revenue and excise are all treated separately, and in the case of most of them, lengthy reference is made to the debates in the Legislatures. The author deliberately eschows any expression of views and is concerned only with facts, or with views expressed by others in the course of formal debates. Obviously, it is not easy to review, or even to summarize, such a book.

The tax-system of India is built on Moghul foundations, and if it has been modified in the last hundred years, it was due solely to exigencies of the moment and not to any reasoned criticism of economic experts. The first attempt to bring economic theory to bear upon Indian taxation was in 1924, when the Taxation Enquiry Committee was appointed. But till now, its recommendations have not been given effect to.

Land revenue has always been the mainstay of the Treasury in India, and even after the Reforms of 1919, that position has been maintained to a great extent in the Provinces. Originally, land revenue was regarded as the rent of land or the share of the produce which went to the King. This theory, however, has long become anomalous,

seeing that State ownership of land is no longer maintained. The history of land revenue is practically the history of Indian administration, and in spite of the creation of the new specialized departments which now operate in the districts, the staff collecting land revenue are looked up to by the people as the local representatives of His Majesty's Government.

Customs was a minor item of revenue in India till quite recent times, but with the expansion of foreign commerce and the increasing imposition of tariffs, it has become our foremost source of revenue. In 1911-12, customs revenue amounted to only Rs. 9.7 crores and in 1918-19 Rs. 18 crores, but in 1928-29 it was nearly Rs. 50 crores. To what extent such expansibility will continue remains to be seen, but for the time being, the prospects are good.

Income-tax is the only revenue-head in India in which the principle of progression is employed. Even in England income-tax came in by the back-door and has long been an unwanted guest. In India, it was ushered in by the financial dislocation caused by the Mutiny; but it was later dispensed with. As in England, the exigencies of Government later brought it back and gave it a permanent place in the financial system of the country. Income-tax is generally regarded as an expansive head of revenue, but during the last 10 years it has contracted rather than expanded. From Rs. 22 crores in 1921, it has fallen to a little over Rs. 16 crores last year. With the improvement of trade and business in the country, such tendencies are likely to be reversed.

Dr. Banerjee's account is impartial, objective and far from sententious. A deliberate attempt has been made to avoid controversial views. This is at once the strength and the weakness of the book. Like Dowell's HISTORY OF TAXATION AND TAXES IN ENGLAND, it will serve as a good work of reference on Indian taxes.

\* A History of Indian Taxation. By Pramathanath Banerjee, M.A., D. Sc. pp. 541—Macmillan—Price 12-6.



# THE WORLD OF BOOKS



**DEMOCRACY.** By Delisle Burns. George Allen and Unwin Ltd., London. Price 8sh. 6d.

Critics of democracy like Mussolini and George Bernard Shaw aver that due to the incompetence of voters and representatives either the democratic Government does nothing in the public interest or it becomes the instrument of the corrupt self-seeking classes in the state. Mussolini justifies the Fascist Dictatorship on the ground that the Parliamentary Government before 1922 did not accomplish anything useful in the public interest owing to the want of will and knowledge among the people. Bernard Shaw in his latest production, "The Apple Cart", draws pointed attention to the democratic government reflecting the interests of the self-seeking classes. These critics of democracy would do well to read the brilliant book before us written by that distinguished writer Dr. Delisle Burns. Dr. Burns whose articles on Democracy or Dictatorship appeared in these pages in August and September last, makes a masterly analysis of the defects and advantages of democracy in the book before us. He is of opinion that the incompetence of voters and representatives at the present day is insignificant when compared with the incompetence of monarchs and their ministers in the past, and that the misery and squalor that afflict society at the present day are light by comparison with the distress and poverty before the democratic ideal was accepted.

But the excellence of the democratic government does not make him ignore the defects of democracy, and he expounds in his own inimitable way the defects which have given handle to the critics who want to do away with the democratic government. But with all its faults, the author loves democracy still, for it brings out the abilities of the common man, and it is a form of government which can be criticised freely. He wants therefore every member of the community to make a positive contribution of thought and action, to improve government and develop industry and social culture.

The book is a closely reasoned thesis on the existence of abilities in the common man and how they may be profitably used for the benefit of society. The scholar is also sure to feel an interest in the book as it is a delightfully new presentation of democracy.

**ENGLISH VERSE.** Edited by W. P. Scott. Oxford University Press, London.

The third of the five volumes of these selections is before us, and it is a handsome addition to the World's Classics. It includes selections from the works of Dryden, Swift, Pope, Johnson, Gray, Collins, Goldsmith, Cowper, Blake, Burns and Wordsworth. It is thoroughly representative of over two centuries of English verse which includes Restoration lyrics, Augustan parodists and Romantic revivalists.

THE BEST OF O'HENRY. Chosen by "Sapper", Hodder and Stoughton, London.

O'Henry has left us some 270 stories: and "Sapper" has had no light task in choosing his hundred. Henry wrote his stories with the skill and sureness of touch of Maupassant, and a humour that was not in the French master. For, in all his stories there is the unfailing atmosphere of "Cabbages and Kings."

Henry died in his forty-third year and was thus cut off in his prime of life. There is a touch of pathos in all his humour, and like dear Old Tom Hood, Henry died with a jest in his lips. To quote Prof. Leacock: "Don't turn down the light," he is reported to have said to those beside his bed; and then as the words of a popular song flickered across his mind, he added: "I am afraid to go home in the dark". It is splendid to have the best of O'Henry's in a handsome volume of a thousand and odd pages.

#### LETTERS FROM A FATHER TO HIS DAUGHTER.

By Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Allahabad Law Journal Press, Allahabad.

Amidst all the pre-occupations of politics, Mr. Jawaharlal has found time to write a book for children—and such a useful and delightful book too! The letters were originally addressed to his daughter Indira, and they certainly deserve to be read by daughters of other men and indeed by some elders also. For, not all educated people are familiar with the history of the early days of the world; and the simple and graceful style in which he tells the story of the world and the ways of men and nations, of Kings and temples and civilizations past and present, of the formation of tribes and the relationships of languages, of the progress of man from the Stone Age down to our own time must offer welcome reading to the young. The book, as all children's books should be, is beautifully printed.

WHAT IS ART AND ESSAYS ON ART. By Tolstoy. Translated by Aylmer Maude, Oxford University Press, London.

Tolstoy was a great moralist, but his teachings could not have had such a hold on his readers if he had been less of an artist. This double claim to renown as artist and philosopher is thoroughly sustained by his works. And the Oxford University Press has done well in bringing under one cover his famous essays on art. This collection is thus an admirable addition to the World's Classics. The book is prefaced with a luminous introduction from the pen of Aylmer Maude to whose devotion to Tolstoy we owe the English version of his works.

#### STATISTICAL ABSTRACT FOR BRITISH INDIA.

From 1918-19 to 1927-1928. Government of India Central Publication Branch, Calcutta.

The working journalist could have no more authoritative book of reference than the "Statistical Abstract" published by order of the Governor-General-in-Council. It is replete with facts and figures illustrating every phase of the country. Arranged under suitable headings we have tabular statements on the population, revenue, expenditure, trade and industries, vital statistics, education and a multitude of other subjects grouped under the headings, Police, Prisons, Public Works, Agriculture, Emigration, Taxation, etc., etc. The book is invaluable to journalists and public men, and ought to be in every library for ready reference.

COMMON-SENSE ADVERTISING. By A. A. Knight. T. Werner Laurie, Ltd. (Available of G. A. Natesan & Co., Madras). Rs. 12.

This little book contains rules and principles for systematic advertising. It is indispensable to manufacturers, Importers and other business people.

**INDIA'S STRUGGLE FOR SWARAJ.** By R. G. Pradhan, B. A., LL. B., M. L. C. G. A. Natesan & Co., O. T., Madras. Price Rs. 4. net.

In this book, Mr. Pradhan traces the course of the Indian movement for responsible Government and Dominion Status, from its beginning to the Viceregal pronouncement declaring that Dominion Status is the political and constitutional goal of India.

The book gives a critical account of the Swaraj movement. "Having myself played an humble part in the movement," says the author, "I know its currents and under-currents fairly well and fully realize its inwardness. My object in writing it is to portray the Indian national struggle as clearly and fairly as possible, and seek to enlist for it the sympathy of all the enlightened and progressive nations of the world." The Hon. Sir Phiroze Sethna has contributed an appreciative foreword to this book.

**REPORT ON THE IMPORT TARIFF OF COTTON PIECEGOODS AND EXTERNAL COMPETITION IN THE COTTON PIECEGOODS TRADE.** By O. S. Hardy, I.C.S. Published by the Government of India Central Publication Branch, Calcutta. As. 9.

Mr. Hardy, after a very careful examination of the statistical materials, concludes that the external competition is more from Japan than from the United Kingdom and that chiefly in respect of grey piecegoods. Regarding the desirability of specific duties, he states that specific duties are not necessarily simpler to administer than *ad valorem* duties and if a protective duty is intended to be prohibitive the method of assessment is immaterial; it is merely necessary to fix the rates sufficiently high. This is quite true, but this report has not allayed the fears that attempts are made to bring in discrimination against Japan and Imperial Preference by the back door in the name of protection for Indian made piecegoods.

**MAHATMA GANDHI: THE MAN AND HIS MISSION** G. A. Natesan & Co., Madras. Re. 1. To Subscribers of the INDIAN REVIEW. As. 12.

In this the Seventh Edition, an attempt is made to bring the story of Mahatma Gandhi's life up-to-date. It is a clear and succinct narrative of his remarkable career in South Africa and India, including a sketch of the Non-Co-operation movement, his historic trial and imprisonment, his recent Civil Disobedience Campaign, together with a full account of his Great March to the salt pans of Surat. This topical publication contains also appreciations of the Mahatma by such distinguished persons like the Rt. Hon. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri, Mr. and Mrs. Polak, Sir Rabindranath Tagore, Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, Dr. Gilbert Murray, Rev. Dr. J. H. Holmes, M. Romain Rolland, Mr. C. F. Andrews, and Bishop Whitehead.

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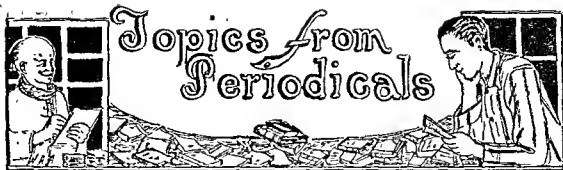
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## THE REAL ISSUES OF INDIA

Under the above caption, Lord Meston contributes an article to the April Number of the *EMPIRE REVIEW*. He asks whether the congress party, or its cat's-paw, Mr. Oandbi, is genuinely anxious, and prepared to have India excluded from the British Empire. He puts a number of other questions as follows:—

Are they ready even to take over the problems which Dominion Status would unload upon them? How do they propose to deal with the probable revolt of the Moslems against Hindu ascendancy, with the possible intervention in the quarrel of Afghanistan and its formidable forces? Have they any reasoned plan for bridging the Princes, as consenting Powers, into the joint administration of India?

These questions have only to be stated in order to furnish their own answers, says Lord Meston. These questions are, according to the noble Lord, merely a few of the more obvious points which the home-rulers have never faced. He continues:—

The real answer, however, is that they have no desire whatsoever for Dominion Status at the moment, and still less for complete independence. They may have, in some vague way, a picture of a Hindu India, run according to its own ancient standards, and protected against internal trouble and external aggression by the British army and navy. But their only real and immediate purpose is to produce a state of anarchy in India and alarm in England which will prevent the calm consideration of Sir John Simon's Report when it appears within the next few months. It cannot be too strongly or too frequently insisted upon, that all the extravagances that we are now witnessing in India aim, as their prime object, at deflecting attention in this country from the true issues on which that Report will invite the verdict of our people.

Commenting on the extremist movement in India, Lord Meston says that it is prompted by an inherent antagonism to British conceptions of enlightened self-Government. Its purpose is to

wear the Britishers out, contends the Lord, until they abandon the policy of training India to manage her own affairs by Western standards. He concludes:—

The extremist is not fighting for this or that form of Constitution but for liberty to re-fashion India on Hindu lines, to fasten fetters upon her which for over a century and a half, we have been striving to remove. If we are prepared to tolerate reaction, the sooner we abdicate the better; but if not, then we cannot be too vigilant in strengthening the hands of our representatives in India against a movement which is not in any sense in which we can understand the words, a movement for political liberty.

## WORLD COMMUNITY

Under the heading "World Community—The Supreme task of the Twentieth century", Mr. John Herman Randall contributes a thoughtful article to the March Number of the American monthly *UNITY*. Mr. Randall says:

The internationalism which is being visualized everywhere to-day is not, let us repeat, to be confounded with the old eighteenth century cosmopolitanism, which decried all local and national distinctions and every form of patriotism. Its ideal was to be a citizen of no country, but of the world. Internationalism, on the other hand, pre-supposes a prime loyalty of the individual to his national state, a cherishing by him of his national language and his national traditions, an intelligent patriotism within him. Its ideal is to be a citizen of one's country and of the world. The internationalist aims to build his world-state with national blocks; he would not suppress nationality but develop it; he does not desire to make all nations alike but to make them fraternal. He does not dream of one World State, but rather, of a Federation of the Nations, in which all nations and people shall come to know themselves as members together of the living body of humanity—a Family of Nations, in which mutual respect and consideration of each for all and all for each shall one day prevail. To move forward therefore, from our present individual nationalisms to a broader and more inclusive internationalism is not to follow a strange and unknown path, but merely, as political states, to take a well marked turn on the very highway on which the modern world in all other aspects of its life is already travelling.

## THE INDIAN REFORMS

Are we to leave India's voiceless millions without effective representation and to withdraw at the same time the only unifying influence from a country torn by disintegrating forces? Or, on the other hand, are we to retain the safe-guards provided by the present administrative machinery and thereby to run the serious risk of achieving only the shadow and not the substance of an advance towards responsible Government? asks the Rt. Hon. Lord Lloyd who contributes an article to the latest Number of the *Fortnightly Review* under the heading "India's advance towards democracy". He says:—

The first course is impossible to reconcile with a due and honourable discharge of the responsibilities towards India which—however come by, and whether we like them or not—are ours to-day and cannot be shirked. If, on the other hand, the second course is adopted, how are we at the same time to fulfilment the solemn promise given to India in 1917? These are difficulties so serious that all the energies and all the reasonable goodwill of everyone concerned are needed in the task of finding a solution.

Our problem is not now to formulate a goal but to frame a policy which will enable India to advance towards that goal without danger to herself and us; and in order to do that, our first task is to face the facts, and to rid ourselves of the misleading considerations of sentiment, which are in part a legacy of the War, and in part merely the stock-in-trade of English political parties.

Will the Round Table Conference, which has aroused so many divergent expectations, provide an opportunity for this? In spite of the mystery which at present surrounds its composition and functions, it may still be fruitful of good, opines Lord Lloyd, if the British Government enters upon it in possession of a firm and clearly conceived policy, and with the determination to bring all parties face to face with the essential facts and needs of the situation. He concludes:—

If, on the other hand, the Conference is to be used as an excuse for postponing a difficult decision, if the government fails to take a decisive lead—if in fact, we are to follow the opportunist policy—then a situation of real danger may arise. We may find ourselves heading irreversibly either for a reaction that will set back the clock many years, or for a decision framed in ignorance and haste, which will bring shame upon us and lasting injury upon those whom it is our first duty to protect.

## RELIGIONS IN MEDIEVAL INDIA

"The religious movements all over India from the 11th to the 16th century were not only eclectic in ideas, but to a large extent free from the cramping restrictions of orthodox Brahmanism. They were moved by a vast and generous desire for the salvation of humanity and not merely of castes or classes," writes Mr. K. M. Panikkar in an article headed "Religious movements in Medieval India," in the January-February Number of *TRIVANI* with which is incorporated the *NEW ERA*.

In fact, never was there in India such a tremendous upheaval of religious spirit. In its true sense, desire for spiritual uplift and wide-spread longing for the freedom of the human soul, since the days of the Buddha. Apart from the schools and sects that this great movement of mind gave rise to, there was one result which was singularly important, and that was the attempt made over and over again to create a religious synthesis out of the conflicting creeds of Hinduism and Islam. By their nobility of purpose, no less than by their achievements, these attempts stand out as highly significant landmarks to Indian thought.

Another feature is the popular character of these movements. Most of the saints of the Hinduism of this period were men of the people. Their songs were not subtle or metaphysical, and appealed directly to the heart of the people. In fact it is not too much to say that the mind of the Hindu of to-day bears the imprint of these religious teachers more than even the religious thought of the Vedas or the *Upanishads*. The songs of Jnaneshwar to the Marathi country, the hymns of the *Aikars* and the *Saivite* saints in the South, the songs of Kabir, Mirabai, and many others, the work of Tulsi Das, have created the popular religion of India. Even to-day it is in these that modern India finds its mental nourishment.

If no great national synthesis resulted from this awakening, it was due to the varied and dissonant racial and cultural tendencies in India. In medieval India, says Mr. Panikkar, though there was a unity of sentiment and unity of institutions, there was not the same chance as there is to-day of a universal prevalence of ideas working towards the establishment of a national unity. The geographical facts inevitably tended to make all awakenings of this kind local in effect, though national in their bearing.



## GANDHI'S PRINCIPLE OF SWADESHI

THE PRABUDDHA BHARATA for April contains an interesting article on "Mahatma Gandhi's Economic Ideals," in which the writer, Mr. Shiv Chandra Datta, says that by Swadeshi, Mr. Gandhi understands the duty of preserving the indigenous institutions and using indigenous products.

It has three principal aspects—religious, political and economic. Taken in all these aspects together, it means that we should not give up our civilisation, religion, language, dress, political and economic institutions and the products of our country. It does not mean that we should treasure our faults and defects. But it means that we should cling to our institutions and products, even though they be disagreeable and uncomfortable. The observance of the principle in all its aspects is stressed as a religious duty.

In its economic aspect particularly, it is made to mean that we should use the things which are or can be made in our country in preference to those made in foreign countries. "The broad definition of Swadeshi is the use of all home-made things to the exclusion of foreign things, in so far as such use is necessary for the protection of home industry, more especially these industries without which India will become pauperised."

Is Mr. Gandhi totally against all imports? Mr. Datta says that the answer is in the negative. He continues:—

While he is not exactly in favour of a total cessation of imports, he certainly wants that they should be reduced as much as possible. He would be prepared to allow only those things to be imported which are absolutely essential, but which cannot be produced within the country. While delivering a speech at Madras in 1916, he said: "A Swadeshist will learn to do without hundreds of things which to-day he considers necessary. . . . And we would be making for the goal even if we confined Swadesht to a given set of articles allowing ourselves as a temporary measure to use such articles as might not be procurable in the country." In the same speech he said a little earlier: "If not an article of commerce had been bought from outside India, she would be to-day a land flowing with milk and honey." Imports, therefore, in his opinion constitute a drain on the country's resources, and the more they are reduced, the wealthier will India be.

### FAITH IN FORCE

"The waning faith in force" is the subject of a very interesting article in the April Number of the HARPER'S MAGAZINE by Mr. Edward S. Martin. The subject is of special interest to Indian readers just at present.

Mr. Martin says:—

Human life generally seems in process of reconstruction. A visitor from England said the other day, "Has the world ever been so interesting as it is to-day—Lenin, Gandhi, science, the reconstruction of religion, the unity of the human family, all stirring to human consciousness? I think a tremendous lot of rubbish is coming to the surface, thanks to such agencies as Katherine Mayo, Chicago gangs, and wars, and gradually people are getting rid of a lot of nonsense and becoming more sensible. People complain of the world becoming Americanized (mechanized), but the human type is becoming more efficient, more clean, more energetic, instead of immersed in dream, sex, and silliness, as too much of Southern Europe and Asia has been so far. I think, Russia has let loose blood, as did the French Revolution, which will profoundly affect the whole world, but it will not be by a repetition of Communism."

Non-resistance does not mean lying down on the job and letting things slide. It means a resort to something stronger than force. Perhaps it means an appeal to what we call public opinion, but not to that alone. At any rate compulsion as a cure all is losing authority. Revelations of what war really is are turning men away from it. Disclosure of the minds of militant totalitarians make observers think better of drink. Vast appropriations for new insane asylums make us wonder whether our marriage laws are as good as they should be, and big appropriations for our prisons make us think we are not intelligent in our handling of convicts. So perhaps we are getting on.

The writer concludes that in course of time, humanity will develop intelligence enough to comprehend the principle that underlies that remarkable maxim: "Resist not evil, but overcome evil with good!"

## HINDU MARRIAGE REFORM

Under the heading, "Friendly Chats" the INDIAN LADIES' MAGAZINE publishes an article on Hindu Marriage Reform by Mr. R. L. Rao. The writer denounces the movement for equal right of divorce for women inaugurated in the All-India Women's Conference in Madras as premature. He says:—

The Hindu Woman, as she is to-day, is nowhere. She must be made a unit in Society first; and a responsible unit as well. She must be made capable of thinking for herself, and acting for herself. The Sarada Act has come as a great relief, since it will give every Hindu girl a chance to live. If only some of our more enlightened women turned their eyes to this aspect of the question, if they endeavoured to raise the general standard and tried to emphasise the necessity of leading real dignified lives in every sense of the word, they would achieve a great deal, for, let us remember that, ' whilst our heads are in the clouds, our feet are on the earth.' It is wise to

understand where we stand, to look about and then try to be of some use.

Men have been very fair to the women's cause in India more fair than the men of other countries have been. Women have, and will always have, the support of all genuine lovers of freedom and fair play, where their schemes of reform are concerned.

But, let us have decent marriages first. Then let us talk of divorce. Otherwise, we shall be putting the cart before the horse.

Will every educated mother or woman make it possible for her daughter to choose the line of work or activity she wishes to take or allow her the freedom to choose her partner in life?

The need of divorce arises, says the writer, only when it is possible first for a young man to meet another young woman in a perfectly natural way. What is wanted is an 'atmosphere'. He concludes:—

Let us make it possible too, to bring your young people more and more together. The divorce, or the necessity of separation, will come later on. It is on these bases, it seems to me, that reform must take place.

#### WOMEN AND NATIONAL FREEDOM

The women in India, says Mrs. Cousins, in the pages of the *STRI Dharma*, are now using the economic weapon of saving for India's needs the money that is being drained out of India by foreign manufacturers of cloth, by spirituous drink and military expenditure. Amongst such women, there are Government servants who teach, nurse and superintend hostels. There are others who are independent like Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, Kamaladevi, Sarabhai and others who are in the forefront of politics. All their work is one work, says Mrs. Cousins, namely, the freeing of Mother India.

As long as we all face the same way, as long as we all keep mutual respect and love, as long as we understand conditions and differing temperaments, experience, limitations, as long as our attitude is that of zealous service for India and humanity, every act of every day can be a part of the eternal Satyagraha, and so long we women and men will stand behind one another in a deep phalanx in which those at the back are as much a necessary part of the Great Push as those at the front.

It is essentially the time in which each woman must review her own life and give to India of her uttermost—who must give more than ever before, of thought, of changed action (as in refusing to wear foreign cloth, and in learning to spin), of time to teach others, or to organise for others, or to take the places of women who are free enough and brave enough to risk imprisonment.

#### INDIAN FIRE-WALKERS

Among the many mysteries of the East, there is one that has often been the theme of considerable wonder to Europeans—and that is the fire-walking ceremony so common among the Hindus in India and their emigrants in different parts of Asia and Africa. People pass through terrible ordeals in the name of religion and the mortifications they undergo are beyond all the possibilities of physical or psychological laws. The Sootris lacerate their bodies with hooks and knives, walk across a pit of glowing embers ankle-deep in the ashes, and, after the ceremony is over, remove the hooks and skewers from their flesh which shows no blemish, neither scar nor blister.

Mr. E. L. Roberts gives in the April issue of the *UNITED EMPIRE* a vivid and picturesque account of one of these functions in Natal. Men and women in strange costumes appear on the scene, with music and tamburis which play upon the emotions of the multitude to a high pitch of frenzy and religious ecstasy. A wave of excitement rippled over the throng. The fire in the pit leapt in great howling tongues of flames. Six tons of firewood were blazing fiercely, and the air became hot as a furnace and heavy with smoke.

The Sootris, or fire-walkers, arrived and sought the river for the purification ceremony during which they immersed themselves. After this had taken place, the Sootris and their attendant priests began to chaunt weird invocations, while needles were driven through their tongues, and hooks and pins lacerated their flesh. One fire-walker placed his feet on sandals studded with two-inch nails and drove the spikes through the flesh. Others passed long rapiers through their bodies. These preparations produced great bursts of religious fervour, and the whole performance was the more remarkable in that the devotees appeared to feel no pain and not a drop of blood flowed from the wounds.

And then fifty or sixty of the fire-walkers pass through a pit of blazing fire—coerced with a layer of red-hot embers.

Throughout this ordeal they seemed to feel no pain, and after a few minutes, the scars from the wounds disappeared. The priest spoke a few words of praise to each of the Sootris and invoked a blessing before they returned to their friends in triumph. Then followed a scene of great joy and excitement and the ceremonies were concluded by a festival and merry-making.

## PUNISHMENT FOR BREAKING SALT LAW

The manufacture of contraband salt by civil resistors is a technical offence of which the seriousness is practically the same everywhere, whoever may commit it. Yet, the punishments inflicted on the accused are comparatively light in some cases and very heavy in others.

The legal punishment prescribed for this offence, says the Editor of the MODERN REVIEW in his notes, is either a term of simple or rigorous imprisonment or fine, or both.

But very numerous are the items of news in the dailies from all provinces and many towns and villages which inform the public that there is illegal and extra legal punishment, too, in the shape of assaults by policemen on men, women and children. Some firing has also taken place. All or the majority of these news cannot be false. The people of India never had any tradition or practice in the manufacture of warlike, either in times past or in modern times.

It is said that large crowds cannot be dispersed without the use of some force, which may, in some cases, include the shooting down of men with fire-arms. Whether shooting was necessary on any particular occasion can be discussed only with reference to that occasion. But these men are not turbulent and do not offer any resistance to arrest.

They only defend their salt when it is sought to be snatched away from them. But if they are arrested, *ipso facto* they cease to defend their salt, which can then be taken away by the police along with their persons. Therefore, there is no reason why they should be assaulted. The law does not authorize the police to assault them or any other class of offenders. But it may be taken as a fact that salt-law-breakers have been beaten by the police in very many places. Communiqués are issued by the Government to correct mis-statements in the press, but news regarding police assaults on Satyagrahis remain officially uncontradicted.

Now it is not possible to test the legal validity of these punishments as the Satyagrahis do not care to defend themselves in a court of law; but it is all the more obligatory on the part of the executive to see that the law is observed scrupulously both in the letter and spirit.

Section 121A of the Indian Penal Code makes the bringing of the Government into hatred or contempt punishable. "That shows that Government wants to be respected. 'One means' of securing that respect is to see that its laws are respected both by its own servants and by non-officials. But if the police be allowed to beat any

man in an illegal or extra-legal way, the law ceases to be respected.

Hence, if it be the intention of the Government that the *Satyagrahis* should be punished, some by being sent to jail or fined or both, and some by being thrashed by the police, the law should be so amended as to include the latter among legal punishments. But if that be not the intention of the Government, such assaults should be put a stop to and the assaulters among the police should be punished either as ordinary offenders or at least departmentally.

It may be contended, he continues, that it is not possible to accommodate cloth and feed the ever-increasing army of *Satyagrahis* and so the Police have taken to beating them. If so, argues the Editor, beating with lathis should be "legalised and regularised". That would be a fine thing for a civilized Government to do!

But the real remedy does not lie in the multiplication of forms of punishment and in increasing their severity but in freeing India. That is our point of view. If Britteners do not want to let go their hold on India, they should at least govern as if it were free.

## THE SIKH VIEW OF LIFE

"India is on the way to become a nation; but if she is to reach the goal successfully, she must evolve a truly Indian view of life—a view which is neither purely Hindu nor Moslem, nor Sikh, nor Christian, but a true synthesis of them all"—writes Prof. Gurmukh Nihal Singh in the March-April Number of the KHALSA REVIEW. The Sikh Gurus regard human life as a period of unique opportunity. They do not divide human existence into four periods as, for instance, the Hindu seers do into four ashramas.

The Gurus do not believe in dividing mankind into classes or castes—*varnas*—and prescribing duties appropriate to each class. They have one common *upadesh* for all. From the most lowly to the highest, without distinction of birth, wealth or sex, they expect certain things—a life of usefulness, work, up-right, honest, truthful and devout living; a life full of worldly pursuits and not of isolation and asceticism; a life not of self-abnegation and self-denial but of dedication to the service of man and love of God. The Gurus do not ask their disciples to give up the life of a householder or to abstain from worldly enjoyments—live with your wife and children, with your friends and relations. Do not shirk

your worldly duties—earn your own livelihood, support your family, bring up your children properly, take your share in the work of your community, city and country, help your poor brethren with money and service, uphold your ideals—secular and religious—even if it be necessary to lay down your life for the purpose. And all the time keep on thinking of your Creator loving Him and His creation, worshipping Him and none else, meditating and repeating His Name, and happy in His *raza* or *bhana*,—dispensation! Such is the life that the Sikh Gurus enjoin on their disciples.

The writer gives a few episodes from the lives of the Sikh Gurus. And a story is told of Guru Nanak and of his disciple Bhai Lehna—later on Guru Angad. Guru Nanak after he returned from his tour of preaching settled down at Kartarpur as a farmer. He used to go to his fields and work there like ordinary cultivators.

He taught his disciples the value, dignity and sacredness of labour. That was, as a matter of fact, the first lesson that Guru Nanak taught Bhai Lehna—who was to become in course of time Guru Angad—when he became his disciple. When Lehna reached the Guru's house after making up his mind to serve his apprenticeship he was told that the Guru was in his fields cutting grass. Lehna went there and found Nanak with two big loads of grass, dripping with muddy water, tied up ready to be taken home for the use of the cattle. Nanak was persuading his sons to lift them and carry them to the house; but they were making excuses thinking that the work was not worthy of their status and position. The Guru then looked up towards Lehna—and there he was, mindful of his low clothes, in the spirit of service and devotion, ready to carry the huge loads on his head to the house of the Guru. And who does not know of the service that Guru Amar Das in his old age performed as a disciple for his Guru? It is the examples of Gurus Angad and Amar Das that have created in the minds of the Sikhs, young and old, boys and girls, men and women, rich and poor, princes and paupers—the spirit of *sewa*, dedicated service that distinguishes them and puts them in a category by themselves.

The Gurus taught another valuable lesson to the Sikhs by personal example. And as for illustrations, Prof. Gurmukh concludes by drawing our attention to the martyrdom of Guru Arjan Dev who was subjected to cruel torture by Emperor Jahangir. The most important element in the teachings of the Sikh Gurus is their practical and universal character and their religion is one of the most pragmatic of religions.

## BRITISH POLICY TOWARDS CHINA

"The road to ruin in China" is the subject of a thought-provoking article by Mr. J. O. P. Bland in the pages of the *ENGLISH REVIEW*. "Those who have studied the causes of the steady deterioration of our position and prestige in China," says the writer, are aware that the policy of patient conciliation pursued by successive Governments in recent years has been to a great extent inspired, and often initiated, by certain political idealists, whose opinions have carried far more weight in Downing Street than those of the British of the Far East."

As matters stand to-day, it is not surprising that the Government, largely composed of men without personal experience of Oriental races, should follow the facile path of graceful concessions in view of the fact that their line of action, or inaction, is usually based upon the opinions of the F.O. School of thought, whereof the fountain-head is Chatham House. To put the matter plainly—with Sir Frederick Whyte as adviser to the Government at Nanking, and Sir John Pratt as the chief authority on China at the F.O.; with that indefatigable and persuasive pacificator, Mr. Lionel Curtis, now directing his attention to Chinese affairs; and all the "liberalizing" influence of inveterate theorists, such as Sir Charles Addis and Professor Toynebee, in the background—a policy of lamentable surrenders was inevitable. The personnel of the delegation selected by Chatham House to represent Great Britain at the Kyoto Conference of the Institute of Pacific Relations in itself sufficiently indicates the opinions now fashionable in the highest circles of academic politics. All things considered, therefore, the British merchant in China (whom the "high-brows" regard as an unfortunate anachronism) should perhaps be grateful that Mr. Ramsay MacDonald has not yet seen fit to withdraw all our armed forces from Shanghai. As regard the immediate future, remembering Mr. Curtis's notable contributions to the cause of "dyarchy" in India and that of Dominion Home Rule in Ireland, it may fairly be predicted that the result of his present activities will be manifested in further concessions or compromises, all theoretically unimpeachable, but all in practice disastrous, for the reason that they will fall, as usual, to take into account the real objectives and the "dominant morality" of the Oriental politicians with whom he is dealing.

## WAR POWERS OF THE U.S.A. PRESIDENT

The March Number of the *POLITICAL SCIENCE QUARTERLY* opens with a very interesting article on the "War Powers of the President of the United States with special reference to the beginning of hostilities" by Mr. Charles C. Tansill of the Washington University. This subject has an added interest owing to the fact of the recent acceptance of the Kellogg Pact by the nations of the world which has focussed attention upon the powers of the President of the United States with reference to the formulation of American foreign policy. The role of Congress in this programme for world peace has been definitely a secondary one: a mere acquiescence in the decision already reached by the Executive. But if the President, through his control of foreign relations, can effect international peace, he can also involve the United States in such difficulties with other nations that war will necessarily result despite the anxious efforts of Congress to preserve peace.

Mr. Tansill continues:—

The much-vaunted doctrine of the separation of powers, a doctrine hailed by our founding fathers as "a political panacea *par excellence*, was not given rigid application in the Constitution of the United States, and at times it has been difficult exactly to delimit the respective jurisdictions of the executive and legislative departments. In recent years the role of President of the United States has assumed a heightened importance, and to many acute observers it appears as though Congress were being pushed farther and farther into the background. America's increasing interests in the region of the Caribbean has demanded effective governmental support which has been extended mainly through the executive department. In Haiti, in Santo Domingo and in Nicaragua, American investors have looked not to Congress but to the President for action in their behalf. The despatch of American warships and the landing of American marines seem so closely related to actual warfare that many opponents of presidential action have vigorously asserted that the American Executive has usurped a power properly belonging only to Congress, which is the war-making power.

With a national enemy in arms against the Federal Government, says Mr. Tansill, it behooved the federal judiciary to assist the Executive in the efficient conduct of hostilities.

Such an attitude has been typical, for the judiciary has always been loath to interfere in any way in the settlement of so-called "political" questions. And as between the Executive and Congress it has usually been recog-

nized by the latter that the successful prosecution of war demands "in the highest degree the promptness, directness and unity of action. . . which alone can proceed from the Executive." It is apparent, therefore, that not only does the Executive largely control the events that lead to hostilities, but even during the course of a conflict resulting from his policies, his role is still the dominant one. Although Congress is empowered to prescribe the size and equipment of the military establishment, yet it is the Executive alone, by virtue of his powers as Commander-in-Chief, who decides just how the war shall be waged.

## INDIA IN PERIODICALS

HOYSALA BEQUEST TO INDIAN ART. By Dr. B. Subrahmanyam. [*The Triveni*—January-February 1930.]

THE APOSTLE THOMAS AND INDIA. By M. S. Ramaswami Aiyar, B. A., M. B. A. S. [*The Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society*, April 1930.]

THE INDIAN STATES AND THE FUTURE CONSTITUTION. A Symposium. [*The Khalsa Review*, April 1930.]

THE PILGRIM OF INDIA. By M. Romatin Roland. [*Prabuddha Bharata*, April 1930.]



## THE LIBERALS' STATEMENT

An urgent meeting of the Council of the National Liberal Federation of India was held on 14th May at the Legislative Council Hall, Bombay. The Council has issued a statement on the present political situation of India. We give below the full text of the same :

"The Council considers it its duty to place on record their view of the situation in India as it has developed during the last two months. It deprecates and deplores the mass civil disobedience movement started at this juncture, and while it recognises that the leaders of the movement have pledged themselves to non-violence, it regrets to note that, in fact, it has created an atmosphere in which unruly elements in some places have taken advantage of the situation and committed acts of violence. The movement has accentuated the cleavage between the different sections of the community, and has evoked, in a marked degree, feelings hostile to a friendly settlement of the outstanding political issues.

All this has led to strong action on the part of the authorities in certain places, which has further inflamed public feelings.

The Council has heard with grave apprehension of the proposal to ask the people not to pay taxes, as it is likely to lead to serious hardships without, in any way, bringing the country nearer to Dominion Status.

### IRRESPONSIBLE SYSTEM OF ADMINISTRATION

The Council feels it its duty to point out that the response which the Civil Disobedience Movement has evoked is mainly due to the economic and political discontent prevailing, due to the present irresponsible system of administration. The Council point out that in the Government's zeal for law and order excessive force appears to have been used at certain places resulting in very serious loss of life. Some have been subjected to humiliating treatment. The sentences passed in many instances are unduly harsh and severe and unequal.

### PLEA FOR ENQUIRY INTO SHOLAPUR INCIDENTS

The Council condemns the Sholapur outrages, but is not satisfied that the civil authority had so completely broken down that the situation could not be handled except by martial law. The Council trusts that there will be a thorough, independent enquiry into the events that happened at Sholapur, Peshawar and other places. The Council is of opinion that continued suppression of civil authority is not calculated to ease the situation.

## SUPPORT TO SWADESHI

The Council welcomes strongly and supports all measures stimulating Swadeshi. It cannot, however, support any retaliatory measures carried into effect by picketing in such a tense atmosphere, leads to regrettable conflicts.

### PRESS ORDINANCE CONDEMNED

The Council recognises that a certain section of the Press indulged in inflammatory language but feels that instead of passing a drastic Ordinance, the Government should have warned the Press against such writings and if the warning were unheeded, the Government could effectively have acted in motion the ordinary law against the offending papers. In the circumstances and having regard to the manner in which the Ordinance has been worked, the Council urges the recalling of the Ordinance.

In the interest of preventing mischief resulting from ill-founded rumour, the Council feels that correct news should be supplied without delay. It calls attention to and deprecates the extent to which censorship is being exercised on dissemination of news.

### THE ROUND TABLE CONFERENCE

While the Council continues to be of the opinion that the Round-Table plans be adhered to, it feels that, in order to ensure success, it is not enough to announce the date of the meeting, but that the Government should lose no time in publishing the terms, making it clear that the object of the Conference is the establishment of a Dominion Status constitution, subject to necessary safeguards for such period of transition as may be necessary.

### CREATION OF FAVOURABLE ATMOSPHERE URGED

To supplement this policy, and in the interest of the country, the Council urges upon the Civil Disobedience movement leaders to restore normal conditions by the cessation of those activities which are a challenge to law and Government. It would urge upon the Government to take every step to create confidence among the people and a favourable atmosphere to the success of the Round-Table Conference by releasing political prisoners, who were not guilty of any violence.

Lastly, the Council urges the expediency of the Viceroy conferring with the leaders of Indian opinion for the purpose of removing the present tension and facilitate the success of the Round-Table Conference."

## SIR K. V. REDDI

Sir K. V. Reddi, Agent-General to the Government of India in South Africa, who had been in India on sick leave, left Bombay for South Africa



SIR K. V. REDDI

on the 23rd April by the S. S. KARAGOLA. His son, Mr. K. V. Gopalaswami, accompanied him, and he will be his Secretary during his term of office.

Interviewed by a representative of THE TIMES OF INDIA prior to his departure, Sir Kurma stated that although the situation in South Africa with reference to Indians there had somewhat improved during the past two years, there were still several problems which remained to be tackled. The chief amongst them was that relating to the trading licenses in the Transvaal. In this connection, Sir Kurma felt glad that during his absence, the South African Indians resident in the Union had a staunch friend in Mr. J. D. Tyson who had been specially chosen by the Government of India to have the claims of Indians represented strongly.

Discussing the question of trading licenses, Sir Kurma said that the laws of the Transvaal were peculiar, and that the right of Indians to own or occupy immovable property was regulated by certain laws. According to them, they could not own lands or reside in many areas. Besides, trading licenses had been refused to Indians by certain municipalities which had to recommend the grant of certificates. The question was taken up by him during his stay there last year, whereupon a Select Committee was appointed "to inquire into the position created by certain recent judgments of the Supreme Court regarding residence on, or occupation of, fixed property by Indians or other persons, belonging to native races of Asia on Proclaimed Grounds in the Transvaal and the question as to how far the intentions of Parliament are being given effect to."

## TWO INDIAN STUDENTS IN GERMANY

The Honorary Secretary, India Institute of "Die Deutsche Akademie," Germany, have announced to the Indian public that the stipend for agricultural studies in the University of Hohenheim has been awarded to Mr. S. S. Tiruvengkatachari of Madras, and that the stipend for higher studies in the field of Engineering in the University of Stuttgart has been awarded to Mr. Phanindra Kumar Mitra of Dacca. As announced four months ago, both these stipends consist of free tuition.

## RETURNED EMIGRANTS

The Hon. Mr. G. A. Natesan and Mr. J. Gray, Labour Commissioner, who were recently constituted into a committee to inquire into and report on the condition of Indians landing in India under the scheme of assisted emigration, have submitted their report to the Government of India.

## INDIANS IN FIJI

Vocational training for 5½ per cent of the Indian population of Fiji as compared with the 3½ in India, was advocated by the Governor Sir A. G. M. Fletcher in opening the Legislative Council on the 13th of this month at Suva.

## DEPRESSION IN TRADE IN INDIA

An extraordinary general meeting of the Bombay Piece-goods Native Merchants' Association was held on the 10th of this month in Bombay, when several resolutions were passed. One of the resolutions ran as follows :—

"In view of the boycott of foreign goods throughout the country and in view of the prevailing political situation, this meeting is of opinion that a very serious and alarming crisis has arisen for the Mercantile Community in India, and accordingly, this meeting desires to warn its members of the critical situation that lies ahead. This meeting also draws the attention of the Secretary of State for India, H. E. the Viceroy, the Trade Commissioner for India, the Member for Commerce and Industry, the Manchester Chamber of Commerce, and the Chamber of Commerce, Bombay, to the grave political situation in India, and urges upon them to make use of their power and influence to bring about an acceptance of the national demands and effect an amicable settlement. This meeting hereby warns that in case the political situation is not eased at the earliest moment, a graver situation for the Manufacturers and businessmen is likely to arise, in which case the members of this Association will be most reluctantly compelled to consider the advisability of cancelling all outstanding orders."

The other resolutions condemned the high sentences passed on the Satyagrahis and the alleged high-handed action of the police towards the Congress volunteers.

## £9,000 FALL IN PROFITS

A drop of about £9,000 in trading profits for the year was due mainly to the disturbed political conditions prevailing in India, said Mr. Mence Wilkinson, Chairman and Managing Director, presiding at the annual meeting of Whiteaway, Laidlaw and Co., Ltd., in London on May 9th.

## BOYCOTT OF FOREIGN CLOTH

The Manchester Chamber of Commerce has received a cable on April 1934 from the Delhi Cotton Piece-goods Association saying that, in view of the present political situation, especially the boycott of foreign piece goods, the Association warns all shippers and manufacturers that any goods shipped will most probably be not only refused but will also be unsalable.

The Bombay Native Piece-goods Association has telegraphed that, for the same reasons, they believe that a serious and alarming crisis has arisen for the mercantile community in India and urge Mr. Benn, Lord Irwin and the Manchester Chamber to use their influence to bring about the acceptance of the National demands and an amicable settlement. If the situation is not eased, the Association foresees a grave situation, in which they would be reluctantly compelled to consider the cancelling of all outstanding contracts.

## BOMBAY MERCHANTS' DECISION

The following resolutions were unanimously passed in the joint meeting in the Malabar Hall on the 7th instant under the auspices of the Punjab Krishna Association, the Multani Piece goods Merchants' Association and the Multan Commission Agents' Association, presided over by Lala Ramchand Parmanand of Seth Nikaram Parmanand.

(1) The above associations express their regret at Lord Inchcape's anti-Indian propaganda and whereas Lord Inchcape is connected with the British Indian Steam Navigation Company, Ltd., the above associations resolve to boycott that company and not to load their cargo in its ships hereafter for Karachi line.

(2) The above associations also resolve to boycott foreign insurance companies and to insure their goods, etc., in the Indian insurance companies hereafter.

(3) The above associations draw the attention of other commercial bodies and request them to take similar steps in their committee to strengthen the cause of Bharat Swaraj movement and thus support the Indian National Congress programme.



## IMPORTANCE OF AGRICULTURE

If the Japanese believe in the proverb 'Agriculture is the backbone of a Nation,' the Indian seems to feel that the Government alone is the backbone of his nation, and agriculture on which the whole structure of Government rests has been relegated to the background. It is high time that we set to work the "Back to the villages!" cry on sound economic principles. The two glaring defects of the economic life of our country seem to be.—

(1) Inadequate credit especially in the sphere of agricultural production.

(2) Comparing with the other countries and comparing with what could be effected, India lags far behind in the matter of production. It may not be easy to say these two facts, which the cause and which the effect. But realising as we do that productivity and credit are intimately related, we may make an attempt to solve it by increasing the credit and at the same time the productive power of the country. This can be done by a paper currency backed up by labour organised on co-operative principle as has been shown by the history of Scotland in the 18th century when banks by issuing £1 notes to its branches and through them to the farmers loans by a system of cash credits, were able to rescue the Scotch peasantry from an extreme state of poverty. Is it possible to apply similar principles to Indian conditions with success?

## REFUSAL OF LAND TAX IN BARDOLI.

"In this great non violent fight for complete Swaraj, launched with the imprisonment of our beloved Sardar Vallabhai Patel and sanctified with the sacrifice of numerous leaders and workers, our Taluk has hitherto contributed its mite, but now when the Government has captured Mr. Gandhi, the greatest man of the world, and the life of India, we farmers of Bardoli Taluk will not pay land revenue till Mr. Gandhi or Sardar Vallabhai Patel directs us to pay it, and, in doing, so, we

shall cheerfully endure all hardships from assaults, Jail and forfeiture of property, even to death."

The above resolution was passed at the Conference of the Bardoli Taluk held on May 10 in the Swaraj Ashram, Bardoli. Mr. Abbas Tyabji, Mr. Gandhi's successor, presided. Two days later when Mr. Tyabji was marching from Kaniadi towards Bharsena, he was arrested along with 59 of his compatriots.

## CULTIVATION OF COCOA PLANT

In the House of Commons replying to Mrs. Hamilton, Mr. Wedgwood Benn denied that the Government of India had recently authorised the cultivation of the cocoa plant and the manufacture of cocaine. No such action had been taken or, as far as he was aware, in any manner contemplated. The Dangerous Drugs Act merely made this legally possible. The Act was the outcome of the Government of India's efforts to strengthen the means at their disposal to carry out obligations under the Geneva Convention.

## AGRI-HORTICULTURE IN COONOOR

The Coonoor Committee of the newly-formed Nilgiri Agri-Horticultural Society is as follows:

R. W. Hansen, Esq., C.I.E., F.R.H.S., President, Thomas Eugen, Esq., Vice-President, H. S. Thompson, Esq., Honorary Secretary, and Major K. R. K. Jyengar, I.M.S., Honorary Treasurer. Some 64 members have been enrolled, the rate of subscription being Rs. 12 per annum for each member.

There will be a number of privileges connected with membership, such as obtaining plants, etc., at cost price, and others at 33 ⅓ per cent. discount. Members and their families will be permitted to attend the annual Flower Show free.

The Animal Show this year will be run by the newly-formed Society, and as the buildings and ground used last year near the Pasture Institute, are not available, the Committee have secured the Cinema Buildings and the adjoining grounds for this purpose.

## INDIAN DEGREES AND THE B. M. C.

A meeting of the Medical Profession of Bombay was held on the 5th April, in order to record its indignation at the recent decision of the General Medical Council in refusing to recognise the Medical degrees of Indian Universities. Sir Nasarvanji Choksy, C.C.E., M.D., presided. The following resolutions were passed.

I. That this meeting of the Medical Profession in Bombay emphatically condemns the decision of the Executive Committee of the General Medical Council in refusing to recognise the medical degrees of the Indian Universities based as it is on Anti-Indian bias.

II. That this meeting urges upon the Government of India the necessity of appointing immediately an Inter-University Medical Board consisting of the Representatives of the Government and of Indian Universities from their Medical Faculties, for determining and supervising medical education, qualifications and standards in Indian Universities.

III. That this meeting is of opinion that an All-India Medical Council be established by an Act of Legislature, and further suggests to the Government of India that the draft bill for the establishment of the same be circulated for public opinion before its introduction in the Central Legislature.

IV. That this meeting requests the Provincial Governments to amend the existing Medical Acts in such a way as to abolish the privileges conferred by certain sections thereof upon persons holding qualifications registrable under the British Medical Acts.

V. That this meeting is of opinion that admission to all the Medical Services of the country should be restricted to Indian Nationals holding Medical qualifications registrable in India and urges upon the Government of India that recruitment to the I.M.S. henceforth should not be by nomination, but by a competitive examination to be held in India alone.

## A MONKEY GLAND OPERATION

A monkey gland operation was performed on the 20th April at Chittaranjan Hospital, Calcutta, on an under-developed girl aged 22 who has so far shown no signs of puberty. The patient had taken various kinds of treatment and was examined by several eminent doctors in Calcutta previous to admission to Chittaranjan Hospital where she was kept under observation for a month. The monkey whose gland was taken for this operation belonged to the variety known as *Macacus Rhesus*. The girl was chloroformed and the ovaries removed after opening the abdomen. The glands, removed from the monkey, were immediately transplanted to the abdomen of the patient under local anaesthesia. The whole operation including that on the monkey, we are told, lasted about half an hour.

## HOW TO BE SLIM

"A Physician" writes to "The Daily Herald" on the new way to become slim. We should always be aware of the danger of becoming abnormally fat. It generally diminishes our vitality and makes us more liable to disease.

The mechanism of the body requires fat, and so we eat butter and fat meat, but we also manufacture it by eating starches and sugars. Thus we can control the tendency to put on fat by strict diet. The part of the body in which fat usually accumulates most readily is the abdominal wall.

You can minimise this accumulation by abdominal exercises of all kinds: walking, running, and sitting and standing with what is called the abdominal lift, e. g., "keeping the stomach in."

Exposing the naked skin to the light always helps to diminish fat. Boots and shoes that women wear tend to make them fat, the high heels and narrow toes preventing a firm and natural step being taken.

We draw the attention of our readers to the observations of Miss Joyce Gardner, appearing in our Sports page on this subject.

## SIR J. C. BOSE'S TRIP TO EUROPE

Sir Jagadish Chunder Bose sailed for England on the 26th April.

Interviewed by the correspondent of the HINDU, Sir Jagadish was reticent about the chief object of



SIR JAGADISH BOSE

his tour. It, however, transpired that he had been writing another book relating to plants and life and that he wanted to spend a few days in a sequestered place to finish the book. Asked whether he had been invited by any University, Sir Jagadish Bose replied that he had received a number of invitations but had not decided to accept them. He was sure to attend the International Scientists' Conference in Geneva and would return to India in September.

Questioned whether he had made any interesting new discoveries about plant life, Sir Jagadish observed, that he had made about a hundred interesting ones. Pressed further to deal with at least one or two striking discoveries, Sir Jagadish said that all were striking ones, and were so closely related that it was not possible for him to refer to them at present.

The conversation then turned to the political situation. On learning of the state of affairs here, Sir Jagadish Bose said: "More enthusiasm will not bring us Swaraj. What we require is persistence which alone could get us self government."

## SIR OLIVER AND THE NEW PLANET

Referring to the reported discovery of the new planet, Sir Oliver Lodge said it was important as helping to complete the origin of the Solar system. Jeans, the astronomer, had a theory—the only acceptable theory at the present time—of the birth of the Solar system. The earth was a child and the moon a grandchild of the sun. All the planets were born at the same time under the influence of a visiting star, and a long streamer was drawn off from the sun," reports the MORNING POST.

"If the age of the earth were represented by a pillar of the height of Cleopatra's Needle, the time which man had been on the earth would be represented by the thickness of a penny put on that column. The lesson of astronomy was that humanity had a short past and a tremendously long future."

## A NEW MACHINE

It would seem that we are promised an all purpose craft which will travel over land on pneumatic-tired wheels, run down a beach and launch itself in the sea, dive under water and turn itself into a submarine and there would be no need of telescopic wings and leave either sea or land for the air. This "hush-hush" craft—said to be the result of the efforts of several Danish inventors—has a tapering, all-metal boat-like hull upon either side of which are telescopic metal wings. The wings can be drawn in or reefed alongside the body by mechanism inside the hull. The crew, closing water-tight compartments, can submerge their vessel and operate it below water like a submarine. On regaining the surface, the craft can either be manoeuvred like a ship, by means of an under-water rudder and screw, or its metallic wings can be unfurled and it can fly. Beneath its body this craft carries amphibian gear with wheels which can be raised or lowered, enabling it to alight and travel on the surface of the ground.

## THE REVIVAL OF THE PRESS ACT

The Viceroy has issued an Ordinance reviving the Press Act and adding certain provisions to it. The Ordinance gives power to the provincial governments to demand security from newspapers doing revolutionary propaganda. If the paper be found guilty under the law, the security will have to be forfeited, and after the security, the press also will be confiscated.

Accordingly, securities were demanded from all nationalist newspapers in Delhi and Calcutta. In Madras, all the vernacular dailies were asked to furnish the security. Protesting against this Ordinance, all the newspapers in Delhi and Calcutta suspended publication pending the decision of the Journalists' Conference.

The All-India Journalists' and Press Owners' Conference was convened in Bombay on May 15 with Mr. A. Rangaswamy Iyengar, Editor of THE HINDU, in the Chair.

Mr. K. Nataraajan, Chairman of the Reception Committee, in welcoming the delegates, said that the Viceroy's promulgation of the Press Ordinance had brought them together and made them realise the importance of the Indian Press having an organisation which could speak for itself, represent its views and protect its interests, whenever they were threatened or injured and hoped, before they parted, that steps might be taken to initiate such an organisation.

Mr. A. Rangaswamy, in his long address, traced the history of the Press Act in India and showed how the Government was obliged to repeat it. Condemning the Ordinance, Mr. Iyengar said—

What is really required, and it is a sore need, is an effective fighting organisation, if not of the entire Press, at least of the entire Indian Press for the maintenance of its "just liberties" and it behoves us to regard it as one of the first duties of all of us on this occasion to seek to put such an effective organisation into working order. We have to call to our aid every honest and fearless journalist who believes that the maintenance of the liberties of the Press is vital to our existence as a nation, and that the latest assault upon those liberties made by the Government should be repelled by all the force and

strength at our command. The methods of agitation and effort to secure our ends need be circumscribed by no formulae so long as they are honourable and are consistent with the self-respect of honest journalists and printers. If there are any among us who believe that by making our representations before the Viceroy and the Government by means of a deputation or otherwise, we shall be able to help the cause, I for one am not prepared to rule out such a procedure in so far as the Press is concerned. If there is again a general feeling that pressure for the repeal of the Ordinance can only be brought by means of an agitation carried on in England or in Europe through a deputation on behalf of the Indian Press, I for one, will, provided it is feasible, not be against it. It may be that until the temper and atmosphere in which the Government are carrying changes and a new policy is set on foot, the chances for the total repeal of the Ordinance are not bright. But whatever might happen to the major political issue, the issue of the liberty of the Press has got to be fought out primarily by the Press and from its stand-point and conception of public interest and public duty; and I have no doubt that a persistent, vigilant and active organisation on behalf of the Press should carry on the plan of campaign that we may decide upon here continuously and unflinchingly until this Act is repealed. If we do this, I have no doubt that not only will the repeal of the Ordinance at an early date become a certainty but also the conditions of the existence of the Indian Press even under this Ordinance can be made less intolerable than they are now.

After prolonged discussion in the Subjects Committee, lasting over five hours, the Conference re-assembled the next day when it adopted unanimously a number of resolutions put from the Chair except one, appreciating the action of some newspapers and Press in Delhi, Lahore, Calcutta and other places, in suspending publications in protest against the arbitrary and improper use of the Ordinance and urging that it should be open to newspapers and Presses, who are hereafter called upon to furnish security and are members of the Conference not to furnish further security if their first security is forfeited.

Another resolution emphatically condemned the Press Ordinance as a measure which is 'abusive of the liberties of the Press and the rights of freedom of opinion and thought of all citizens, and demanded its immediate withdrawal.

As a mark of protest against the Press Ordinance, the Conference decided that there should be 'complete stoppage of all work in the offices of every newspaper, periodical, printing press and other allied trades, on the 20th and 21st of this month.'

### PROF. D. K. KARVE

Prof. D. K. Karve of the Indian Women's University, Poona, has returned to India after an absence of a year abroad during which he toured



PROF. KARVE

England and the Continent, the United States of America, China, Japan, Java and Malaya. The purpose of his tour was to visit the various University centres and educational institutions of the world, to take part in International Educational Conferences and to collect funds for the Women's University. In a statement he has issued on his return home, Prof. Karve says that the "total collections have come to Rs. 27,200 approximately, taking into account all the donations which were directly obtained through this visit, and the expenses are about Rs. 12,700."

### THE UNIVERSITY AND ADMINISTRATION

"The University cannot certify that any student is competent to enter an administrative service," said Professor H. J. Laski at the recent Conference of the Institute of Public Administration.

"The University can offer to those interested in the work of the public services an organised body of subjects most of which already lie at the heart of its own curriculum, e.g., political economy, social philosophy, constitutional law and history.

"I must add to these the study of the administrator's function as a discipline involving principles. The University must seek to analyse, e.g., entrance to and promotion in the public services, the relation of the Minister to his officials, the proper place in a department of the professional expert as problems not less capable of philosophic discussion than judicial appointment, second chambers, the power of the Cabinet.

### WHAT A UNIVERSITY SHOULD BE

A university should be the home of the untrammelled and the unafraid—where eager and sceptical spirits gaze at the phenomenon of mankind and at the far-flung world with frank ingenuous interest, writes Mr. Raymond B. Foadick in the pages of the VIRGINIA QUARTERLY REVIEW. A university should be a place where nothing is taken for granted where everything must prove itself, where any kind of question may be asked, where freedom is unbridled to observe, to think, to write, and speak. . . . Over the doors of our universities might well be written these words: "Here is a home where brave spirits may search and understand." Too often there are no such words. Instead, there is a note scribbled on the gate-post in the language of Luigi Lucatelli: "Farewell, good Sirs: I am leaving for the future. I shall wait for humanity at the cross roads, three hundred years hence."

### HALDANE MEMORIAL

As a memorial to Lord Haldane, a Trust Fund of £100,000 is being set up for the purpose of extending Adult Education.

## MALATMA GANDHI'S ARREST

In view of the incorrect versions of the warrant issued for the arrest of Mr. Gandhi which have appeared in the Press, the text of the actual warrant is hereby published for general information :—

"Whereas the Governor-in-Council, for good and sufficient reasons, has, under the powers vested in him by Regulation XXV of 1827, resolved that Mr. Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi shall be placed under restraint in the Yeravada Central Prison during the pleasure of Government you are hereby directed to secure the said Mr. Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi and arrange to forward him as soon as possible to the Superintendent of the Yeravada Central Prison."

### TEXT OF REGULATION 25 OF 1827

"Whenever the Governor-in-Council may deem necessary to place an individual under restraint, without any immediate view to ulterior proceedings of a judicial nature, it shall be lawful for the Governor-in-Council, provided always that, with reference to the individual, the measure shall not be in breach of British Law, to cause such individual to be apprehended in such manner as the Governor-in-Council may deem fit and when apprehended, to be delivered over to any officer in whose custody it may be deemed expedient that he shall be placed, with a warrant of commitment to such officer's address."

### BOMBAY PRESIDENCY ASSOCIATION'S PROTEST

The Bombay Presidency Association, of which Sir Dinshaw Petit is President, passed a resolution on May 8 strongly protesting against the arrest of Mr. Gandhi without a fair and open trial, and deploring the use made by the Government of a century-old and obsolete Regulation for the purpose. The Council further opined that the existence of such a Regulation on the Statute Book was a disgrace to any civilised Government, and requested the Government to take early steps to repeal the said Regulation.

## THE PESHAWAR DISTURBANCES

Pundit Motilal Nehru, acting President of the All-India Congress Committee, sent the following wire to H. E. the Viceroy and the Chief Commissioner, North-West Frontier Province, Peshawar, on May 8. "As acting President of the All-India Congress Committee, I have appointed a Committee, with Mr. V. J. Patel as Chairman, and Maulana Abdul Kalam Azad, Maulana Abdul Kadir Kasuri, Dr. Saifuddin Kitchlew (since arrested), Santar Sardul Singh Caveeshar, Dr. Satyapal (since arrested), Lala Dinichand of Lahore and Dr. Syed Mahmud, as members, to inquire into the recent happenings at Peshawar. This committee will arrive in Peshawar on Thursday, May 16, and will begin an inquiry on the same or next day.

I request that the Committee be allowed to proceed on their journey and do their work without interference or obstruction. I invite local officials to appear and lay their case before the Committee. I am aware that no official inquiry into the same events has been ordered, but, in the circumstances, such an inquiry will not inspire confidence and a coo official inquiry is highly 'expedient'."

Pundit Motilal Nehru has received a telegram on May 10 from the Chief Commissioner, the North-West Frontier Province, regretting that it is impossible to allow the Peshawar Inquiry Committee to enter the Frontier Province and that steps will be taken to ensure that they are not admitted or allowed to remain in it.

## PANGADUINE

FOUR TIMES AS GOOD AS  
COD LIVER OIL.

An Ideal Tonic for all Weathers

## MR. POLAK ON GANDHIJI

Writing to the MANCHESTER GUARDIAN, Mr. H. S. L. Polak says.

May I be permitted, as one of Mr. Gandhi's former closest associates in South Africa in the practice of passive resistance, with the privilege of enjoying his most intimate confidence and trust,



MR. H. S. L. POLAK

to suggest (the scepticism of some observers notwithstanding) that when he declares that he has, at no time, either by word or by action, intentionally departed from the principle of non-violence; he ought to be taken strictly at his word?

Mr. Gandhi has always elevated the doctrine of non-violence to the level of a spiritual principle, and he has consistently asserted that he regards its use, both in public and in private life, as an invincible moral weapon. He particularly contrasts his non-violence with the "violence" that he automatically associates with the Government that he is opposing. I can, for example, recall that, when anticipating a resumption of the march of the South African passive resisters due to begin on January 1, 1914, he warned his colleagues that they must be prepared for violence, bloodshed, and even death at the hands of the Government forces. He conceived then as now, these

to be the normal and natural method of Government in crushing a movement with which, being spiritual in its nature, Government could not otherwise understand how to deal. Only, he has argued, after the fruitless use of force, does Government ultimately succumb to the spectacle of self-imposed suffering and sacrifice, and thereby is persuaded to righteousness. His recent invitation to women to join actively in his campaign is no new thing. Regarding suffering and sacrifice as the characteristics of their sex, he has always welcomed and indeed urged the collaboration of his countrywomen in his great acts of sacrifice, as he regards them, knowing full well India's chivalrous response to such an appeal.

I am not concerned to defend Mr. Gandhi's actual choice of language. He has always placed his own interpretation upon the language that he has used, and he would say that his words should be interpreted in the sense of his widely proclaimed and constantly reiterated religious convictions. That others may place an entirely different construction upon his language is obvious and natural, but I submit that he is entitled to be believed when he declares that he has never deliberately and of set purpose departed from the spirit of his profoundest convictions. It would not be the first time in history that, labouring under heavy physical over-strain and the stress of overpowering emotion, a leader has uttered words none too carefully chosen, the meaning and purpose of which have been misunderstood by followers and opponents alike.

It has, however, always to be remembered, in considering Mr. Gandhi's psychology, that he is of the stuff of which martyrs are made, and that this would not be the first occasion in his long career of non-violent non-co-operation that he has contemplated and seemed indeed, to invite for himself and his fellow-workers wounds and even death at the hands of their "violently-minded" opponents in his active efforts to remove what he conscientiously regards as a grave and unendurable wrong.

## H. M. THE KING

The newspapers in the United Kingdom, in their leading articles on the 20th anniversary of the



H. M. KING GEORGE

Accession of King George the Fifth, emphasise that His Majesty has seen more changes in the political, social and scientific world than any of his predecessors, the greatest event being the late War. While other thrones have tottered and fallen, the British throne stands firmer than ever before in the confidence of democracy.

## DR. TAGORE ON INDIA

Dr. Rabindranath Tagore, who has hitherto refused to discuss events in India, breaks his silence in a long interview which he gave to THE MANCHESTER GUARDIAN, on May 16, in which he advocates a meeting between the best minds of the East and West in order to reach a frank and honourable understanding, for, in their heart of hearts, the Eastern peoples still acknowledge the greatness of European civilisation, but the present complications cannot be dissipated by repression and a violent display of physical power, but by real greatness of heart which will attract a genuine spirit of co-operation on our side.

## MR. SASIRI ON GANDHIJI

"Release Gandhi: proclaim a general amnesty, give a guarantee that India will be given Dominion Status at the earliest opportunity". These are the three suggestions which the Rt. Hon. Srinivasa Sastri made in the course of a lecture on "How to save India", delivered to the members of the House of Commons in London on May 15. The meeting was attended by members belonging to all the three Parties and was held in the largest Committee Room of the House of Commons.

Mr. Srinivasa Sastri gave a brief outline of the Indian political situation and described the recent developments. He referred to the growth of the civil disobedience movement and pointed out that though there was a good deal of popular support behind Mr. Gandhi's programme, nevertheless there was a large section of Indian opinion that did not see eye to eye with Mr. Gandhi, but still nobody could question Mr. Gandhi's sincerity, and he declared that Mr. Gandhi was undoubtedly the one leader who could truthfully be said to represent India's determined attitude to win Swaraj. Mr. Sastri then proceeded to point out the way out of the present deadlock.

He believed that if only the British Government would make a frank declaration that it was intended to give India Dominion Status at the earliest moment, Mr. Gandhi would accept the declaration and throw in his weight and influence on the side of settlement. He would then exert himself and would be even able to rally even the extremists, who were now clamouring for full and complete independence.

# INOTYOL

FOR ECZEMA AND SKIN DISEASES.

SAFE TO USE. QUICK TO HEAL.



## KING'S CUP RACE IN AVIATION

This year's Air Race for the King's Cup is to be confined to light planes. The course will be one of 750 miles round Britain and the contest will be held in one day instead of being spread over for two days as in the past. The date arranged is July 5th and the start and finish of the race will be at the Hanworth Aero-drome.

There is every prospect of a record entry and a number of women pilots have intimated their intention of piloting their own machines. As many as six planes will probably face the starter. Some champion airmen will be taking part: Lieutenant A.T. Worsely, who flew in a Supermarine S 6 to victory in the last year's Schneider Trophy Race attaining a speed of over 330 miles an hour, and Flight Lieutenant Stainforth, who piloted a high speed Gloster Napier at an equally high speed are flying together in the King's Cup Race. But as only light planes can be used, they will have to be content at the time with a speed of about 85 or 90 miles an hour. Using one of the Royal Air Force racing machines, they could get round in about ten hours.

## FLIGHT BETWEEN ENGLAND AND INDIA

Mr. M. Engineer reached Karachi on the 11th May and has won H. H. the Aga Khan's prize of £500 for the first solo flight by an Indian between India and England. Some other conditions also existed for winning the prize, including that the flight must be completed within four weeks. The latter condition was not fulfilled by Mr. Manmohan Singh who took four weeks and four days in all, he having been detained at Lyons in France for three weeks.

Mr. Manmohan Singh has, however, achieved the distinction of being the first Indian to accomplish a solo flight between England and India.

Mr. Manmohan Singh was presented with a welcome address in a big silver bowl, jointly by the Karachi Indian Merchants' Association and the Btyers' and Shippers' Chamber.

## IMPROVING INDIA'S ATHLETICS

Dr. Otto Peltzer, the well-known German athlete and holder of many world-records, gave a most interesting and valuable demonstration on April 25 before a number of Calcutta athletes, including B. D. Chatterjee, L. Osbourne and athletes from St. Xavier's and Armenian Colleges.

The demonstration was a revelation to local athletes who saw what their faults were. His effortless running (gliding is perhaps the correct word to express the easy graceful rhythmic movement) was an object lesson to all those present. He freely gave advice and answered questions.

Dr. Peltzer said that, with a little more systematic training on right lines, there was no reason why India should not do better at the next Olympic games. He stressed the importance of training the athletes from the right age.

## BILLIARDS

"Billiards is a game having tremendous social, as well as health-giving potentialities," said Miss Joyce Gardoer, the London girl billiards champion, who played with Miss Watts, of Cardiff, in the semi-final of the first British Women's Billiards Tournament.

"For slimming," she told a DAILY HERALD reporter on the 2nd April, "it is unequalled. I can vouch for it, for in a six weeks' tour, playing four hours a day, not counting practice periods, I have lost a stone in weight." Miss Gardner has a break of 230 to her credit, and 28 breaks of over 100 in her three years at the tables.

## COGNET'S HEMONEUROL.

(HÆMOGLOBIN WITH KOLA NUT AND GLYCEROPHOSPHATE OF LIME)

FOR

Exhaustion through overwork or illness.

## THE DELAY OF THE SIMON REPORT

Mr. J. L. Garvin, says the London correspondent of THE ENGLISHMAN of the 5th May, devotes two and a half columns in the OBSERVER to an exposition of the Indian situation in which he says that many authorities with the longest experience of control are convinced that, though the huge problem of India can be steered, to a happy issue, things will go worse before they go better. He proceeds to denounce attacks on the Simon Commission for delaying its report and declares that there is not a vestige of justification for this.

The delay has done nothing whatever to cause or increase the present agitation. On the contrary, it was unavoidable. The delay, he says, has had its public uses and may give the report a better chance of bringing about at the right time a sane change of mind and procedure in India.

Mr. Garvin concludes:—"India, which would surely be lost in the next year or two by mere weakness, cannot be held by mere repression, but must be guided with unflinching nerve and unswerving sympathy.

"It is time for the British people to understand that they are going to have a full chance to show what they are made of to-day. Not for a single moment do we doubt them."

In the House of Commons, Mr. Wedgwood Benn announced on the 12th of this month, that the first volume of the Simon Commission's Report (Historical Survey), would be published on June 10 and the second volume (The Commission's recommendations) would be published on June 21.

## JAMIAT-UL-ULEMA'S DECISION

After three days' strenuous discussion on the question whether Muslims should participate in the struggle for Independence initiated by the Indian National Congress, the Jamiat-ul-Ulema-Hind resolved on the 7th of this month that there is no reason why Muslims should keep aloof.

## MR. JAYAKAR ON COMMUNALISM

In a letter dated May 8 to Sir Parashuram Patro, President, All-Parties' Conference, Mr. M. R. Jayakar, after expressing his inability to attend the meeting on May 15th, says:

"Your conference meets at Bombay at a critical time. Consequently, one main duty before the conference will be to take note of the present situation and possibly suggest a remedy.

"As regards the settlement of the communal question, you know my views which have been confirmed by recent events since I spoke at your conference in Delhi and it is idle to seek a solution for the communal question in this present-day atmosphere. First make the Round Table Conference a complete and hopeful reality and then your conference will be in a better position to arrive at a solution of the communal question, and your conference is obviously ancillary to the Round Table Conference."

But on the 13th of this month, the Viceroy announced that the meeting of the Round Table Conference would take place on or about the 20th of October.

## EARTHQUAKE IN BURMA

Pegu town has practically been wiped out by the three terrible earthquake shocks that occurred there on the 7th of this month. Details of the devastation show that buildings collapsed like card-houses, burying the inmates and persons in the streets, and furious fires broke out as a result of electric wires fusing.

## COGNET'S CAPSULES

(CONTAINS EUCALYPTOL, PURE, BEECHWOOD CREOSOTE AND IODOFORM)

FOR

Coughs & Colds

- April 18. Mr. Gandhi nominates Pandit Motilal Nehru as President of the A.I.C.C.
- April 19. The Bengal Ordinance has been revived.
- April 20. Messrs. K. Nageswara Rao and G. Ruoghiah Naidu are sentenced to 6 months' R. I.
- April 21. Sir R. E. Holland has been reappointed to the India Council.
- April 22. Mr. K. M. Munshi has been sentenced to 6 months' S. I. and Rs. 200 fine.
- April 23. The Three-Power treaty on Naval disarmament is signed.
- April 24. The Military open fire on the mob in Peshawar resulting in 22 deaths.
- April 25. Mr. V. J. Patel resigns the Presidency of the Assembly.
- April 26. Mr. Mahadev Desai is sentenced to 6 months' S. I. for breaking Salt Law.



THE PRINCE OF WALES

- April 27. H.R.H. The Prince of Wales returns to London after his long safari in Africa.
- April 28. Viceroy promulgates an Ordinance reviving the Indian Press Act of 1910.
- April 29. Mr. Kalelkar, Principal of the Ojjerat Vidyalaya, is arrested and sentenced.
- April 30. The Calcutta Corporation elects Mr. J. M. Sen Gupta who is in jail as mayor.
- May 1. Mr. Dera Das Gandhi has been sentenced to 1 year's R.I.
- May 2. Viceroy promulgates Ordinance for the trial of Lahore conspiracy prisoners.
- May 3. The nationalist newspapers of Calcutta stop publication.
- May 4. Mr. Gandhi is arrested under Regulation 25 of 1827 and is interned at Yerawada.

- May 5. H.E. the Viceroy opens the Opium Conference in Simla.
- May 6. Anglo-Egyptian negotiations begin.
- May 7. Bombay gives an enthusiastic reception to Mr. Patel, ex-President of the Assembly.
- May 8. Abbas Tyabji leads Volunteers.
- May 9. The Anglo-Egyptian relations break down.
- May 10. Mr. John Masefield is appointed Poet Laureate.
- May 11. H.H. The Begum of Bhopal is dead.
- May 12. Abbas Tyabjee and 59 volunteers are arrested.
- May 13. Viceroy announces the date of the Round Table Conference.
- May 14. Mrs. Bhikmani Lakshminipathi is sentenced to 1 year's S.I.
- May 15. All-India Journalists' Conference meets in Bombay.



# THE INDIAN REVIEW

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## PROTECTION FOR THE INDIAN COTTON INDUSTRY

BY THE HON. SIR JEHANGIR COYAJEE,

*Professor, Presidency college, Calcutta.*

THE scope of application of the economic argument for protection has been enlarged considerably since the days when Mill enunciated the case for protection to infant industries. In a book on "the Indian Fiscal Problem" which I wrote some years ago I pointed out that this is due to the necessity of meeting the menace from the constantly growing aggressive capacities of well-established industries. Such capacities are the result of potentialities inherent in mass production and skilfully contrived export policies. It is due to the development of such dynamic elements of strength that economists consider an extension of protection for a suitable period allowable even in the case of old industries which are temporarily atrophied or depressed owing to overwhelming or unfair foreign competition or to exceptional domestic circumstances. From this point of view there is abundant justification for the scheme of protection put forward by Sir George Schuster for the textile industry of India.

In fact in the case of our textile industry the depression is due to an accumulation of difficulties which are partly of domestic and partly of foreign origin. At home the industry was shaken to its foundations by

the labour troubles. There is also good reason to point to a certain amount of over-production of the sort of cloth in demand. Thus during the decade preceding the year 1927-28 the local production increased by over 700 million yards and the imports by 400 million yards. Thus the country has been asked to absorb 40 per cent. more of cloth and that in a period of depression too. While on this topic it might be noted that between the years 1923-24 and 1928-29 the up-country mills increased their production by no less than 1356 million yards i. e. by 60 per cent.

As regards foreign competition it might be first emphasised that the imports from Lancashire have been stagnating for the last decade. The real menace has come mainly from Japan and as long ago as 1925-26 the Bombay mill-owners have been demanding protection against it. The word menace is not used here in any deprecatory sense however. For though to some extent the competition from Japan is unfair and due to inferior labour conditions this is only a temporary phase which is passing away while there are many other factors of a permanent character which make—and will always make—Japan the most formidable

competitor of India. In his recent report on the cotton industry of Japan an expert like Mr. Arno S. Pearse shows that it owes its success to factors like the group instinct, her efficient system of buying cotton and her magnificent industrial organisation. The labour in Japanese mills is docile, educated and can bear comparison with the operatives of any other country. It is such factors that account for her great powers of export in recent years.

	1923.	1928.	1927.
	(In thousands of yards)		
British India ...	590,614	357,510	245,124
Dutch East Indies ...	194,663	172,708	123,696
China ...	673,461	633,675	354,334
Others ...	330,461	271,910	209,476
Total ...	1,789,695	1,418,794	976,632

It is obvious from the figures that this all-round growth of exports is due to the general factor of superior efficiency and not to a particular cause like the 1s. 6d. ratio.

Having analysed the causes of depression in our textile industry it needs only to emphasise the fact that the new ratio is in no way responsible for the troubles of the industry. Those who hold the view that the 1s. 6d. ratio has harmed the industry might be invited to explain why for four years after the inauguration of the new ratio the production and exports of price goods in India went on making new records. If the ratio was hindering our exports and helping foreign imports how is the fall of imports from the United Kingdom since the year 1924-25 to be accounted for? The figures of our textile imports in the Hardy Report are conclusive upon the point. That Report also emphasises the great increase in local output of textiles as soon as exchange settled in the neighbourhood of 1s. 6d. In fact between the

years 1923-24 and 1928-29 the output of up country mills increased by no less than 60 per cent. Again the increase in the imports from Japan is a much later phenomenon than the change in the ratio. Nor should it be forgotten that the increase of Japanese exports is not confined to India but is also witnessed by Dutch East Indies and China. In the face of these undisputed facts it is difficult to see any connection between the new ratio and the troubles of our textile industry.

So far we have examined the case for protection to the textile industry, and from the economist's point of view it is clear and convincing. For even those who emphasise the "sins" of our mill-owners cannot but admit that the industry is labouring under an unusual complex of difficulties both domestic and foreign—at home, the hack of the industry was broken by that last straw—the labour troubles, while from abroad there has been a steady growth of over-whelming competition. That portion of the competition which is due to unfair competition has received due emphasis. But the danger is far greater from the steady and great development of the textile power of Japan. Thus there are cumulative grounds for extending protection to the textile industry—not only the temporary atrophy due to labour troubles but an overwhelming attack from abroad.

Coming now to the scheme of protection projected by Sir George Schuster we find that a great controversy has been raging on the subject. The important issues in that controversy are reducible to three and we shall discuss them seriatim.

The first issue is whether in accepting the proposed scheme we are adopting Imperial

Preference as a policy. Here we must be careful to avoid any confusion between the acceptance of Imperial Preference and the adoption of a policy of differential duties. While the main object and motive of the former policy is a regard for the interests of the United Kingdom, the employment of differential duties by any country has for its object its own advantage. From the first the case of our mill-owners has been that the domestic industry requires special protection against Japan. It would be the very negation of judicious or discriminating protection to levy the same duties upon the products of countries which enjoy unfair as well as overwhelming advantages and upon those of countries from which there is not even a remote possibility of economic menace. And yet it is proposed by some critics to grant over-protection to the domestic industry and to tax the local consumer unnecessarily only to gratify the political sentiment against anything which resembles or savours of Imperial Preference.

In the second place, it is easy to exaggerate the benefit that might accrue to Lancashire from the system of differential duties. Looking to the fact that we have been beating Lancashire for years and gained ground with import duties of 11 per cent. and less, we can be sure that it is not likely to turn tables on us with duties raised much higher. We know that with an 11 per cent. duty imports of Lancashire cloth have been stagnating, we also know that in the five years between 1923-24 and 1928-29 our up-country mills increased their production by no less than 60 per cent.; and we can safely infer from all this that by far the—greater part of the gap left by the reduction

of Japanese imports will be filled by the increased production of India.

But it has been further contended that the scheme of differential duties amounts to the taxation of Indian masses in the interests of Lancashire. Those who argue on this line might be reminded that the larger the duty we place on English imports the smaller will their volume be; for it must be remembered that even with an 11 per cent. duty the textile imports have been stagnating. But further we must remember that a part of the heavier duty might be ultimately paid not so much by English exporters as by Indian consumers of English imports. We might well remember that the real incidence of import duties is a highly complicated problem.

Having considered the nature and character of the proposed scheme of protection we might proceed to a subject of far greater importance—the proper utilization of that protection. For we must not make the mistake of under-rating the menace to which our textile industry is exposed from the constantly increasing and progressive manufacturing power of Japan. The advantage of Japan is not all due to unfair competition though some of us in India would fain believe so—and even a 20 per cent. duty might fail to achieve equality between highly progressive and very conservative producers of textiles. It is fortunate that there is a fairly general consensus as regards the main lines upon which the task of rehabilitation of the textile industry is to be carried out. It is generally recognised that among the instrumentalities to be utilised for achieving such progress the chief place has to be given to rationalisation of the industry and the improvement of the system of management.

both upon its financial and technical side. The problems of technical education also do not occupy an unimportant place in our programme. At the same time every effort has to be made to secure the co-operation, efficiency and contentment of our labour force. On all these matters there is much to be learned from experience, particularly from our present great rival Japan. *Fas est ab hostes docere.*

Coming to the proposals for rationalisation attention might be directed in the first place to the lines on which it is being carried on abroad. Lancashire is proving an apt pupil of rationalisation as a result of its efforts towards the reduction of costs of production. There we have the Lancashire Cotton Corporation which has been absorbing spinning mills and weaving sheds and which now supervises about 50 companies. There is also the corporation called the Combined Egyptian Mills, Ltd, which has also been making considerable progress. It is further to be emphasised that Lancashire can show both aspects of amalgamation—the vertical and the horizontal.

In India projects are at present being worked out for the introduction of rationalisation. At first sight it would appear as if the large groups of our mills which are under common management could afford the right starting points and sufficient bases for rationalisation. But in the opinion of experts a broader basis is required for successful rationalization and that the groups do not by themselves afford an adequately wide basis. The cardinal matter to be seen to is the state of demand in each particular line of textile manufacture and in

correspondence to this there will be a specialisation of mills in the respective line. Of course the task of rationalisation is particularly difficult in the case of the Indian textile industry. For apart from the inertia of individual millowners, there is the problem of financing the movement. Further, the Indian mill industry is spread over a vast area and in that area the distribution of comparative advantage is very uneven. Finally the attitude of labour towards the forces of rationalisation might be more favourable than it has been in the past.

But rationalisation is only a part of the process of organisation which is necessary for the rehabilitation of the industry. Besides rationalisation there are the problems of improving the managing organisation of individual mills—in particular that of the reform or replacement of the Managing Agency system. Even those who are friendly to the system are conscious of the defects inherent in it and the Textile Tariff Board has made numerous suggestions for remedying the defects in the system especially for securing technical equipment in such firms. It is to be hoped that these friendly suggestions will be acted upon without loss of time. The problem of substituting a better system in its entirety is a long period problem requiring much development of financial resource. But ultimately our organisation will be on the lines which has been so successful and general in more advanced countries and each mill or group of mills will be run by a board of live directors, among which there will be a managing director who will deserve such responsibility by his equipment both on the technical and financial side. But it can also be foreseen that a price will have to be

paid for such an overhauling of the system and a certain amount of voluntary liquidation will be found necessary to get rid of old trammels as well as for amalgamation.

Next in importance to the problems of rationalisation and of the introduction of co-operative buying and selling is that of industrial education and research. Had the Tata Research Institute been located, as some far-sighted people had proposed, in the vicinity of Bombay it would have formed an invaluable part of the equipment of the local industry. What would Bombay give now to possess conveniently near it such a priceless instrument of progress? But besides such an institution we must make provision not only for the education of future managers and experts but that of the rank and file of employees. It has been well pointed out recently with the proper type of education we can induce the comparatively educated people of the middle class to enter the mills and to work up from the rank of labour. While this would on the one hand improve considerably the quality, intelligence and enterprise of labour the movement would on the other hand solve in an important measure the problem of middle class unemployment. In that case we should have a quality and mental attitude of labour comparable to the American type—labour not

hostile to capital for each unit of labour would look forward to becoming a capital.

The peculiar problem of labour in the Indian textile industry is at least as baffling as those of organisation and education. Rarely is there anywhere such an accumulation of complexities and difficulties. On the one hand our textile labour is in the grip of a tyrannical and corrupt class of jobbers, while on the other hand it is incessantly worked upon by the propaganda of Communism. No time or opportunity was left by this movement for the birth and infancy of a genuine Trade Unionism. The result is natural that labour does not know its own mind and we need not be surprised that ultimately it opposed bitterly that proposal for standardisation of labour which had been put forward by itself. An immense field of labour lies before us here in solving the problems of standardisation of wages, of unemployment insurance, of the development of a sound and sane trade unionism and the evolution of the machinery for industrial peace. Here is an unequalled field of co-operative effort for the industrialist, the economist and the social worker. It is to be hoped that the Labour Commission now sitting will give us all the required lead and guidance in the matter.

## Restriction of Indian Immigration Into Ceylon\*

By Sr. NIHAL SINGH.

THE Agenda of the Ceylon Legislative Council contains a motion designed to restrict Indian immigration into the Island. It has been cleverly framed. Its author (the Hon'ble Mr. C. E. Victor Corea, Member for Colombo Town, North) seeks to achieve that object without directly mentioning India.

The motion reads:

This Council is of opinion that in the interests of the indigenous population, the Government (of Ceylon) should take immediate steps to restrict immigration into this country.

\* This article must not be reprinted nor translated outside India without first securing the written consent of the Author.

Indians, it must be admitted, are not the only people who enter Ceylon. Britons come for purposes of ruling the Island, exploiting its agricultural, and industrial resources and utilising financial and commercial opportunities. Persons from the continent of Europe; too, arrive and engage in trade. So do Americans, Japanese and Chinese.

The numbers of these Europeans, Americans and non-Indian Asiatics is, however, small. If they were counted the total would probably range round about ten thousand persons.

The Indian population in Ceylon is, on the other hand, quite large. The exact figure is



not available but according to the estimate recently made by an Irish member of the Ceylon Civil Service who, at the time, was entrusted by the Ceylon Government with the superintendence of "Indian Immigrant Labour (the Hon'able Mr. T. Reid), it somewhat exceeded 900,000 persons in 1928.

Statistics issued under the authority of the Ceylon Government show that during recent years the Indian population in Ceylon has increased under the stimulus applied to recruitment in southern India through a system supported with funds collected almost entirely from British and Ceylonese planters and largely worked through their own agency. Making due allowance for departures, something like 65,000 persons have, through this means, been annually added, on an average to the Ceylon-Indian population during the quinquennium beginning with 1924 and ending with 1928.

India is, it will thus be seen, the only country from which there is any large volume of migration. The motion on the Ceylon Legislative Council Agenda Paper, to which I am referring, can, therefore, be directed against Indians—and no one else.

## II

It must be said to the credit of the author of this motion that though he refrains from making any direct reference to Indians in the terms in which he has couched it, he has never sought to hide the fact that his efforts were intended to be directed towards the reduction of the Indian population in Ceylon, or at any rate, towards arresting the further growth of that population. In talk in private as well as public places he has expressed his determination to restrict Indian immigration.

Mr. Corea has so far refused, however, to indicate the nature of the "immediate steps" he is anxious for the Ceylon Government to take to further the object he has in view. He has not yet even told the public how drastic an action he wishes the authorities to take—whether all Indians are to be excluded or only a limited number of them are, in future to be

admitted; and if the latter, just how many are to be permitted to land—by hundreds or thousands. Nor has he indicated the class of Indians that he would have barred out—whether merchants and petty shop-keepers or manual workers on plantations and in towns, or all. He has yet to say what class or classes of Indians he is trying to exclude.

The author of the anti-Indian motion in the Ceylon Legislative Council cannot say that the opportunity to reveal his mind has been denied him. Many motions put on the Agenda Paper subsequent to his have come up before the Council and been disposed of. I have little doubt that on the plea of urgency he could easily have claimed the attention of the House: but so far, he has preferred to stay his hand.

Can it be that the Member for Colombo North is anxious to let the matter drop? A suggestion to that effect has been made to me by more than one of his colleagues in the Legislative Council. One of his co-workers, indeed, spoke of this motion as a "political stunt" of which its author is sick.

Whether there is anything in that remark or not, I cannot say. I know, however, that the motion has been appearing on the Agenda Paper from day to day, week to week, month to month. If Mr. Corea did not mean to proceed with it, he would have withdrawn it long ago. He is probably waiting for the psychological moment to bring the subject forward.

This Sinhalese politician is, in any case, not the only one in Ceylon who is desirous of restricting Indian immigration into the Island. There are several leaders—mostly Buddhist by religion—*permanents*—who hold the same view. Some of them have a considerable following. There is, in consequence, talk of Indian exclusion at meetings held in Cofornbo and other towns—more particularly towns in the southern part of the Island, where hatred of the Tamils is intense.

numbers of Indians were coming into the Island of their own initiative and at their own expense, settling down in urban areas and engaging in competition with the sons of the soil—competition which the Sinhalese find ruinous.—that there was no movement India-wards—and that an intolerable position was being reached.

Statements of the same tenor appear from time to time in the newspapers. Great prominence is, I am told, being given to them in the Sinhalese press.

The impression is, in consequence, spreading that the number of Indians who do not work on plantations has, during recent years, been growing "by leaps and bounds," and if drastic measures are not taken forthwith the Sinhalese will be driven out of their jobs in the (Colombo) harbour, in Government and other factories and workshops, and even domestic service. Some Sinhalese workers are becoming excited and grave consequences may follow.

This impression is not warranted by the facts. The Indians in Ceylon other than those engaged in work on plantations constitute a small fraction of the Ceylonese population and the number is not increasing at a rate that need alarm any honest Ceylonese.

According to figures recently published under the authority of the Ceylon Government, the number of Indians engaged in one or another branch of Government and Municipal services, trade, and industry, and labour—both skilled and unskilled—together with all their dependents, cannot be more than two lakhs of persons. I arrive at this result by deducting the number of Indian plantation workers and their dependents (739,316 persons)—from the total Indian population in Ceylon (say 935,000) persons\*.

The Sinhalese, Ceylon Tamils, Ceylon Muslims and Burghers—the so-called "permanent population"—are estimated to number forty-

two lakhs or more. Less than two lakhs of "free" Indians—that is to say, Indians who are not tied down to plantations—cannot be said to constitute a menace.

It is quite possible to raise a scare by pointing to the number of Indians who enter Ceylon from year to year. Such a procedure is, however, neither reasonable nor fair.

Allowance must be made, first of all, for Indians who do not come to Ceylon of their own accord, but are BROUGHT to the Island—Indians taken to plantations and kept there in conditions that the Sinhalese publicists themselves describe as savouring of semi-slavery.

It is necessary also to make the allowance for the number of "free" Indians who leave Ceylon year by year.

The outflow to India has, in some years, been nearly as great as the inflow into the Island. There have been years, in fact, when the number of "free" Indians leaving Ceylon exceeded that of the "free" Indian immigrants entering the country.

I have carefully gone through the figures relating to recent years, published under the authority of the Ceylon Government, and find that they entirely support this conclusion.

During the quinquennium ending with 1928, for instance, 568,428 Indians arrived in Ceylon without the assistance of any agency—planting or otherwise.

During the same period 555,142 non-plantation Indian workers and their dependents left Ceylon.

There was, in other words, an excess of 12,286 Indians who entered Ceylon of their own initiative over the number of such Indians who departed from the Island. The annual net gain, on an average, was thus only 2,457 persons.

That rate of increase can certainly not be described as alarming. It is small compared with the total number of "free" Indians in Ceylon (say two lakhs in all). It certainly is small compared with the rate at which the Ceylonese population is increasing.

\* These figures, as all the others I have used in this article, have been taken from the *Report of the Controller of Indian Immigrant Labour for 1928*, published under the authority of the Ceylon Government.

The anti-Indian agitators have not studied the facts and figures relating to the arrival in and departure from the Island of "free" Indians, or they are purposely magnifying the rate at which such Indian population is growing, to rouse racial rancour. No other explanation is possible.

Can it be that the agitators are inimical towards the planters (most of them British) and are trying to hit them by disorganizing and eventually cutting down their labour supply?

I will let the facts speak for themselves :

(1) Sometime ago the Ceylon Legislative Council took action that has made it impossible for the Government to sell land to planters. The feeling ran so high in the Chamber that though several of the M.L.C.'s are capitalists more or less directly concerned in planting, nothing could be done to arrest such action. The executive has considered it wise to comply with the legislative will in this matter, and, in consequence, extension of planting areas had ceased long before prices of rubber and tea fell. The aggrieved planters drew the attention of the Donoughmore Commission to this fact.

(2) Be this as it may, the expansion of rubber and tea plantation during recent years would not have been possible but for the additional labour imported by the planters. The supply of workers in Ceylon was utterly inadequate. Figures gathered by the Controller of Indian Immigrant Labour and published under the authority of the Ceylon Government show that, making allowance for Indian plantation workers who, together with their dependents return to India, the Indian plantation population in Ceylon considerably increased during the quinquennium that ended with 1928. Here are the figures:

During 1924-28 (both years inclusive) the number of Indians whom the planters brought to Ceylon—or "assisted" Indians, as—the British and Ceylon capitalists like to call them—was 674,430 persons.

Only 351,661 Indians were estimated to have left the plantations during the same quinquennium,

There was, in other words, a net gain of 351,661 persons; or an increase of 70,322 persons, on an average, a year.

If the Sinhalese are seeking to prevent further areas in the Island from passing into the hands of capitalists—particularly Britons—the exclusion of Indians would certainly accomplish that object. In that case it would only be necessary for them to induce the Ceylon Government to disband the costly department of Indian Immigrant Labour, shut up its camps at Mandapam, Tuticorin and Tataprai, order the so-called Labour Commission to close all its depots and offices and make it a penal offence for a *kangany* or other agent to go to India on a recruiting expedition and punish heavily those who, in contravention of such regulations, are caught in the act of bringing Indian labour into the country. If anything like such action be taken, the number of Indian arrivals would automatically fall.

The planters are, however, a power in the land to be reckoned with. Will they permit the Government to take any action that would have the effect of stopping—or even curtailing—the supply of cheap and docile labour, which they secure through the expenditure of great effort and some thirty-two lakhs of rupees a year?

Unless that avenue of artificially stimulated immigration from India is to be sealed up, the demand for Indian exclusion is a meaningless cry inspired by sheer malevolence upon the part of some Sinhalese.

## FREEDOM.

Freedom, as I understand it, is fellowship.  
Fellowship with Humanity.  
England is not free, Nor Soviet Russia.  
For imperialism thrives on exploitation of the weak.

And Bolshevism with all its feeling for the poor is wanting in rich reverence for man as man. In Trotsky's book on "Lenin" is recorded a saying of Lenin:—"Do you think we can be victors without the most severe revolutionary terror?"

A new era will not open until governments renounce repression and all worship of Lenin's God,—the necessity of Terror."

A new era will begin when nations resist war and all counsels of hate and strife.

T. L. VASWANI.

# The Problem of Indian Minorities

BY

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MINORITIES exist not merely in India but in most of the States of Europe. The consideration and solution of their problems in all their possible bearings and conceivable complications bulked largely in the schemes of post-War reconstruction and settlement adopted by the common consent of the leading Powers of the world by the League of Nations. What are known as the Minorities Guarantee Treaties form important and integral parts of the many Peace Treaties concluded between the Powers concerned through the instrumentality of the League of Nations to whom belongs the authority to enforce those Treaties. So much business has naturally arisen in connexion with the duties and obligations the League has undertaken in this regard that it has had to establish a separate section in its Secretariat called the Minorities Section to cope with that business. The main part of this business is the receipt of complaints connected with the provisions of Minorities Treaties for which a regular procedure has been set up within the administrative machinery and organisation of the League.

It will thus appear that all problems connected with Minorities in all their variety and complexity have been finally solved, settled, and closed for a large part of the world, for practically the entire civilised world of those Powers or States (numbering 54 up to 1st July, 1923) that have registered themselves as members of the League of Nations. India is also one of these, nay, she is an original member of this League who has herself taken her full share in the deliberations and conversations of the Peace Conference at Paris which led ultimately to the formulation of

the Minorities Treaties. But not only is the problem of Minorities solved for the rest of the world. The solution now forms the very basis upon which rest the new states and constitutions of Eastern or reconstructed Europe.

The following list shows the names of the States that have accepted the Minorities Guarantee Treaties and the dates on which they had signed the Treaties:

- (1) Albania [2nd October, 1921.]
- (2) Austria [16th July, 1920.]
- (3) Bulgaria [9th August, 1920.]
- (4) Estonia [17th September, 1923.]
- (5) Finland [27th June, 1921.]
- (6) Greece [30th August, 1920; 9th and 30th August, 1924.]
- (7) Hungary [6th July, 1921.]
- (8) Latvia [7th July, 1923.]
- (9) Lithuania [12th May, 1922.]
- (10) Memel [8th May, 1924.]
- (11) Poland [10th January, 1920.]
- (12) Roumania [16th July, 1920; 4th September, 1920; 26th July, 1921.]
- (13) Serb-Croat-Slovene kingdom [10th September, 1919; 16th July, 1920; 26th July, 1921.]
- (14) Upper Silesia [3rd June, 1922.]
- (15) Czechoslovakia [16th July, 1920.]
- (16) Turkey [29th July, 1923.]
- (17) Germany [July 3, 1922.]

All these treaties binding so many States and peoples in the new order established in Europe embody a common treatment, a universal and standardised solution of all possible problems presented by Minorities, produced by collective wisdom and statesmanship of the world as represented in the League of Nations. It will also be observed that they use the same standardised wording as

the expression of a common understanding for the provisions pertaining to Minorities.

If we analyse these provisions, we shall find that they answer all the points and problems presented by Minorities in India, and that in the precise, logical and legal language of jurists who are considered as experts and specialists by the League of Nations. Some of the questions that are settled and solved in these Minority Treaties are indicated below.

I. *What is a Minority?* The first step taken in these Treaties is to define the Minority that is legally eligible for special treatment and protection outside the common administration of the state. It is a grave and serious position for any group of citizens of a modern state to claim, and to be permitted, to organise itself as a separate entity on the basis of special rights and privileges. Therefore, it was felt that the term *Minority* should be applied under certain understood conditions. These are: (1) That a Minority must differ from the majority of the citizens of a state in such fundamental matters as (a) *Language* (b) *Religion* and (c) *Race* [Article 93 of Polish Treaty of 28th June, 1919];

(2) That a Minority must come up to a certain limit as to size. All the Treaties require the Minority to constitute "a considerable proportion of the population." A mere microscopic Minority does not come within their purview. Indeed, that the Minority must be possessed of an adequate strength of numbers will be evident from the assumption that it must be numerous enough to keep alive and promote a separate language of its own. Some of the Treaties also define what is meant by the expression "considerable proportion of the population." The proportion is much larger for local areas, and is lower for the state as a whole. For the state as a whole, numerical limit for a Minority is fixed at 25 per cent. In the Polish Republic, at 23 per cent. to accommodate the German Minority in Czecho-Slovakia, and at

20 per cent. in Hungary. The limit of 20 per cent. is, however, recognised as the irreducible minimum in these international stipulations [see p. 120 of *Mal's Protection of Minorities*, London, 1928]. As regards local areas, the numerical standard laid down is much higher. The theory seems to be that a Minority is not at liberty to distribute itself through a province or district in any way it likes. If it is desirous of special treatment, it should appear in longer numbers, it should congregate and concentrate, in certain areas, to render such treatment administratively and economically feasible. It must so distribute itself through the different parts of a province that it registers everywhere a certain degree of density and does not dwindle anywhere into thinness that is not recognisable. The requirement in this regard as embodied in one of the constitutional stipulations (the Hungarian Decree of 1919) is that Minorities must "live in sufficiently considerable compact masses in the territory of the state." The Estonian as well as the Hungarian constitution definitely lays down that a Minority should convert itself into a majority in the areas in which it claims special treatment. The significance of this provision will be understood from the fact that Estonia as a whole has a minority forming only 12 per cent. of her total population, and this small Minority is itself a heterogeneous and composite composition comprising 1.7 per cent. Germans and the balance Russians and others.

The League was not content with laying down these numerical limits merely theoretically. Cases are on record to show that it strictly enforces these limits. In one district in Poland, the Government "forced the children of German-speaking parents to attend Polish Schools" on the ground that the Germans concerned failed to form "a considerable proportion of the population," as required by the Treaty. Similarly, the Lithuanian Government took advantage of decrease of numbers shown in the

last Census to deprive the Polish Minority of their rights. The Austrian Government took the same action against the Czech Minority whose complaint to the League of Nations failed, because "they considered that the population of Czecha was not in any part of Austria sufficiently large to enable them to claim special privileges [pp. 93, 102, and 103 of Mair's book already cited].

As a result of these international decisions, the Indian position in respect of Minorities is as follows :

(a) For India as a whole, for purposes of her central or federal Government, the Moslems forming about 24% of the total population constitute a legally eligible Minority.

(b) In the provinces of India taken separately, the Moslems are either in a majority, or in a minority too small for recognition, as in the U.P., Bihar, Madras, etc.

(c) The Minority problem becomes a Hindu problem in the Provinces like Punjab and Bengal where the Hindus form more than 45% of the total population, a much higher proportion than the prescribed international minimum.

Thus the definition of a Minority as fixed by the League of Nations is (i) that it must differ from the rest of the citizens of the state in Race, Religion and Language and (ii) that it must be in considerable numerical strength in the country, at least 20% of the population, and in larger numbers in local areas.

When these two conditions for eligibility are fulfilled by a Minority, the league defines the kind and degree of protection to which it is entitled. The protection in all the Treaties is invariably threefold: *Religious, Racial and Linguistic*. The protection is strictly confined to these 'three aspects'. No recognition is given by the League to any other kind of Minority, political (such as Liberals or Communists), social (like Brahmins, non-Brahmins or depressed classes), or economic (peasants or industrial labourers).

The theory of Minority protection behind these provisions of the Treaties is that the *protection* is not permissible for any artificial or accidental aspects or features which a Minority may assume or acquire in its career. It is meant only for its native, inherent, and fundamental features, its cultural characteristics. These must be protected, so that the minority may enrich the culture of mankind by developing its own distinctive culture. But the State cannot encourage superficial differences or artificial and interested groupings not rooted in history or tradition.

We shall now present the provisions of the Treaties dealing with Racial, Religious and Linguistic Protection.

#### I. RACIAL AND RELIGIOUS PROTECTION

(1) Treaty of Lausanne signed on 20th July 1923 between Turkey on one side and British Empire, France, Italy, Japan, Greece, Roumania and the Serb-Croat-Slovene State on the other side :

Art. 39—"All inhabitants of Turkey shall be entitled to free-exercise, whether in public or private, of any creed, religion, or belief, the observance of which shall not be incompatible with public order and good morals.

Art. 40—"Turkish nationals belonging to non-Moslem minorities shall enjoy the same treatment and security in law and in fact as other Turkish nationals.

In particular, they shall have an equal right to establish, manage, and control at their own expense any charitable, religious, and social institutions, any schools and other establishments for instruction and education, with the right to use their own language and to exercise their own religion therein."

Art. 42—"The Turkish Government undertakes to take, as regards non-Moslem Minorities, in so far as concerns their family law or personal status, measures permitting the settlement of these questions in accordance with the customs of those Minorities.

These measures will be elaborated by special commissions composed of representatives of the Turkish Government, and of representatives of each of the Minorities concerned in equal number. In case of divergence, the Turkish Government and the Council of the League of Nations will appoint in agreement an umpire chosen from amongst European lawyers."

#### (2) ESTHONIAN CONSTITUTION

"Racial Minorities in the country have the right to establish autonomous institutions for the preservation and development of their national culture and to maintain special organisations for their welfare, so far as is not incompatible with the interests of the state."

### (3) GERMAN-POLISH CONVENTION OF MAY 15, 1922

Art. 78: "The fact that associations devote themselves to the interests of Minorities as regards their language, culture, religion, ethnical character or social relations cannot constitute a reason for prohibiting these associations, hindering their activities or preventing them from acquiring legal status."

Art. 81: "Nationals belonging to Minorities shall have the right to establish, manage and control, at their own expense, charitable, religious, cultural and social institutions."

### (4) TREATY WITH SERB-CROAT-SLOVENE STATE OF 10TH SEPTEMBER, 1929

Art. 10: "The Serb-Croat-Slovene State agrees to grant to the Mussulmans in the matter of family law and personal status provisions suitable for regulating these matters in accordance with Mussulman usage."

II. *Linguistic Protection.* On this subject, the articles of the *German-Polish Convention of May 15, 1922* give definite details and regulations as indicated below:

Art. 105: "The needs of the Minorities as regards public elementary education shall be supplied by means of the following educational institutions:

- (a) Elementary schools employing the Minority Language as the language of instructions—i.e., *Minority Schools*;
- (b) Elementary classes employing the Minority Language as the language of instruction, established in the elementary schools employing the official language—i.e., *Minority classes*;

(c) Minority courses, including:

- (1) Teaching of the Minority language (*Minority Language Courses*);
- (2) Religious teaching in the Minority language (*Minority Religious Courses*)."

Art. 106: § 1—"A Minority School shall be established on the application of a national supported by the persons legally responsible for the education of at least 40 children of a linguistic minority, provided these children are nationals of the state and that they belong to the same school district, that they are of the age at which education is compulsory, and that their parents intend to send them to the said school."

If at least 40 of these children belong to the same denomination or religion, a Minority School of the denominational or religious character desired shall be established on application.

Should the establishment of a Minority School be inexpedient for special reasons, Minority classes should be formed."

Art. 103—"Minority educational institutions may not be closed unless the number of their pupils for three consecutive school years is less than the number required for their establishment."

Nevertheless the school may be closed at the end of one school-year if throughout that year the number of pupils has been lower than half the number required."

Arts. 117 and 111: These lay down regulations on similar lines for "Secondary and Higher Schools."

As many as 300 pupils are required to claim separate *Minority Schools* for secondary and higher education, 30 pupils and 20 pupils respectively for the lower and higher classes for Minorities in the public schools, 25 pupils for separate *Minority Language* and 18 for *Religious courses* in the public schools.

Art. 122—"Minority educational institutions (secondary and higher) may be closed if for three consecutive school years the number of their pupils is lower by at least 20% than the number required for their establishment."

If during one year the number of pupils is less than half the number required for its establishment, the educational institution may be closed at the end of the school year."

### THE LAUSANNE TREATY WITH TURKEY OF JULY 24, 1923.

Art. 41—"As regards public instruction, the Turkish Government will grant to those towns and districts, where a considerable proportion of non-Moslem nationals are resident, adequate facilities for ensuring that in the primary schools the instruction shall be given to the children of such Turkish nationals through the medium of their own language. This provision will not prevent the Turkish Government from making the teaching of the Turkish language obligatory in the said schools."

In towns and districts where there is a considerable proportion of Turkish nationals belonging to non-Moslem Minorities, these Minorities shall be assured an equitable share in the enjoyment and application of the sums which may be provided out of public funds under the State, Municipal or other budgets for educational, religious or charitable purposes."

Art. 110: "The Minority Schools shall receive a share, proportionate to the number of their pupils, of the funds allowed from the budgets of the school districts for the ordinary maintenance of elementary schools, apart from general administration expenses and grants-in-aid.

Art. 120: "If a private (secondary or higher) Minority school replaces a State secondary or higher school existing on the date of the transfer of sovereignty, it shall be entitled to a grant from public funds:

(a) Provided that the income of the school does not cover its necessary expenses. Income derived from school fees shall be estimated on the basis of at least the school fee charged in State schools of the same kind.

(b) And provided that the number of pupils who are nationals of the State amounts to either a total of 153, or an average of 30 per class in the four lower or 20 in the other classes.

Art. 130—"Grants may only be made by communes or groups of communes if the commune or group of communes in whose area the private school is situated makes grants to State or private schools of the same grade, or if its expenditure on its schools of the same grade is not covered by the income of these schools.

One of the bases for calculating these grants shall be the average amount of the grants or expenses disbursed per pupil.

If the State, commune or group of communes declares its willingness and is actually prepared to admit a certain number of the pupils of the private school to a state Minority School or Minority classes in the same locality, the amount of the grant to be made to the private school shall be reduced by a sum proportionate to the number of pupils.

—It will thus be abundantly clear from these provisions that, the entire system of Minority Protection rests on a numerical basis. A Minority must first be of the prescribed size to call itself so. The provisions for its protection, racial, religious or linguistic, cannot apply or operate unless the Minority can satisfy the different numerical tests prescribed for different purposes. Even the question of a separate primary school for a Minority in a village is a question of numbers of pupils forthcoming to form such a school. Where the numerical conditions are fulfilled, Minority institutions, educational, cultural, and religious, are entitled to state aid.

The Treaties also make it clear that they do not contemplate any other kind of protection for a Minority than racial, religious, or linguistic. In all other matters and interests, political, administrative, social or economic, the Treaties

only assure to Minorities equality of treatment, and grant them what may be called negative rights and privileges by way of removal of all disabilities grounded on racial, religious or linguistic differences. This will be evident from the following articles:

Art. 39: "Differences of religion, creed or confession shall not prejudice any Turkish national in matters relating to the enjoyment of civil or political rights, as for instance, admission to public employments, functions and honours, or the exercise of professions and industries." [Treaty of Lausanne with Turkey of July 24, 1923].

"Turkish nationals belonging to non-Moslem minorities will enjoy the same civil and political rights as Moslems.

"All the inhabitants of Turkey without distinction of religion shall be equal before the law.

"No restrictions shall be imposed on the free use by any Turkish national of any language in private intercourse, in commerce, religion, in the press, or in publications of any kind or at public meetings."

Art. 33—"The Turkish Government undertakes to assure full and complete protection of life and liberty to all inhabitants of Turkey without distinction of birth, nationality, language, race or religion."

Art. 77 (of German-Polish Convention of 1922):

"All Nationals shall be treated on a footing of equality as regards admission to public employments, functions and honours, including military ranks, and to public establishments, and as regards the granting of degrees, distinctions, etc."

Art. 75 (*Ibid*)—"Legislative and administrative provisions may not establish any differential treatment of nationals belonging to a minority. Similarly, they may not be interpreted or applied in a discriminatory manner to the detriment of such persons."

Art. 73 (*Ibid*)—"Nationals belonging to minorities shall enjoy the same rights as other nationals as regards the right of association or meeting and the creation of foundations."

The principle underlying these protective provisions for Minorities is that they must be protected against any possible injustice, disability, or inequality of treatment prompted by any racial discrimination, and not that they should be invested with any positive rights or special privileges which might only emphasise and perpetuate their differences and aloofness from their fellow-citizens. The ideal aimed at is the gradual absorption of the Minority in the common citizenship of the state and not the progressive consolidation of the



Minority as a permanently alien group within the State.

This point has been made clear in many authoritative statements at the League of Nations from which I make the following extracts:

(1) *Sir Austen Chamberlain* (speaking at the League Council on 9th December 1925):

"It was certainly not the intention of those who had devised this system of Minorities Protection to establish in the midst of a nation a community which would remain permanently estranged from national life. The object of the Minority Treaties was to secure for the Minorities that measure of protection and justice which would gradually prepare them to be merged in the national community to which they belonged."

(2) *M. de Mello Franco* (*Rapporteur* to League Council meeting of 9th December, 1925):

"It seems to me obvious that those who conceived this system of protection (of Minorities) did not dream of creating within certain States a group of inhabitants who would regard themselves as permanently foreign to the general organisation of the country."

(3) *M. Bieleszowski* (in his Note of March 1922):

"We must avoid creating a State within a State. We must prevent the Minority from transforming itself into a privileged caste and taking definite form as a foreign group instead of being fused in the society in which it lives. If we take the exaggerated conception of the autonomy of Minorities to the last extreme, these Minorities will become a disruptive element in the State and a source of national disorganisation."

(4) *M. Dondranis*, Greek representative (speaking at the League Assembly meeting of September 16, 1925):

A perusal of the Treaties showed that the Minorities concerned were racial, linguistic and religious minorities. The authors of the Treaties had not intended to create groups of citizens who would collectively enjoy special rights and privileges; they had intended to establish equality of treatment between all the nationals of a State. If privileges were granted to the Minority in any country, inequality would be created between this Minority and the Majority; this latter would be oppressed by the minority and it would then be the Majorities Question which would have to engage the attention of the League of Nations.

The fundamental principles of Minority Protection as illustrated and embodied in the Treaties and as expounded by some of the authors of these Treaties, thus definitely rule out the device of any communal, reserved, or separate electorate and representation as legitimate means of Minority Protection, nor do they recognise the existence of

separate interests of Minorities in matters of public service and administration. No such Minority or communal demands have been conceded in any up-to-date constitution of the West including that of Turkey.

Sometimes the case of Canada is cited in support of these communal claims. But it is done in ignorance of Canadian history. No doubt, Canada offers a parallel, and, perhaps, more than a parallel, to India in the extreme communal bitterness and hostility culminating in complete social estrangement between the French and English citizens for a long period. But when the time for a settlement came and a new constitution was introduced on the lines of Lord Durham's celebrated report, it boldly provided for a common electorate which quickly achieved its expected success in promoting the friendliest relations between the two peoples. The same history repeated itself in South Africa where the Boers and the British, after fighting out their differences in a bloody war, settled down to a common constitution based on a common electorate, neither claiming any special protection even for its linguistic, racial, ethnological, cultural or historical differences. But a more appropriate case may be cited nearer home. Lord Donoughmore's Committee for Ceylon Reforms has done away with communal representation in the legislature, stating that "it tends to keep communities apart and to send communal representatives to the Council with the idea of defending particular interests instead of giving their special contribution to the common weal."

In conclusion, it may be noted that the Indian problem of Minorities is not certainly more difficult or complicated than the problem in Europe where it had been a burning problem for years until it led to the conflagration of the Great War. The Peace Treaties and post-War reconstruction tried to reduce as much as possible the discontents of Minorities by the creation of new states with

ideal compositions. But even in these states composed of majorities artificially obtained, the outcome of Treaties dictated by the victorious Powers, the conditions as regards Minorities are not better than those of India. The new Polish Republic, for instance, has been able to start with a majority of only 69% for the Poles after whom the state is named; the Serb-Croat population of Yugo-Slavia forms a majority of only 73%, the Czechoslovak state has to deal with the German Minority of 23 per cent., a Minority that yields to no other Minority in the world in culture, power, influence and claims for special treatment. But India has an indigenous majority of 75 per cent. Secondly, it is to be noted that there is no special reason why the common solution

evolved in Europe of the problems of Minorities for application to all countries concerned should not apply to India who has herself approved that solution for other countries in the Treaties which she has signed and guaranteed as an original member of the League. And, finally, let it be noted that this common solution which has practically established the international law on the subject has been found adequate and acceptable even by the German Minority whose claims to special treatment and protection mark the limit of such claims [pp. viii-ix of Professor Gilbert Murray's Introduction to Mair's book cited above.] Let us not, above all, even in this matter, give in to the cheap assumption that what is good for Europe is not good for India!

## The Claims of the Indian States

BY "KERALA PUTRA."

**T**HERE is no subject which is so much before the public eye as the problem of the States. From every aspect of it, the subject is being studied and expounded as it never has been before. Constitutionalists have told us the legal position; historians have told us the origin of the system and given us the background of the treaty-position. Politicians have elaborated the difficulties in the way of a genuine federal system being developed in India owing to the legal and jurisdictional position of the States. The Rulers themselves have not been backward in enlightening the public as to what they think of their position in the light of history, treaties and inherent rights; while the democrats, intent on securing for everybody the benefits of representative government, have not hesitated to denounce the evils of personal rule. In this article, no attempt is made to treat the subject of Indian States from any comprehensive point of view. It is my purpose to confine solely to the claims that

the States are putting forward for the acceptance of all fair-minded people.

One elementary misconception has to be cleared away. The claims of the States are in no way connected with the personality of the Rulers. The forms of government in a State or the characteristics of an individual Ruler have nothing whatever to do with the claims of the States *qua* States. However bad an individual Ruler may be, that fact cannot and should not in any way affect the legitimate claims of his State. This principle has been for long recognised by the Government of India, and in cases where they intervene owing to maladministration or other reasons, it is the practice of the Political Department to leave intact the rights of the States.

What the Chamber of Princes deals with is therefore not the case of the Princes but the case of the States. Much of the misunderstanding in British India about the activities of the Chamber

arises from an ignorance of this fact. The personal affairs of the Princes is a matter between each Ruler and the Paramount Power. The Chamber is precluded from expressing an opinion according to the constitution and rules now in force. It is a significant fact that all the 14 Resolutions which were discussed in this year's session of the Chamber dealt with constitutional questions affecting the rights of the States as against the Paramount Power and against British India.

Now what is it that the Princes are demanding? A clear statement of their case, will, I am convinced, help to dissipate the fear now generally held that the Princes desire to aggrandise themselves at the expense of British India. They have no such object in view. All they ask is that they should not be unjustly treated. Their proposals in this connection may be stated in four propositions.

The first claim of the States is :—That the treaties and agreements between the British Government and the States should continue to be of binding force even in a self-governing India. This is no question of argument. These treaties were taken over by the Crown by the Act of 1858 and have been declared over and over again to be 'inviolable and inviolate.' The question is not whether the treaties are just or unjust, but whether any one has the right of tearing them up. The rights guaranteed by these solemn engagements would be binding on any future Government of India which takes over the administration of the country from the British Parliament. The Princes demand that a clause to the effect that the treaties would continue to bind the Government of India, such as was inserted in the Government of India Act of 1858, should be inserted in the Act conferring Dominion Status on India.

It follows from the above demand that there should be some machinery established as a part of the constitution of India, which would have the

right to determine whether any legislation or executive action of a Government of India actually infringes the right thus guaranteed. If the legislature of British India or the Government of British India has the right to ride roughshod over the autonomy of the States, then the mere insertion of the Clause that the treaties would have continuous and binding effect would be of little value. This problem seriously agitated the minds of the statesmen who were responsible for drafting the American Constitution. The problem was similar when the thirteen colonies desired to establish a united government. They were desirous of maintaining the sovereignty of the constituent States and were afraid that the central executive and the federal legislature will in course of time attempt to restrict it by different methods. In order to render such a course of action impossible, the fathers of the American Constitution devised the Federal Court to which was entrusted the duty of seeing that the constitution was not at naught and that the Central Government did not encroach on the rights of the States. An institution of this kind which would have the right of adjudicating on the executive acts and legislative measures of the Government of India would serve as a guarantee to the States.

The Princes realise that such a federal court is likely to create friction and also that it could be used only as a last resort. There are so many points of contact, so many questions of common concern that to depend upon a supreme court which, in the nature of things, would only be entitled to say whether a measure is *intra vires* or *ultra vires*, would not solve their problem. Therefore the third proposition is that there should be brought into being a Federal Council to which all questions of common concern could be referred. There are many questions on which the Princes have a right to be consulted before final decisions are taken. The most obvious of these is the

question of defence. The defence of India is not merely the defence of British India but also of the States. Most of treaties with Indian States contain the express provision that they will be protected from external aggression. Clearly, therefore, the British Indian Government is not free to decide the military policy of the Indian Empire without reference to the point of view of the States. Again there is the question of international commitments, for example, the Opium Convention. The claim of the States to be consulted on questions of policy which affect them jointly with British India is recognised by the British Government. The King's proclamation at the time of the foundation of the Chamber of Princes conceded this point of view. To-day on many questions of this character, the Standing Committee of the Princes is consulted before decisions are taken. The demand of the Princes is that in a future self-governing India, there should be a body which will decide questions of All-India policy in which British India and the States would be proportionately represented. This, it would be remembered, the essential part of the German Constitution where the intense particularism of the States finds expression in the Reichsrath or the Federal Council.

The fourth demand of the States is that there should be created a suitable machinery for the decision of all questions of a justiciable nature either between a State and the British Indian Government or between States *inter se*. Much injustice has occurred in the past as a result of the practice evolved by the Government of India of deciding questions of law and fact by executive orders. Whether a State has a particular right, say in regard to a river, or whether a privilege enjoyed by one State in the territory of another has become an easement enforceable at law are questions to be decided in conformity with judicial principles and according to the evidence produced.

The basis of all these proposals, it will be noticed, is the idea of closer and more harmonious co-operation with British India. The Princes have made it amply clear in their speeches during this session of the Chamber that their ideal for India is that of a federated dominion in which their own States will take their rightful place. It is obvious that the people of British India could not by any stretch of imagination be said to have the right of governing their brethren in the States. Unless therefore some machinery could be evolved which would in course of time represent the whole of India, while maintaining the States as separate entities with varying powers of internal autonomy, a united federal government must remain a distant ideal. The object of the Princes in making these proposals is to hasten the day of that federal Government by evolving in outline a machinery which could in time expand into a real federal constitution.

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# INDIA AND THE BRITISH MEDICAL COUNCIL

BY

DR. JIVARAJ N. MEHTA.

WITH the publication of the correspondence that passed between the Government of India and the General Medical Council, the public is now able to have a fairly accurate idea of the elaborate and well-considered proposals submitted by the Indian Government to secure the continuance of the recognition of the Indian Medical degrees by the British General Medical Council and of the attitude of this Council towards them.

The Government of India had assured the General Medical Council, with the previous concurrence of all the Local Governments, that a Bill for establishing an Indian Medical Council was to be taken in hand "with the least possible delay" that the intricacies of its various provisions would permit. But, though agreed in principle to the institution of such a body in India, the General Medical Council had neither the patience nor the courtesy to hold their hand during the indispensable period of time it would take to pass the necessary legislation for setting up such a body. Till such a Council is constituted, instead of a single Commissioner of Medical qualifications and standards that the General Medical Council had asked for, the Indian Universities offered, through the Government of India, individually as well as through the Inter-Universities Conference, the appointment of a much more suitable alternative in the form of an All-India Medical Board who would appoint "specialists in their own subjects, namely, Medicine, Surgery and Midwifery, respectively, for the purpose of carrying out inspection and reporting on the standard of medical education and examinations". But even that did not satisfy the General Medical Council who expressed their inability to accept this proposal "as furnishing a satisfactory method of applying the

Council with authoritative information on Medical qualifications and standards in India and with the necessary guarantee of sufficiency".

If the Government of India had any self-respect left, they would not tolerate such insults to themselves and to the Indian Universities. Or are they impotent before powerful vested British interests? No doubt the British General Medical Council is a powerful Body, backed as it is by the British I.M.S. Officers both on the retired as well as on the active list. For these very Officers are the technical advisers of the Government in India and of the Secretary of State for India on medical matters. So it is no wonder that the fiat of the General Medical Council is made to appear to our Government—Secretaries, Ministers and Members—almost in the nature of a decree of fate against which there can be no appeal.

Now that the die is cast, and the British Medical Council has declared its intentions, the question of entering into any further negotiations with this Council should be ruled out of court altogether. We should henceforth have nothing to do with the British Medical Council and with British Medical Degrees, whose holders, both British and Indian, have unfortunately hypnotised themselves as well as the whole country into a belief on their alleged superiority. The decision of the General Medical Council has thus been a blessing not in disguise but without a disguise.

Efforts are being made in certain quarters to frighten the Indian public as to the future prospects of the 450 Indian Medical students who are at present studying in the United Kingdom. Though the rupture between the Medical Council of that country and the Indian Universities has now occurred, no apprehension need however be felt so far as the interests of these students are concerned. On a careful study

of the reports of the Education Department of the High Commissioner for India for the years 1928-29 and 1928-29, it would be found that nearly four-fifths of the Indian Medical students at present in that country, have had their medical qualifications in India, and that they are already on the British Register. Their future prospects, so far as the continuance of their studies in the United Kingdom is concerned, need therefore cause no anxiety to their parents and friends.

As regards the forty or at the most fifty under-graduates, who are studying at the British Medical Schools now, and who would be in difficulties when British degrees are not recognised in India for reasons stated below, a special provision could be made in the Indian Medical Act when passed and as discussed hereunder, to the effect that such Indian Nationals may be taken on the Indian Medical Register without any examination before a certain date, say 1935. The interests of no Indian now abroad, and not qualified in India, would thus suffer.

So far as the attendance and instruction in Hospitals and Medical Colleges is concerned, even for those who may still desire to go to Great Britain for further medical studies, no difficulty need also arise so long as they pay their fees, whether reciprocity exists or not. Medical practitioners of the American, Portuguese and other nationalities, whose qualifications are not registrable in the United Kingdom, do even now go to that country to attend the Hospital practice and Laboratory and other classes, which they are allowed to do on payment of the usual fees. Indian Nationals can, therefore, do likewise. They will of course not be able to appear in the British Medical Examinations, nor obtain their degrees. But in my opinion it is just as well that they will not be able to do so, because they make a fetish of British qualifications in this country. What the young Medical Graduates should henceforth

do is, if they are still desirous of going to the United Kingdom, to go there and attend the classes as the other nationals do. The training they would get in this way would, if they are earnest in their work, be sufficient for all professional requirements. And if they want still better training, they must remember that they can get excellent post-graduate instruction through the medium of English at Vienna, which has the largest Hospital and the best Post-Graduate Medical School in the world. They will be also welcome in Germany, France and Italy for such training and experience.

The question arises, how long are we to tolerate dictation at the hands of the General Medical Council? If we had the real Dominion Status in action in India, on which the Secretary of State for India has harped several times during the course of the last six months, the arrogance of the General Medical Council and the BRITISH MEDICAL JOURNAL whose comments on the decision of this Council have been telegraphed to us and of their supporters, would not have been tolerated for an instant, and the rule by which aspirants for Commissions in the Indian Medical Service are required to hold a Medical qualification registrable under the British Medical Acts would have been immediately abolished. But in the present situation, it is necessary for the Medical and lay public in India to bring to bear the greatest possible pressure on Government to do what a National Government would have automatically done. It must be understood that so far as the Dominions like Canada, Australia, New Zealand, &c. are concerned, no such special privilege is allowed to the British Medical qualifications in these countries. As a matter of fact, New Zealand and several Provinces of Canada have ceased reciprocity with the General Medical Council and they are none the worse for this break. The Medical Graduates from these Dominions do even at present go to

Great Britain for Post-Graduate work without let or hindrance.

I am glad to learn that Dr. M. D. D. Gilder is already drafting a Bill to amend the Bombay Medical Act, 1912, with a view to rescind all the privileges which are conferred under that Act, on the holders of British Medical Qualifications in the Presidency. I trust the other provinces will follow suit. While the Legislative Assembly\* is still in Session, the members should demand an assurance from Government that the gauntlet thus

\*The list of the British Medical Council was the subject of a number of interpellations by Dr. B.S. Moonje and Lt. Col. Gidney in the Legislative Assembly at its sitting on the 20th March. Mr. M. A. Jinnah asked: I want to know, Sir, whether the Government of India are going to act with promptitude in this matter, and whether they are going to act in this matter as a national Government of this country?

Sir Frank Noyce: The Government of India will certainly do their best to act with promptitude.

As regards the second part of the question, I can give the Honourable Member a definite assurance that the Government of India have determined to ensure the autonomy of India in this matter by establishing an All-India Medical Council which will be able to regulate the recognition of medical qualifications on a basis of complete equality and full reciprocity as soon as possible. *Ed. I.R.*

thrown down by the General Medical Council shall be taken up. And the Secretary of State should be pressed to rule that all candidates for admission into the Indian Medical Service should henceforth be Indian Nationals holding Indian Medical Qualifications registrable in India.

The establishment of an Indian Medical Council should be proceeded with as early as possible. As regards provisions in the Indian Medical Council Act for the permission of Foreign Nationals to practise in India, these will need to be modelled on the lines of the Egyptian Medical Act, which make it compulsory for all Foreign Nationals, who desire to practise in Egypt, to pass an examination to be held by a Special Board of Examiners appointed for the purpose by the Minister of Public Health. Such provisions in the Indian Medical Council Act will need to be made as much applicable to the Officers of the R. A. M. C. and of the naval and mercantile marine during the period of their service in India or in the Indian Territorial Waters as to the other nationals. This will be India's reply to the insolence of the General Medical Council.

## The Gurukula University

BY PROF. PRITAM SINGH, M.A.

THE Annual Convocation of the Gurukula University was held on the 15th of March when 18 graduates received their degrees from Major B.D. Basu of the Panauti Office, Allahabad, who delivered the Convocation Address. The Ashram Buildings were opened on the 14th of March by Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya and an Indian Culture Conference was held on the 16th, which was presided over by Lal Bahadur Prasad.

The Gurukula University is situated on a very healthy site overlooking the Himalayas, on the banks of the Ganges Canal, and at a distance of about 3½ miles from the city of Haridwar which has been for centuries now the seat of pilgrimage

for the Hindus of Northern India. The older University was washed away by a flood in the year 1924 and since then funds had been raised to rebuild the University on a raised ground and in a pucca form. The site is about 100 acres square, and the two Ashrams, one for the Lower School and another for the High School and College affording accommodation to about 300 Brahmacharis, have already been completed. The School and College blocks will soon be taken in hand and residential quarters for Acharyas are in the course of being built. There will be two Yajna Shalas or temples with a Havankund in each. A special ghat for bathing is also under construction and

the canal side will be used for boating, etc. The rooms in the Ashrams are very well-ventilated and fitted with electricity and laid with water. The old ideal of kachha huts has been practically abandoned in favour of strong and solid buildings of bricks and the whole equipment of the laboratories, libraries and kitchens is modern and up-to-date.

Instruction in all the subjects is imparted through the medium of Hindi and the study of Sanskrit is encouraged in the higher classes. The complete course extends over sixteen years. Teaching of English as a second language begins with the fifth or sixth class and continues right up to the College. Arrangements for post-graduate work and Research in Comparative Religions and Philosophy are in existence and the organisers are contemplating extending research in the subject of Pali and Archaeology. Their object is to make this University an attraction for Sanskritists from the East as well as the West. Too much emphasis, however, is laid on the revival of Vedic Culture and the study of Sanskrit, and very little is being done in the way of assimilating all that is noble and good in the Islamic or the Christian cultures.

What impresses one most is the healthy and the open surroundings and a very close and intimate touch among the *Acharyas* and the *Brahmacharis*. The University is a happy family free from the unnatural reserve that we find in our own Universities. Rules regarding the students not visiting their homes are gradually being relaxed and the light of modern idealism is permitted to penetrate the lives of the young students. The one great drawback, however, was the extreme narrow nationalism which practically shuts out all ideals of the international or the broader humanitarian type. Times, however, are changing fast, and whatever may be said for the possibilities of a revival of the ancient Aryan culture, no educational institution in India at

present can afford to neglect or ignore the salutary effect which new light or learning of Western arts and crafts is likely to have on the Gurukulas of to-day. In the struggle that is pending, those who will have a but house culture of the type imparted in the Gurukulas will find themselves face to face with tremendous difficulties, but if they have had the advantage of a sound and solid education and a moral and a spiritual background, they may not succumb and may exercise a silent influence in leavening the Indian life with the ideals of simplicity and self-sacrifice. While, therefore, wishing success to the experiment, it is hoped, the organisers will not encourage a lop-sided cultural development among the young men entrusted to their charge.

One is felt refreshed by the physical and mental freshness of the Brahmacharis and a spirit of simplicity and willing service seemed to pervade the whole place. The Gurukula *Sinatak* (Graduate) is in many ways a type by himself having an individuality and an impress of culture, however ancient and archaic it may be. We must make this experiment a success by a whole-hearted co-operation and by active sympathy.



HEAD OFFICE:—ESPLANADE ROAD, FORT, BOMBAY.  
E Sept. '30.



# What the Country Expects of Liberals: An Appeal\*

BY

PROF. J. J. VAKIL, B.A. (OXON).

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A very unprecedented situation has been created, in this country, by the Congress-call to Civil Disobedience under the Dictatorship of Mahatma Gandhi. The Liberal Party of India has a great task to perform in this crisis, and according as it comes up to the scratch, or fails so to do, will it set its seal to a future of honour and esteem, or to one very much the reverse of this. It is, to-day, on its trial before the country at large, as perhaps never before in its history, for the country demands of it, in this hour of her trial, a far-seeing statesmanship in very difficult circumstances. A *faux pas* to-day will cost the party dear, and will mean to the country great suffering and a blow in a vital part. For to-day is a movement afoot which threatens a fatal blow at the root of irresponsible government in India, a government whose policy, in vital matters, is out of the power of the people's representatives to sway by a hair's breadth, a government in which the supreme legislature is a plaything in the hands of the Executive. To maintain this irresponsibility is the *dharma* of very powerful vested interests in Great Britain, and therefore a frantic effort is made to isolate, from this upward movement of national redemption, every other group of men whether founded on political, economic, or religious convictions or interests. The Liberals have their own traditions as safeguard, and they must see to it that they do not, in fact, and not merely in words,

play into the hands of those who are now playing, for all they are worth, the ancient game of "Divide and Rule."

The Liberals, at present, are represented by men of different shades of political opinion, from Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru at one end, to Sir Chimanlal Selsvad at the other; and different view-points are possessed and professed on a variety of important subjects. But unless I am very much mistaken, the one sure link that binds them all is—I write it without hesitation—the spirit of Gokhale, the man dear to the heart, not only of all Liberals, but of all Indians. As long as the Liberal Party holds to this rock on which the church of their faith is built, all is well with them, but the moment it ceases to be animated with the spirit of this great man, it crumbles into nameless dust.

To me, who am not a disciple of Mahatma Gandhi, it seems that the Liberal Party, by its present attitude, is eminently in danger of losing its soul, for neither in aim nor in method, as I shall presently try to show, is Gandhiji violating the spirit of Gokhale. I shall resist a temptation to which I might well succumb, with many to keep me in countenance, that of asserting that Gokhale, were he alive, would do this or that thing. But as every Liberal will claim to know this better than myself, and as this is really an appeal to Liberals, I shall refrain from stepping upon the barren wastes of a debatable stretch and confine myself to reminding them of certain words of Gokhale, which, in the heat of conflict, seem to have receded into the background of their consciousness. The real difference between the present-day Liberals, on the one hand, and Mahatmaji and the Congress, on the other, is not

\* While we do not hesitate to disavow Mr. Gandhi's mass movements of Satyagraha or civil disobedience, particularly at this juncture when owing to the efforts of Mr. Wedgwood Benn and Mr. Lord Irwin, an honest attempt is being made to bring about a Round Table Conference to discuss India's political future, we gladly make room for Mr. Vakil's appeal to the Liberals. It is hoped that our readers would appreciate the presentation of different points of view in the pages of the Review. Ed. I.R.

one of aim and method, as it is falsely made to appear, but really only of method. Psychologically considered, the difference between most advocates of Dominion Status and Independence is that in the minds of the former there is still a faith in Britain's relinquishing her hold on India on the mere statement of her overwhelmingly just claims in conference; while to the main body of the National Congress, (who have really no objection to accepting Dominion Status if guaranteed to-day at the end of a brief period of transition), such a faith has become rootless. The aim, I maintain, both of the Liberal Party and the main body of the Congress (I respect this phraseology because there are certain elements in the Congress to whom 'Dominion Status' is neither an end nor a wayside place lying on the road to the end) is the same, for do not both rally round those memorable words spoken by Gokhale, of 1907?

*"I recognise no limits to my aspirations for our motherland. I want our people to be in their own country what other people are in theirs."*

To-day, the whole Liberal Party, has endorsed the statement as not merely a working aim, but an objective which if not attained here and now would spell 'no-thinkable disasters to the country, the same 'status', if 'granted' to-day, will satisfy both.

But what about the difference in method? The impatient Liberal might well ask, 'how are you going to get over that? My answer will, no doubt, astound him, for it is this: "If you read your own creed aright, the method is one which any Liberal, were he to apply it to-day—unfortunately there is no such person to-day in a party which can accommodate both Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru and those whose mouthpiece is 'The Indian Daily Mail', which a man like Mr. Natarajan finds it no longer possible to edit—might apply in strict accordance with the spirit of Gokhale." For the difference, in the liberal method of to-day and that of Gandhiji, is not one of principle, but one of intellectual disagreement such as may arise among

those who share the same principles—a different matter altogether:—*Passive resistance is a method which any Liberal may employ in strictest conformity with his own creed, in conformity with all the canons of constitutionalism, as laid down by the great Gokhale himself.* He is as explicit, as one might wish, on the constitutionalism of passive resistance. For this is how he describes the elements of constitutionalism: "Roughly speaking, barring these three things"—he had been speaking of rebellion, aiding or abetting a foreign invasion, and crime—"all else was constitutional... Prayers and appeals to justice lay at one end. Passive resistance, including even its extreme form of non-payment of taxes till redress was obtained, lay at the other end."

The Liberal Party as a whole, and individual Liberals, have the right to think that it is not, at this juncture, wise or expedient to employ this method, but neither the Liberal Party, nor any individual while he remains under the discipline of the party, have the moral right to strengthen the hands of the Government in the persecution of those who think it now necessary to use *this method to which liberalism is, in principle, committed: the non-payment of taxes till redress is obtained.* I know that there are individual liberals who would scorn to give the least iota of support to a Government which finds it necessary to punish those who resort to civil disobedience against it, but unless the Liberal Party, as a party, openly proclaim that they can never be a party to such persecution, and unless it warns those within its ranks who stain the fair name of Liberalism by statements to the contrary and by unworthy vilification of Gandhiji, it will have proved itself unworthy of its highest tradition, and sadly wanting in here and manifest duty to the country. Will the Liberals betray Liberalism?

Miss MacManus' diary hints into John M. Synge when he was "waiting for recognition outside the Abbey circle." The Abbey here spoken of is not located at Westminster! It was a small theatre built for the drama movement by an Englishwoman in Dublin. But at the time in Synge's career when he was waiting for recognition, there was no Abbey Theatre. I heard the first reading of the script of his first play, "In the Shadow of the Glen," and saw the first demonstration of protest in a hall in Dublin when its first performance caused the withdrawal from the dramatic company which had followed the original experimental seasons, of a number of important members.

That schism produced another organisation of which I was treasurer—that maintained the "amateur" tradition of the movement when Mr. Yeats and others turned the society into a commercial company. But of these organisations, which were the real builders of the Irish stage, Miss MacManus has nothing to say.

The second part of "White Light and Flame"—two-thirds of the book—summarises the events that culminated in the Irish rebellion of Easter 1916, in some of which Miss MacManus took part. Up to that and to a point later the summary is useful to students of history. After that point the clear issue of a nation's fight for freedom is obscured by the emotional tension of the time, and by that frenzy of the imagination which catalogues everything of one kind as pure and honourable and everything of the opposed kind as diabolical; the frenzy that speaks of Arthur Griffith as showing "irritation, temper, rudeness", in the hectic time after the signing of the treaty with England, but sees no such characteristics in its own statement that Griffith "through his pen and those of his companions brought horror on Ireland infinitely worse than that brought by the Black-and-Tans. . . ." The contribution of the party which Miss MacManus adopted to that

horror is not mentioned; and that omission and others related to it very seriously reduce the value of the book.

Mr. Hugh Art O'Grady's thin sketch of his father's life can only be accepted as an indication towards a future biography. The story of Standish O'Grady was (as those of us who enjoyed his friendship knew) a spiritual adventure translated into terms of time and place and a unique personality. He fired the imagination of his juniors with the vast heights and deeds of the old Irish myths, but he shrank from their embodiment on the stage. He inspired AE; but I remember how, as O'Grady and I walked from the hall in which AE's "Deirdre" had been first performed (I myself was one of its warrior chieftains!) O'Grady protested with as much ferocity as his gentle nature allowed against the degradation of mythical heroes and heroines to the level of the anything but heroically bodied and souled modern Irish men and women.

Yet O'Grady's interests were as realistic as any farmer's. His head was full of schemes for the physical betterment of the people. He knew everybody worth while in Ireland; and a broadcast invitation to them to add their memories of him to a valuable family record would make a more impressive memorial to a very significant life than this slender tribute.

One curious feature of the book is a section given to "Poems of Standish O'Grady." Of the eleven poems, eight are by AE! Is a son of Standish O'Grady so ignorant of the work of the joint head of the Irish literary revival as to have mistaken these for his father's—or is this the first stage of the Irish version of a new Bacon-Shakespeare problem?

# Sir Muhammad Habibullah

ON the 31st March, Sir Muhammad Habibullah relinquished charge of the office of

traced to these qualities combined with systematic industry.



SIR MUHAMMAD HABIBULLAH

ordinary Member of the Governor-General's Council. The event and the man have received the casual notice which the Press generally accords to the retirement from official activity of an exalted servant of the Crown. The chronology of his career and generalisations regarding qualities which, on reflection, would appear to be common to all successful men have been faithfully reproduced. No man, however, who has played an important role in the service of his country or who has attained success above what is the lot of most of us, is really like another.

Sir Muhammad Habibullah has no halo of academic distinction such as adorned or now surrounds some of those who have held or now hold high offices, or who have made their mark in the public life of the country. But he has a broad judgment, steadfast honesty, and an unique wealth of tolerance. The secret of his success in life must be

When he came to the Government of India in 1925, he had to face a set of problems entirely different from those of his earlier experience. Local Self-Government, of which he had first-hand knowledge, and Land Revenue administration with which he became acquainted during his term of office as Member of the Executive Council in Madras, were included in the portfolio of Education, Health and Lands, but, since the inception of the Reforms, both initiative and responsibility in regard to these had passed to provincial Governments. Except the Bardoli agitation which, in its acute stages, became a political problem, Sir Muhammad had no critical issue to handle in the domains of administration with which he had already become familiar. His thorny heritage was the status of Indians in the British Empire overseas. First in South Africa and subsequently in East Africa, he had to deal with situations of unusual difficulty. In 1925, Indians in South Africa were threatened with segregation, expropriation and ultimate expulsion. Anti-Indian feeling was at white-heat. The Nationalist Government which had recently come into office, was by no means reluctant to secure political popularity in Natal, where feeling against the Indian settlers was strongest, by adopting repressive measures. To Sir Muhammad belongs the credit of inaugurating a new method for securing a satisfactory way out of a most menacing situation. He had the supreme merit of foreseeing that a conflict of national amour propre could not be appeased by despatches attempting to invoke justice with the aid of correct but somewhat self-righteous and, therefore, to the other party, provocative or irritating logic. For correspondence he sought to substitute conferences; for cold print, warm human converse. The Paddisop

Deputation and the Cape Town Conference were the result. Where two decades of strenuous negotiation by post and cable had failed to yield a satisfactory settlement, the Paddison Deputation prepared the way for the Cape Town Conference and the Conference itself fructified into the Cape Town Agreement. The Areas Reservation, Emigration and Registration (Further Provision) Bill was withdrawn by the Union Government. A scheme of assisted emigration, free from any taint of coercion or dishonour, was devised to enable Indians who might wish to return to India to do so. In order that the good understanding between India and South Africa, established after so much anxious effort should be fostered and strengthened, the two Governments concerned agreed that an Indian Agent should be stationed in S. Africa. The new method was suggested by Sir Muhammad's shrewd humanity. The success of the Cape Town Conference was due to the brilliant advocacy of the Indian cause by India's first Agent in South Africa, Mr. Sestri, and by Sir Muhammad's convincing honesty. The Union Ministers realised at once that the leader of the Indian delegation was no professional diplomatist, seeking advantage for his own country at the expense of South Africa, under cover of an urbane manner and simulated righteousness.

The result of Sir Muhammad's efforts on behalf of his fellow-countrymen in East Africa is not yet known. It may be confidently predicted however, that whatever the outcome of the negotiations now in progress, when the correspondence is published, it will be found that Sir Muhammad discharged his own obligations in the matter with sagacity, courage and firm patriotism.

At Geneva, where last year, he had the honour of being the first Indian to lead India's delegation to the Assembly of the League of Nations, Sir Muhammad's dignity and charm made a profound impression. The Interim Report presented by him and his colleagues to the Secretary of

State for India is marked by originality and suggestiveness, and should receive careful attention, not only from the Government of India but also from the non-official public to whom its appeal, for a wider interest in the affairs of the League and for more effective participation in its activities, is primarily addressed.

So far, our survey of Sir Muhammad's career in the Govt. of India has dealt with imperial and international affairs. In the field of internal administration, his two outstanding achievements undoubtedly are the Council of Agricultural Research and the Institute of Public Health, Calcutta. The former, though recommended by the Royal Commission on Agriculture in India, embodied, in its present constitution, important changes designed to make it more responsive to non official Indian opinion. The Public Health Institute owes its establishment at Calcutta to the generosity of the Rockefeller Foundation. Its representatives, when they visited India, were received by Sir Muhammad with a tactful and disinterested courtesy which enlisted their practical sympathy for India more effectively than would have been possible for aloof dignity or over-anxious supplication.

Reference has been made to Sir Muhammad's tolerance. This secured for him, in an era unfortunately charged with communal acrimony, the respect of all rational persons, both Hindus and Muslims.

Amity between Hindus and Muslims, without which the country will never be strong, or prosperous or honoured among the countries of the world, will be achieved only by cultivating the quality of tolerance which distinguishes Sir Muhammad Habibullah. The strain of 40 years' activity and the sorrow of a great bereavement sustained 4 years ago have probably combined to drive from his mind, at least for the present, all thought of a return to public life. Should he ultimately decide to pass the rest of his life in retirement, we shall not grudge him his well-earned rest, though we shall be sorry that the country should lose, at a critical period in its history, the active aid of his long and varied experience and of his wise judgment. But it is both our hope and wish that after a few months' complete holiday, he will enter the teeming arena of affairs and strive to solve the many problems that confront India to-day with the calm judgment and the sapient skill of experience which, in critical times like the present, are perhaps more truly helpful than mere ardent or even militant idealism.

# Dominion Status and India

BY

MR. K. R. R. SASTRY, M.A., B.L.,

*Advocate, Madras.*

THE fight for words is no new thing in the history of struggles for freedom. Nor need one cavil at length at the ultimatum of Independence. After the latest utterance of Sir Chemsudal Setalwad on behalf of the Liberals, there is little difference between the two parties in objective except in the modus. The contention of the present writer is that "Dominion Status" means really much more than what it is believed to stand for. In this view, a correct and full understanding of this constitutional phrase seems to be essential.

Till the outbreak of the Great War, Dominions were not generally consulted in matters of foreign policy. The response of two and a half million men from the Dominions and India to the call of the mother country towards a war in the initiation of which the Dominions had little to do, was bound to have revolutionary effects on the status of the Dominions. The report on Inter-Imperial relations (1926) declared the Dominions "as autonomous communities within the British Empire, equal in status, in no way subordinate to one another in any respect of their domestic or external affairs, though united by a common allegiance to the Crown and freely associated as members of the British Commonwealth of Nations."

## DIFFERENT INTERPRETATIONS

In the JOURNAL OF COMPARATIVE LEGISLATION AND INTERNATIONAL LAW (1927) as also in his latest work on "*Sovereignty of the British Dominions*," (MacMillan's), Dr. Keith opines that this document of 1926 is not to be deemed to have effected any fundamental change in Inter-Imperial relations. No doubt, the report has not

been ratified by any Parliament except South Africa. It has not been communicated to foreign Governments and as J. A. R. Marriott, M.P., has it in the January "NINETEENTH AND AFTER" it has not been communicated to the League of Nations. There has not been in any sense, an adequate discussion of it in the House of Commons, if one excludes the halting reply given by the Government to the discussion mooted by Mr. J. A. R. Marriott on 29th June, 1927.

As against this weighty opinion of Dr. Keith, one is inclined to state that the report of 1926 did indeed imply momentous constitutional changes. No doubt in a strict legal sense, there is still the subordination of the Dominions to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council and to the Crown, the "Key-stone of the Imperial Arch." Viewed constitutionally, it is difficult to under-rate the remarkable change effected. Said General Hertzog in the Union Parliament, "They (Dominions) had received from the last Imperial Conference the acknowledgement by Great Britain of their sovereign national status with full abandonment by the British Government of any claim to control or superior authority." How else to understand Mr. Blyth's (Minister of the Irish Free State) phrase "momentous constitutional development" used on November 20, 1929, and the debate thereon in the House of Lords on December 3rd, 1929?

## DOMINIONS' INTERNATIONAL STATUS

That the Dominions are acquiring international status can hardly be denied. The Imperial Conference of 1926 granted "the right of the Government of each Dominion to advise the Crown in all matters relating to its own affairs." It also held that Great Britain cannot assume responsibility

"for the Dominions without their consent." The signing of the Treaty of Versailles by each Dominion and India, and the likewise signing of the Washington Conference on Naval Disarmament, the successful stand of Canada in the Treaty with U.S.A. regarding Habbat Fisheries in 1923, the appointment of the Canadian Minister at Washington, Canadian Envoy at Paris and of another prospective at Tokio, the invitation to Dominions to sign the Kellogg Pact, and their taking part in the London Conference on Naval Disarmament are significant instances of this phase of development.

#### EXISTING ANOMALIES

This rapid progress of the Dominions is not without anomalies. Dr. Dewey writes of a "discrepancy" which the Dominions "presume to reserve unto themselves as regards Imperial commitments" and foreshadows the "dilemma which would confront the Dominions in the event of a major crisis." Dr. Lowell had put an identical question also before 1914 thus:—"Would the self-governing colonies, at a great loss to themselves, cling to England in a war which was not of their making? While canvassing this point, Mr. Marriott draws pointed attention to the fact that the "Dominions were not signatories to the Treaty of Lausanne and its commitments though the Treaty was "supplementary to the Treaty of Versailles." Again, on 1st February, 1924, the Soviet Government was recognised by Mr. Ramsay MacDonald without consulting the Dominions. Though this was ratified later by a Dominion, in Prof. Keith's view that Dominion did an act which was "internationally unnecessary"; for, the act of the Imperial Government is one "which under international law clearly bound the whole of the Empire."

#### "KING'S REPUBLICS"

Yet another work has appeared under the caption "*The King's Republics*" written by H. J. Schlossberg (a Boer advocate of South Africa).

He describes the Dominions as in reality "Republics with the King as their Hereditary President". He makes startling deductions and one of them is that a Dominion might make war independently of the others. As R. Bordeu puts it in the CANADIAN BAR REVIEW (1929 p. 632) "not less perplexing is Mr. Schlossberg's suggestion that any Dominion has the technical right to remain neutral if a Foreign Power should declare War against the Commonwealth's Crown."

Another writer in the LAW QUARTERLY REVIEW (Jan. 7, 1930 p. 111) commenting on Prof. P. J. Noel-Baker's work opines "the juridical status of the British Commonwealth will remain a matter of speculation until it is tested by the event of one member taking hostile action against a Foreign Power without adequate consultation "with the other members." The British Commonwealth is an "autocratic political organism" and logic and legalism alone can never understand aright the Anglo-Saxon "who always knows how to keep the roof weather-tight." The only way to reconcile is suggested by Prof. J. H. Morgan in his Rhodes Lecture on Dominion Status (March 1929):—"The Crown is one and indivisible throughout the Empire," as to foreign affairs, "matters might be external to particular Dominions without being foreign to the whole Empire."

Legal examination and logical deductions apart, "Dominion Status" has come to stand, on very high authority, not merely for absolute internal sovereignty but also for a recognized international status difficult to belittle or curb. Viewed thus, in the present state of India, a demand for immediate Dominion Status is more beneficial than a mere cry for Independence. To vigilantly fight for the substance steering clear of the mirage of independence is the part of statesmanship; and that way should the whole nation concentrate its efforts.

# Mysticism in Bhagavad-Gita

By PROF. D. S. SARMA, M.A.

THE learned author of this book \* says in his preface, "Mysticism appeals by its simplicity. It also repels because of this simplicity." Probably it would be truer to say at present that mysticism appeals by its vagueness and that it also repels because of this vagueness. Some readers take a great delight in reading religious books which are vague and partly unintelligible, while others who are more critical are merely repelled by fine phrases void of content. The danger of mysticism is that, though it deals with a real and concrete experience, it affords a constant temptation to a writer to say much more than what he really feels or knows. So that in the growing literature on the subject, we often come across books which are too gushy and wordy and in which the authors too readily jump into vacuity. Even Miss Underhill's well-known book on Mysticism is not free from this defect. It often offends the critical reader not only by its tiresome repetitions but also by its extravagance and over-statements. The worst offenders in this respect are, of course, some of the theosophical writers who simply revel in vagueness and extravagance. It is rarely that the light of a writer on mysticism consumes its own smoke and burns with a clear and steady flame. Prof. Sircar's light cannot always be said to be clear. There are many pages where it burns dim amidst a dense smoke of words. Particularly the word "urge" as a noun is repeated so often in this book as to become an irritating mannerism. But in the lucid intervals when the light does shine clear, it is able to illumine some of the most profound teachings of the Bhagavad Gita.

It is well-known that the Gita is a grand work of synthesis. Its divine author views life steadily and as a whole and therefore he accommodates

many types of religion in His teaching. There are unmystical types as well as mystical types. On the one hand we have ritualistic polytheism and sacrificial legalism and on the other we have philosophical mysticism. But the greatness of the Gita lies in that, while it severely condemns all kinds of irreligion, it extends a hand of sympathy towards all unmystical types of religion and tries to unify all mystical types. Rituals, sacrifices and other forms of popular worship are taken and gently led up to a purer and more inward religion. Rituals ought to be observed, but they must serve to purify the heart. Sacrifices may be offered, but they should preferably be the sacrifices of the spirit and not of material objects. Popular deities may be worshipped, but it should be understood that they are only partial manifestations of the One Immanent and transcendent Iwara. Similarly, the Gita teaches that Karma, Bhakti and Jnana—the three well known ways of mystic approach in Indian religious tradition—are not mutually exclusive, but are only different aspects of a single reality, namely a spiritual life. At best they are only different stages of the path of light.

Prof. Sircar does not clearly distinguish the unmystical types of religion from the mystical types. He even introduces an element of confusion by speaking of the Bhimansa as sacrificial mysticism and the Samkhya as transcendental mysticism. At this rate every religion, however crude and outward it may be, can be called mysticism. Even the savage who employs magic for the rain to descend and observes his own taboos for the purpose can be called a mystic on "the path of moving the shining forces of nature (Devas)." It is only in recent times that the word mysticism has become a respectable word connoting the higher phases of religious experience. But if it is indiscriminately used for all kinds of man's relations with the unseen world from magic to moksha,

\* *Mysticism in Bhagavad-Gita*. By Mahendranath Sircar, Longmans Green & Co., pp. 212.



it is bound to become as disreputable as it once was. When Deao Jogo is unwilling to call even the author of "Imitation of Christ" a mystic, it is a misuse of language to call the ritualists of the Mimamsa and the analytic philosophers of the Samkhya mystics.

Prof. Sircar is on surer ground when he comes to mysticism proper, and points out the synthetic treatment of the subject given in the Gita. For a long time it was the fashion among critics to speak of the Gita as a gospel of social service, as a scripture that preached 'duty for duty's sake'. But these narrow interpretations of the scope of the great scripture have ceased to prevail, especially after the publication of Sri Aurobindo Ghose's *Essays on the Gita*. Even now some Christian critics are unable to see the Gita in its proper perspective. For instance, Dr. Macleod says that it is a weakness of the Gita that, though it is a gospel of love and service, the intellectual tradition of jnana asserts itself in it now and then. Prof. Sircar rightly points out that "the Gita is the gospel of knowledge applied to activity".

The question immediately arises—How are these two ideals to be reconciled, jnana with its quietism and karma with its activity? Are not these as opposed to each other as, to use the traditional simile of the Advaita commentators, light and darkness? Prof. Sircar's explanation of the Gita's reconciliation of these apparently conflicting ideals is the best part of his book. Generally, the "actionlessness" of the illumined self to which the Gita so often refers is explained away by Western critics as a Samkhya doctrine. It is, no doubt, a Samkhya doctrine, but the author of the Gita in His own marvellous way makes it express a profound spiritual experience. It cannot be better explained than in the words of Prof. Sircar:—

"The Gita emphasises the transformation of the ethical life from the crude sense of utility to the highest development of spirituality. The

ethical life is the dedicated life. It is no longer the stirring of the natural man or the imperative of conscience. It becomes the illumined life which feels the stirring of the undivided life. At this point the soul passes beyond the opposites of predestination and freedom, for they are true of the divided soul and not of the illumined spirit. The soul moves in the rhythm of divine life. It has lost the conceit of agency. It moves with the divine ways. It acts and does not act. It moves and does not move. It works and does not work. Such is the elasticity and mobility of spiritual life".

Again "strictly speaking the mystic does nothing, even when he is seen to move; he is fixed in transcendence and his being is not controlled by the limited laws of life. The fixity in transcendence and the quickening of life by the touch of this transcendence make the mystic life appear a contradiction."

Passages like these show that Prof. Sircar has penetrated to the core of the Gita. For the ideal Yogi of the Gita is, like the Avatar himself, a man of co-emption as well as a man of action, a psalmist as well as a crusader—a practical mystic who has reconciled in his own being incessant action and profound rest.

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# Re-construction of Indigenous Banking

By MR J. S. FONNIAH, M.A.,

*Lecturer in History and Economics, Andhra Christian College, Guntur.*

**I**NDIGENOUS banking—that vague and generic term used to describe all types of banking and banking organisations not modelled on the European system—is the largest single problem awaiting an intelligent solution by our Provincial Banking Inquiry Committees. Indigenous banking is not a system; it is a many-sided and unorganised business in banking. The task of reconstruction is therefore one of regulation, organisation and linking it up with the central money market. Until this is done, real banking development will be greatly retarded.

## MONEY-LENDING

The largest volume of loan business, doubtless, is transacted by the private money-lenders. While the abuses and evils arising from this crude practice are too well known to be described here, it is seldom realised that they are the inevitable concomitants of our peculiar social and rural economy. The salvation for the borrower lies in making co-operative credit more popular, cheaper, and more comprehensive.

The problem has another aspect, which deserves greater sympathetic consideration than before. Now that the co-operative societies are fast growing up, it would mark a tremendous advance if the capital of the money-lenders could be diverted to the development of cottage industries or be pooled and mobilised for organised banking. "In every village and small town, the indigenous money-lenders and bankers may combine themselves on the Joint-Stock principles thus pooling their capital resources and forming themselves into indigenous Joint-Stock Banks."\* At best both these developments are mere pious wishes!

Progress however lies only in those two directions; for mere control of money-lending,

without providing alternative sources of profitable investment does not go to the root of the problem. If co-operative propaganda accompanied by a system of licensing of the professional money-lenders should lead them to subscribe to the shares of the Co-operative Banks, we should be taking the first great step in the solution of an insoluble problem.

## THE CHIT SYSTEM

As a method of deposit-and-loan-banking, the chit has a long tradition for efficiency and popularity. One remarkable development in recent times is the incorporation of the chit as an "adjunct" to commercial banking as in the West Coast. There is an unlimited scope for similar adaptations in all the rural and urban co-operative societies, in the Nidhis and Yunds and in the Town Banks. Some measure of legislative control along the lines of the Travancore Chitties Regulation III of 1918 should also be introduced in our Presidency. Above all, every encouragement should be given for their extension and consolidation; for, the chit offers the only practicable solution for the promotion of thrift and deposit banking among the masses.

## COMMISSION MERCHANTS

The commission merchants constitute another large class of dealers in capital. The internal agricultural trade and, to some extent, indigenous cottage industries too are largely controlled by them. The abuses arise from combining banking and trading. The ideal solution lies in the evolution of efficient co-operative marketing organisations, financed directly by the Banks.

The establishment of licensed warehouses as a first step in this direction bristles with many difficulties and might even appear to be unnecessary. A beginning may however be attempted by starting a "Warehousing Company" to work in close

\* Jain, "Indigenous Banking in India."

concert with the Co-operative Bank in selected areas or in a District like Guntur, where produce loans from the Joint-Stock Banks has become very popular among the ryots.

#### BANKERS AND BANKING FIRMS

Indigenous banking proper is really represented by a particular class of bankers—the Chetties, Marwaries and Shroffs. They transact all kinds of banking business; they take deposits both on current account and for fixed periods; give loans for short as well as long duration; advance money on call; discount hundies or bills for collection and issue drafts for the purposes of private and trade remittances. Their number is large and the volume of transactions enormous, and certain firms have business connections all over the Presidency and even beyond.

They perform a distinct service to the trading community, and of late, have obtained re-discounting facilities from the Joint-Stock Banks thus bridging the gulf between the small trader and the organised money market. Yet there are many defects to be rectified. There is no specialisation; for, some firms engage themselves in speculative trade. The capital resources of the smaller bankers are very slender and have not been pooled together, so that lower interest may be charged and risks avoided. Instead of closer co-operation there is intense competition amongst them. Above all, they have neither evolved any uniform system of bills or hundies, nor introduced the cheque by popularising deposit banking.

Many remedies have been proposed. The Bombay Chamber of Commerce has suggested that the Shroffs should be appointed as agents of the Imperial Bank of India in all unrepresented areas. In spite of the many restrictions under which these "guaranteeing shroffs" are to work, the proposal is unacceptable for two reasons. In actual practice the safeguards are bound to prove ineffective, and the provision of these additional special facilities would accentuate the existing

competition between the Joint-Stock Banks and the Imperial Bank of India.

Mr. C. M. Kothary, a banker of Rajkot, has put forward a scheme of "Combine" which possesses the following advantages; the pooling of resources, the enhancement of the credit of the individual banker, the elimination of the unfit and the weaker and finally the provision of greater re-discounting facilities from the Bankers' Bank. This, of course, is an ideal solution, but impracticable under the present conditions. Another proposal, put forward by the Marwadi Chamber of Commerce, Bombay, which has obtained some favour in our Province too is the formation of an "Indigenous Bankers' Association" for mutual regulation and control. While legislation to this effect might supply a long-felt need, it is to be pointed out that it does not go to the root of the problem at all.

The remedy lies in two directions. Special facilities should be provided for the pooling of the resources of these bankers to form "Indigenous Joint-Stock Banks" or for their amalgamation with the independent Town Banks. Or the existing Joint-Stock Banks may appoint the efficient indigenous bankers as Board of Directors to transact business on their behalf in all unrepresented areas. It is, however, in the evolution of co-operative marketing institutions and in the development of Urban Banks to accommodate the small traders that the positive solution should be sought for. A portion of the capital of the indigenous bankers could very well be diverted for investment in industries, and to this end, the formation of "Holding Companies" as adjuncts to efficient Joint-Stock Banks would prove of immense advantage.

#### NIDHIS AND FUNDS

The Nidhis and Funds are the nearest approach to organised banking. These associations for mutual credit are based upon the chit

principle and are very popular among the urban population. Reasonable accommodation is given to members at favourable rates of interest on the security of their share capital, on promissory notes, or on the security of movable and immovable properties.

But with the growth of Urban Co-operative and Building Societies and the flotation of Mortgage Banks their influence is largely diminishing, and in more than one institution capital lies idle. One doubts whether they have any future at all in view of the absence of any statutory regulation and audit; of the lack of adequate financial assistance in times of stringency; and of their stereotyped methods of business and failure to develop the cheque system.

It must however be pointed out that these institutions enjoy the confidence of the people, and have stood the test of time. There is no case for

their extinction. On the other hand they may be linked up with the new Central Land Mortgage Bank, and be allowed to specialize in the mortgage of urban property including subscription to debenture bonds of small industrial concerns. For this purpose such of those Nidhis and Funds that conform to government requirements regarding reserves and efficient management may be given borrowing facilities on the same terms as those enjoyed by the primary mortgage banks. Free audit may also be extended to them. These measures—rather than any restrictive legislation—are necessary to regulate and improve the efficiency of these institutions. For, they have to play an important part in the evolution of cheques and bills and in popularising gold certificates among the people in co-operation with the other banking organisation of the country.

## THE BALCONY

By Mr. CYRIL MODAK.

As upon Life's road I came  
Singing youth's gay symphony,  
Why did you pronounce my name  
From your hanging balcony,

O Beloved?

For I turned and glimpsed your face,  
And in trance I stood, stood gazing,  
Till a crowd grew there apace  
Million eyes towards you raising,

O Beloved!

Then you veiled your smile and vanished,  
Left me to those mocking men;  
Like a jaded exile banished  
From your presence turned I then,

O Beloved!

But the jeering ceased; for lo  
They had seen you gently coming  
Down your casement soft and slow;  
While I went some sad song humming,

O Beloved!

Thro' the throng you picked your way  
Speechless, silent, to my side...  
In your hands my *all* I lay,  
Make me cry, I have not cried

'My Beloved!'

# Gandhi's Latest: The March

[In our last Number we published the text of Mahatma Gandhi's letter to H. E. the Viceroy and the latter's reply regretting that he (Gandhi) was "contemplating a cause of action which is clearly bound to involve violation of the law and danger to the public peace." Since then events have marched with startling rapidity. An attempt is made in the following pages to give a connected narrative of events following this correspondence together with a full account of the great march to the salt pans of Surat.—Editor, THE INDIAN REVIEW.]

**C**OMMENTING on the Viceroy's reply Mr. Gandhi wrote in *Young India*:

On bended knees I asked for bread and I received stone instead. The English nation responds only to force and I am not surprised by the Viceregal reply. The only public peace the nation knows is the peace of the public prison. India is a vast prison-house. I repudiate this (British) law and regard it as my sacred duty to break the mournful monotony of compulsory peace that is choking the heart of the nation for want of free vent.

And so Mr. Gandhi prepared himself for immediate Satyagraha.

Our case is strong, our means purest, and God is with us. There is no defeat for the Satyagrahis till they give up the truth. I pray for the success of the battle which begins to-morrow.

In these words Mahatma Gandhi concluded what he termed his last message and testament on the banks of the Sabarmati where thousands had collected to hear him on the 11th March (the day previous to the great march.) He exhorted the people of Gujarat to "continue the plan of marching to Jalalpur in order to offer Civil Disobedience through the manufacture of salt, even if he and his party were arrested before reaching the destination. The people of India, he urged, should preserve peace and carry out the instructions of the Working Committee. He laid down only one condition for the people to join what he called the "War of Independence"—and that was "absolute non-violence as an article of faith." Otherwise they could carry out his programme in more ways than one. He once again outlined his programme of triple boycott and urged that those, who had courage, could refuse to pay taxes. Alluding to Civil Disobedience

through breaking of salt monopoly, Mahatma Gandhi suggested three means to achieve the end. First by the manufacture of salt wherever it could be done. Secondly, to remove salt without paying duty thereupon and thirdly to distribute salt. He also referred to the question of leadership in the country and asked people to follow the lead of Pandit Jawaharlal. But where no Congress organisation existed, he asked everyone to be his own leader. "Where could be the question of leadership when the riddle of bravery could only be solved by freedom or death?"

## THE GREAT MARCH

True to his declaration just a little while before day-break on the morning of the 12th Mahatma Gandhi with his 79 Volunteers, (all students of the Vidyapith) left the Ashram on a campaign of civil disobedience. Their destination was the village of Dandi on the sea coast near Jalalpur where Gandhi was to break the law regarding the manufacture of salt. Streams of Khaddar-clad men and women had flowed to the Ashram all night through to have a darshan of Mahatmaji and witness the Great March. Among those were journalists and camera-men from far and near and correspondents of some British papers as well.

"The scenes that preceded, accompanied and followed this great national event" wrote the *Bombay Chronicle*, "were so enthusiastic, magnificent and soul-stirring that indeed they

beggar description. Never was the wave of patriotism so powerful in the hearts of mankind, as it was on this great occasion which is bound to go down to the chapters of the history of India's national freedom as a great beginning of a Great Movement." That was about the tone in which the nationalist press viewed the situation. And there was no doubt the March had appealed to the imagination of multitudes of people who were emotionally swayed by the dramatic turn of events.

Mahatmaji with his usual gentle smile betokening his undying faith in the justice of the cause he was pursuing and in the success of the great campaign he had embarked upon, began at the head of the procession, to march with quick steps and unflinching. The pace was a trifle too fast for his health and age, wrote the correspondent.

He was carrying a long stick in his hand obviously for support. The whole army was marching in a perfectly disciplined manner. The agile general in the front was indeed a source of inspiration to all. The army passed all along the distance of ten miles up to Aslali between the densely packed rows of people who were standing in their places for hours together, eager for the "darshan" of India's great General. Ahmedabad had had on the occasion one of its hugest processions during living memory. With the possible exceptions of children and decrepit every resident of the city must have watched the great procession which was at least two miles in length. Those who could not find a standing place in the streets through which the army marched had made use of house-tops and galleries, open walls and trees and every conceivable place they could get hold of. The whole city seemed to be *en fête* on this historic occasion. The cries of "Gandhi-ki-Jai" were rending the skies all along the march.

"Like the historic march of Ramachandra to Lanka," said Pandit Motilal Nebrua, "the march of Gandhi would be memorable and the places he passes through would be sacred".

And so for miles and miles the roads were watered and bestrewn with green leaves and the halting stations were decorated with flags and festoons, and all through, there was a general appearance of a festival.

As the procession marched through village after village, Mahatmaji spoke at all the halting stations, urging the people to take to Khaddar, to stop drinking, to give up co operation with Government and join the ranks of the Satyagrahis. At Aslali he told his followers that he would either die on the way or else keep away from the Ashram until Swaraj had been won. "I have no intention of returning to the Ashram until I succeed in getting the salt tax repealed," said Mr. Gandhi. He exhorted the villagers to take to the spinning wheel, to look to the sanitation of the village and to treat the untouchables with brotherly love. He urged them to join his movement to break the salt monopoly of Government, as this would be a step forward on the way to Swaraj. As we write, volunteers are enrolling themselves briskly in the cause of civil disobedience and the headmen of several villages are resigning their jobs and joining the campaign. The arrest of Mr. Gandhi is supposed to be imminent and Mahatmaji is reported to be well prepared for it as he has already instructed that his place should be taken up by Abbas Tyabjee, the aged friend, who has stood by Gandhi through all the years of Non-co-operation. The fight seems to be well nigh grim: and as Sir P. C. Ray said: "Mahatma Gandhi's historic march was like the exodus of Israelites under Moses. Until the Seer seized the promised land, he won't turn his back."

#### SPEECH AT BORSAD

After ten days' march, Gandhi and his party of Satyagrahis reached Gujerat where they camped for the night. Speaking at Borsad, Mr. Gandhi made a full confession of his faith and the ideals for which he stands. In the

course of his appeal to the gathering assembled at Borsad, the Mahatma said :—

The British rule in India has brought about moral, material and cultural, spiritual ruination of this great country. I regard this rule as a curse. I am out to destroy this system of Government.

I have sung the tune of "God Save the King" and have taught others to sing it. I was a believer in the politics of petitions, deputations and friendly negotiations. But all these have gone to dogs. I know that these are not the ways to bring this Government round.

Continuing, Gandhiji said, "sedition has become my religion. Ours is a non-violent battle. We are not out to kill anybody but it is our "charma" to see that the curse of this Government is blotted out."

And yet, as all the world knows, Mr. Gandhi is singularly free from malice or illwill. He strenuously opposed social boycott of people for political or other reasons. Speaking at a place called Jambusar, Mr. Gandhi denounced the enforcement of social boycott against sub-inspectors of police. It was not religion to starve Government officials, said Mr. Gandhi, and he would suck the poison out of a dying enemy of his if he was bitten by a snake, in order to save his life.

The A.I.C.C. meeting which met at Ahmedabad on Friday the 21st March decided to start Civil Disobedience on the arrest of Mahatmaji or if he directs, before his arrest by April 6.

We have in the pages of this Review made no secret of our disapproval of all forms of mass action—Satyagraha or civil disobedience—in a country distracted with communal and other dissensions. Nor is it necessary to dilate on the futility of all the so-called short cuts to political emancipation. But that does not deter us from appreciating a trait of character at once lofty and lovable. Whatever may be said of their possible influence on the masses, Mr. Gandhi's own precepts and examples have been inspired

by the loftiest of motives. But what in him is a piece of humility (Satyagraha, for instance) might at once become a cry of revenge among the illiterates, who take up the catchword of the leader only to distort it out of all recognition in a way that the result would literally "stink in his own nostrils".

#### SPEECH AT SURAT

"Suck the poison out of a dying enemy"—that was the key-note of Mr. Gandhi's Satyagraha, not a passion for revenge or an ambition to overthrow the enemy. In fact in Mr. Gandhi's theology there could be no such thing as an enemy unless it be an abstract one. Throughout the march which lasted four and twenty days, Mr. Gandhi went on preaching his cult of truth and non-violence to the multitudes that gathered from far and near and he did not hesitate to impose the strictest discipline on the Satyagrahis that flocked to his banner. To him as to his band it was a religious pilgrimage and he would therefore eschew every attempt at making his journey a thing of comfort. At each place he halted, he spoke twice a day and his injunctions to his followers were rigorous in the extreme. He would not countenance any attempt to please the palate of the volunteers with delicacies brought from distant places. He would not bear the sight of a common coolie carrying the heavy burner all through the dark and dusty paths of the country-side. Now and again Mr. Gandhi has the habit of "turning the searchlight inward" and the result is always salutary. He remembered that he had written strongly to the Viceroy on the subject of his enormous salary. In one of his exhortations at Surat on the 29th March, Mr. Gandhi referred to this particular passage in his open letter and went on to observe:

Only this morning at the prayer time I was telling my companions that as we had entered the district in which we were to offer civil disobedience, we should fasten on greater purification and intenser dedication and warned them that as the district was more organised and contained many intimate co-workers, there was every likelihood of our being pampered. I warned them against succumbing to their pampering. We are not Angels. We are very weak, easily tempted. There are many lapses to our debit. Even to-day some were discovered. One defaulter confessed his lapse himself whilst I was brooding over the lapses of the pilgrims. I discovered that my warning was given none too soon. The local workers

had ordered milk from Surat to be brought in a motor lorry and they had incurred other expenses which could not justify. I therefore spoke strongly about them. But that did not allay my grief. On the contrary it increased with the contemplation of the wrong done.

We are marching in the name of God. We profess to act on behalf of the hungry, the naked and the unemployed. I have no right to criticise the Viceroyal salary, if we are costing the country, say fifty times seven pice, the average daily income of our people. I have asked the workers to furnish me with an account of the expenses and the way things are going. I should not be surprised if each of us is costing something near fifty times seven pice. What else can be the result if they will fetch for me from whatever source possible, the choicest oranges and grapes, if they will bring 120 when I should want 13 oranges, if when I need one pound of milk, they will produce three? What else can be the result if we would take all the dainties you may place before us under the excuse that we would hurt your feeling, if we did not take them. You give us guavas and grapes and we eat them because they are free gift from a princely farmer. And then imagine me with an easy conscience writing the Viceroyal letter on costly glazed paper with a fountain pen, a free gift from some accommodation friend. Will this behave you and me? Can a letter so written produce the slightest effect?

To live thus would be to illustrate the immortal verse of Akbubagat who says 'stolen food is like eating unprocessed mercury' and to live above the means befiting a poor country is to live on stolen food. This battle can never be won by living on stolen food. Nor did I bargain to set out on this march for living above our means. We expect thousands of volunteers to respond to the call. It will be impossible to keep them on extravagant terms. My life has become so busy that I get little time to come in close touch even with the eighty companions as to be able to identify them individually. There was therefore no course open to me but to unburden my soul in public. I expect you to understand the central point of my message. If you have not there is no hope of Swaraj through the present effort. We must become real trustees of the dumb millions.

Needless to say the speech produced a tremendous impression on the audience.

#### ADVICE TO PARSIS AT NAVSARI

The whole country-side was awake to the call of the Mahatma. Over two hundred patels had resigned and there was a general stir all round. Mr. Gandhi's own speeches were generally impassioned and always brave and there was a tone of pathos which had gone home to the hearts of the listeners. Addressing the Parsis at Navsari, Gandhi made a pathetic and fervent appeal to them to give up drink and the liquor trade. "If they are successful in doing away with the salt tax and with the liquor traffic from India", added Gandhiji, "there is the victory for ahimsa. And what power on earth is there, then, that would prevent Indians from getting Swaraj?"

If there be any such power, I shall like to see it."

"Either I shall return with what I want, or else my dead body will float in the Ocean," concluded Gandhiji.

Thus it would appear, whether the masses understood all the implications of the Mahatma's political programme or not there was a wholesome cleansing of their souls. The tour must have caused a great social upheaval, for there could be little doubt as to Gandhi's powerful appeal as a social and temperance reformer. This is borne out by the impressions of Mr. K. Natarajan, Editor of the *Indian Social Reformer* who is by no means a Satyagrahi but who is wholly in favour of the Mahatma's social gospel. Mr. Natarajan wrote thus soon, after visiting Gandhi at one of his halting stations:

The general impression we brought away with us is more important perhaps than a detailed account of our experience. The Satyagraha against the salt laws is the last thing which the people at Chhaprabetha were thinking of when he was among them. They hailed his presence as that of an auspicious guest and during his stay with them they were absorbed in the pride of having him in their midst. He diffused sweetness and light wherever he went, and if I were Viceroy I would give him a commission to visit as many villages as possible every year. The *Satyagraha* was so clean out of our minds, even Mahatmajiji, for the time being, that when my daughter took leave of him, he affectionately said: "Do come to the Ashram." Then correcting himself: "'Go' I should have said, as I will not be there. No, I shall not go back."

#### GANDHI'S STATEMENT AT DANDI

Mr. Gandhi and his party reached Dandi on the morning of the 5th April. Mrs. Sarojini Naidu had also gone there to see the Mahatma. Interviewed by the Associated Press immediately after his arrival at Dandi, Gandhiji said:—

God be thanked for what may be termed the happy ending of the first stage in this, for me at least, the final struggle for freedom. I cannot withhold my compliments from the Government for the policy of complete non-interference adopted by them throughout the march. After the graceless and childish performance to the matter of Mr. Vallabhai's arrest and imprisonment and equally unprovoked arrest and imprisonment of Mr. Sen Gupta, I was wholly unprepared for this exemplary non-interference. I am not so foolish as to imagine that the Government has suddenly lost their proved capacity for provoking popular resentment and then punishing with frightfulness. I wish I could believe this non-interference was due to any real change of heart or policy. The wonton disregard shown by them to popular feeling in the Legislative



Assembly and their high-handed action leave no room for doubt that the policy of heartless exploitation of India is to be persisted in at any cost, and so the only interpretation I can put upon this non-interference is that the British Government, powerful though it is, is sensitive to world opinion which will not tolerate repression of extreme political agitation which civil disobedience undoubtedly is so long as disobedience remains civil and therefore necessarily non-violent.

#### APPEAL TO THE COUNTRY

It remains to be seen whether the Government will tolerate as they have tolerated the march, the actual breach of the salt laws by countless people from to-morrow. I expect extensive popular response to the resolutions of the Working Committee. I have seen nothing to warrant the cancellation of the notice I have already issued that all Committees and Organisations throughout the length and breadth of the land are free, if they are prepared to commence from to-morrow Civil Disobedience in respect of the salt laws. God willing, I expect with my companions (volunteers) to commence actual Civil Disobedience at 6-30 to-morrow morning. 6th April has been to us since its culmination in Jallianwalla massacre a day for penance and purification. We therefore commence it with prayer and fasting. I hope the whole of India will observe the National Week commencing from to-morrow in the spirit in which it was conceived. I am positive that the greater the dedication to the country's cause and the greater the purification, the speedier will be the glorious end for which millions of India consciously or unconsciously are striving.

#### THE "LAW-BREAKER"

Mr. Gandhi's prayer on the morning of the 6th was more than usually solemn. In the course of his solemn speech he gave advice to the volunteers on many points of conduct and character and proceeded to observe that if he was arrested, they should take orders from Mr. Abbas Tyabjee and if he too was removed, from Mrs. Sarojini Naidu. He paid a tribute to both these leaders and asked the volunteers implicitly to obey them.

Gandhiji concluded his address by asking the visitors not to offer Satyagraha that day, but to do so the next day. He considered his offer of Civil Disobedience as a great Yagna and he evidently did not want demonstrations, proceeding out of motives other than spiritual, to be associated with his great movement.

Soon after prayers, Mr. Gandhi with his 84 volunteers of the Gujarat Vidyapeeth and Saheth-Punjabhai of Ahmedabad, proceeded exactly at 6 in the morning for a bath in the sea. A large crowd accompanied the party. Mr. Gandhi was walking at a slow pace in grave solemnity. Mr. Gandhi and his volun-

teers entered the water of the sea amidst loud cries of "Mahatma Gandhi-ki-Jai." Then Mr. Gandhi and his volunteers proceeded to break the salt law.

Mr. Gandhi was leaning on Miss Abbas Tyabji's shoulder, and was accompanied by Mrs. Sarojini Naidu.

Mr. Gandhi and his volunteers picked up the salt lying on the sea-shore. Mrs. Sarojini Naidu hailed Mr. Gandhi by calling him 'law-breaker.'

No policemen appeared on the scene when Mr. Gandhi and his volunteers broke the salt law.

#### GANDHI'S STATEMENT

Immediately after breaking the salt law, Mr. Gandhi issued the following press statement:—

Now that the technical of ceremonial breach of the salt law has been committed, it is now open to any one who would take the risk of prosecution under the salt law to manufacture salt wherever he wishes and wherever it is convenient. My advice is that workers should everywhere manufacture salt, and where they know how to prepare clean salt, make use of it and instruct the villagers likewise, telling the villager at the same time that he runs the risk of being prosecuted. In other words, the villagers should be fully instructed as to the incidence of the salt tax, and the manner of breaking the laws and regulations connected with it so as to have the salt tax repealed.

It should be made absolutely clear to the villagers that the breach is open, and in no way stealthy. This condition being known, they may manufacture salt or help themselves to the salt manufactured by Nature in creek and pits near the sea shore, use it for themselves and their cattle, and sell it to those who will buy it. It being well understood that all such people are committing a breach of the salt law and running the risk of a prosecution, or even without a prosecution, are to be subjected by so-called salt officers to harassment.

This war against the salt tax should be continued during the National Week, that is, up to the 13th April. Those who are not engaged in this sacred work should themselves do vigorous propaganda for the boycott of foreign cloth and the use of Khaddar. They should also endeavour to manufacture as much Khaddar as possible. As to this and the prohibition of liquor, I am preparing a message for the women of India who, I am becoming more and more convinced, can make a larger contribution than men, towards the attainment of Independence. I feel that they will be worthier interpreters of non-violence than men, not because they are weak as men in their arrogance, believe them to be, but because they have greater courage of the right type, and immeasurably greater spirit of self-sacrifice.

Being asked what he would do during the national week, Mr. Gandhi said, "I have a lot of work to do." He however laughingly

added "I shall encourage illicit manufacture of salt."

### THE ARRESTS

Gandhi's law-breaking was only a signal for a series of acts of civil disobedience in hundreds of places in different parts of the country. Groups of Satyagrahis at different points in Bombay and Calcutta were making striking demonstrations of civil disobedience. The sequel was the arrest of the Mahatma's lieutenants. First came the arrest of Sardar Vallabhai Patel; then Mr. Manilal Kothari who was leading a batch of salt Satyagrahis. He was followed by Messrs. Nariman and Jannalal Bajaj; then Ramdas Gandhi and Devadas (sons of the Mahatma). Messrs. Deshpande and Durbar Gopaldas came next. Mr. Sen Gupta, on his release from Burma, sought arrest again by defying the law of Sedition in Calcutta. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, President of the Congress, was arrested and convicted on the 13th. These arrests were followed by the usual trial and varying sentences, and by the end of the "national week", some 200 had courted imprisonment. Mr. Gandhi felt gratified at the result:

Form information available up to now, I gather that the striking manifestation of mass Civil Disobedience in Gujarat has had its effect on the Government, who have lost no time in arresting the chief men. But I know that similar attention must have been bestowed by the Government on the workers in the other Provinces. This is a matter of congratulation.

It should have been surprising if the Government had allowed civil resisters to have their own way. It would have been barbarous if they had violated the persons and property of civil resisters without judicial process.

No exception can be taken to orderly prosecutions and penalties thereunder. After all, this is the logical outcome of civil resistance. Imprisonment and the like is the test through which the civil resister has to pass. He gains his end when he himself is found not to flinch and those whom he represents do not betray any nervousness where the leader is put away. Now is the time for every one to be both chief and follower.

It would pain me if even after these imprisonments, students, who are in Government or Government-controlled schools, and colleges do not respond by giving up their schools and colleges.

In another message issued to Gujarat Mr. Gandhi pointed out that "Gujarat has fulfilled the hope expressed by Pandit Motilal Nehru at Jambusar."

The first day of the National Week has begun auspiciously. I congratulate all those brave warriors who are arrested. They have enhanced the glory of Gujarat and India. But what will the remaining workers in greater Gujarat do. I hope that uninvited, they will come down from all places and take the places of those arrested. Now is the time of test for students, pleaders and Government servants.

### A CONSISTENT LIFE

When all is said there is a singular consistency in his life as in his teachings. One will notice a singular uniformity in all his statements and answers to the trying Magistrates in India to-day or a score of years ago in South Africa. There is then the same tone of firmness combined with considerateness in his letters to Lord Chelmsford or Lord Reading or Lord Irwin, the same stern logic, the same resolute pursuit of a self-determined aim, the same unflinching adherence to a self-chosen discipline. Fearless, following the truth as he sees it, with love abounding, Mr. Gandhi has walked the way of reformers, unmindful of their own travail. Like the saints of the Middle Ages he has scorned the pleasures of the earth and pursued the path strewn with thorns. Above all, Mr. Gandhi is magnanimous to a degree rarely known to political adversaries in other lands.

But then it is impossible to ignore the fact that he is leading a movement that is likely to result in danger to public peace. More than once has it been proved that a mass movement, however well organised and trained to non-violence, could hardly be smooth sailing. At any moment it may go out of hand and the advocates of civil obedience will find themselves in hot water; for the pliant mass of to-day may become the monster of the morrow. The mass of the people who so readily hearken to civil disobedience will have so forgotten the rule of law that they might take the law into their own hands and attempt to disobey their own master. That has been the unfortunate experience of the past. And that is the reason why men of practical statesmanship have been chary of applying direct action to the redress of political wrongs.

# The East and West in Religion

BY

PROF. S. RADHAKRISHNAN, M.A.

[Prof. Radhakrishnan who went to England in connection with the Hibbert lecture in the Manchester University delivered the Jowett lecture on the East and West in Religion, at the Mary Ward Settlement in London, on March 18. Dr. Jacka, Chairman, made a few remarks explaining how he and the late Lord Haldane were together responsible for the presence of Prof. Radhakrishnan in this country, and how helpful his presence was in interpreting the ideals of his country to the West. Prof. Radhakrishnan said that he was honoured in being asked to give the Jowett lecture this year, and how grateful he always was for any opportunity of helping East and West to understand each other better.]

**M**Y subject is the East and the West in Religion. The subject is a vast one, and I am not so foolish as to think it can be treated in a single lecture with any approach to adequacy. I am not going to deal with the temperamental characteristics of East and West in matters of

become more close and frequent in the future, for both have found they cannot afford to part. In matters of spiritual discovery, there is indeed, no such distinction as East and West. Every nation has its own contributions to make in regard to matters spiritual, the distinctions between them are only relative distinctions and their special dogmas are only occasioned by the exigencies of time and exposition. There are no qualities exclusive to the East or the West; if there is any distinction it is in the matter of emphasis and not in the matter of any exclusive monopoly of ideas.

## THE EAST: SEAT OF ALL RELIGIONS

It is important to remember that almost all the existing religions are eastern in origin. Some arose in the East and spread to the West, some have remained distinctively eastern. Some eastern religions transplanted into the West have acquired particular aspects and forms when so transplanted, but the origin of all the great religions is to be traced to the East. Some are more Eastern in origin and development, others are Eastern in origin and Western in development. Such a distinction it is possible to make, but with 'religions such as Hinduism and Buddhism which arose and developed on Eastern soil, such influence as the West has had upon them has been insignificant and incidental only.

Judaism, on the other hand, received much Western influence in the days of the Alexandrian school, where it met with Greek influence from the West and Hindu from the East. Islam grew



PROF. S. RADHAKRISHNAN

culture and spirit; it is too big a problem. The most important point to remember is that East and West have met, and they can never more part at heart, for under modern conditions it is a difficult, —almost impossible matter, for them to live apart. Contracts in the past were occasional and brief, now they have become permanent and they will

out of Judaism. Christianity is characteristically Western in its development, whilst Hinduism and Buddhism are eastern both in origin and growth. The distinction between the pure and simple teaching of Jesus and the development of the form the Christian religion assumed is a striking example of the influence of the West upon Eastern religion.

#### WEST AND EAST: DIFFERENCES IN OUTLOOK

The West is more scientific in its outlook on life, more outward-minded, more pragmatic, more concerned with the outward environment; the East on the other hand is more brooding, more inward, more or less revelling in mysticism. The one gives us the practical and the intellectual; the other the theoretical and intuitional. In the past the West looked to the East for light; now the East is dazzled by the more material glitter of the West. Dr. Bridges has well expressed this in his recent "Testament of Beauty," when he says:

Our fathers travelled eastward to revel in wonders

Where pyramid, pagoda and picturesque attico  
Glow in the fading sunset of antiquity;

And now will the orientals make hither in return.

Outlandish pilgrimage; their wisecrackers have seen

The electric light in the west, and come to worship;

Tasting romance in our unsightly novelties

And scientific tricks; for all things in their day

May have opinion of glory: Glory is opinion,

The vain doxology wherewith man would praise God.

The characteristic development of thought in the West has been to place more emphasis on reason and rationality. Modern thinkers want to reduce everything to mathematical formulae. But there is something transcending rationality, something akin to insight or penetrating vision, some-

thing which eludes logical analysis; and this you cannot express in linguistic propositions.

#### SPIRITUAL SENSE TRANSCENDS DOGMA

Man is more than a bundle of mind and reason, he has some spiritual sense which transcends the distinctions and limitations of the intellect and those who recognise this place the right value on dogmas, recognising them as pictures not proofs, as symbols which point to the divine, but which do not exhaust its nature. That attitude of mind follows immediately from the recognition that intellectual formulas are subordinate to the experience of reality. Those who insist upon the supremacy of the intellectual form mistake metaphor for dogma or doctrine. They forget the circumscribed character of the dogma and come to think that dogma is reality, and that leads to a belief that if they ignore it, they will lose their grip upon the real itself.

Another point comes out in Western systems of thought: it was very prominent in both the Greek and the Roman concepts of religion. Religion was with them first and foremost a means of political efficiency, a means of promoting the idea of citizenship. The priest was a state official and religion was not so much a question of the relation of man to God as a question of the relation between man and the State. Any religious ideas were tolerated as long as they did not interfere with political efficiency. Extravagance of any kind especially extravagance tending towards asceticism as the golden mean, was discouraged; decorum, decency and propriety came before piety. Even to-day in the West this idea is still strongly upheld; if a Bishop is told he is no Christian, his meekness will not be much affected, but if he is told he is no gentleman, he will probably lose his meekness entirely.

#### TRUE RELIGION, THE EXPERIENCE OF INNER LIFE

So long as we are thus outward-minded, we cannot get down into the depths of our own

beings, and we are not truly religious. The truly religious man can stand above these external things, can look down upon them from his higher plane of life and sense the freedom of the life unfettered by external and personal things. That is why criminals sometimes are nearer to salvation than is the ordinary cautiously correct man. They show that they can rise above convention and live a life from the very depths of themselves.

Those who emphasise the spiritual life believe that dogmas are subordinate to religion, that religion is not conventionality but the real experience of the inner life. If you believe this, whatever form of religion you may practise will follow these lines and you will ignore dogma and concentrate on spiritual values.

#### IMPORTANCE OF "INNER LIFE" IN INDIVIDUAL

The religion of Jesus was a purely Eastern cult, its attitude was an inner one: it was subjective, experimental. It speaks in metaphors and images, not ideas and propositions. Jesus reveals the God-lived life through his own life and example, and he tells us how the person who lives in God in his daily life will uphold that attitude of universality. This inner life of the soul is the real life: nothing matters but that: what shall it profit a man if he gain the whole world and lose his own soul? He says to us. The supremacy of the spiritual life is the key-note of the religion of Jesus and it is the key-note of the Eastern view also. All this world is dross as compared to the soul, and it is the duty of every man to find his own soul, to tread the path of spiritual experience which will bring him to that goal, the discovery of the nature of his own soul.

Mr. Hatch, in his interesting work on the 'Influence of Greek Ideas on Christianity', has shown how Greek speculation influenced primitive Christianity, and how the simple life, as taught by Jesus, was taken hold of by the subtle Greek

mind and developed into official theological Christianity; with its antipathy against other systems which did not formulate their creeds in precisely the same formulae.

The emphasis laid on dogma gives the church temporal power, and it becomes an efficient instrument for the control of the political community. In the Bible, the wisdom of the world is counted as foolishness with God, but in these times, dogmatic theology is the straight pathway to heaven.

The dualism between spirit and matter was the great problem for the Greeks. On the one side lay the world of God or noumenon, on the other, the world of the sense or the phenomenal; how to bridge this gulf was the great problem. Jesus, the Incarnation of the Divine, was the living solution.

Even in these modern times, this spirit still prevails in the churches, religion for them is concerned more with formulated doctrines and dogmas than with the spiritual truths of which they are limited expressions.

#### NEED FOR RELIGIOUS TOLERATION

The Bishop of London said a short time ago something to the effect that I have been round the world and have found in other religions no candle of truth to light them on their way."

This is an example of the intolerant attitude which believes that God has revealed himself to one particular people, and has left the others in spiritual darkness.

Hegel represented Christianity as the ultimate and absolute religion, and there are still many people who believe this. If this were not so widely accepted, it would not be possible to have any strong and efficient missionary enterprises. One must hold the superiority of one's own religion before one can go about telling other people they are not in the light.

### THE "ABSOLUTE" THE LIMITLESS AND THE INDEFINABLE

We must realize that all creeds and dogmas are but limited expressions of form. There is no finality in religious experience. The Absolute is something beyond all limit, all finality, always to be still sought. Every religion is an expression of some pursuit of God, some living example of that ceaseless search. The time, environment and psychical environment determine the parable, the symbol, the metaphor in which are clothed the conceptions of the divine truths.

The time has come for us to go behind these formulated doctrines and to seek the Truths of which they are feeble expressions. East and West must join in that search. If the East and the West are to come together and to understand each other, it must be through a recognition of this fact. It cannot be achieved on the assumption of the superiority of one religion over another. Both the religions of the East and of the West represent the historical development of the search for Truth, the evolution of the religious experience. The tendency to-day is to assert that religions are hindrances to the expression of the religious consciousness, and that they might well be abolished altogether. This tendency has been interpreted as anti-religious and godless, but the idea behind it must be understood; so long as man is trying to discover ideals of true beauty and goodness, it is not possible to bring about a basis of true religion, or to condemn the world as irreligious and godless.

#### A PLEA FOR MUTUAL GOODWILL

Combating or destroying the ideals of another will not achieve this object. Mutual ill-will, bickering, misunderstanding and suspicion must be abolished: the culture of the East and the culture of the West must be retained and each must respect the other and learn from it. The ideals of each must be respected. You will find, for example, that millions have been inspired to

graver, purer and nobler living, by the influence the Buddha has exerted on human lives, and yet there are men who are eagerly and anxiously working to destroy the memory of that immortal life, and who are under the mistaken impression that thereby they are working for the good of the world. And now the Soviet people in Russia are adding Christianity to the list of religions to be destroyed. I am not justifying their attitude, but why so much agitation against it?

There are people who are trying to bring the world under one Buddha, to bring the world under one Christ. The truth-seeker protests against this; no one aspect of Truth can satisfy every type of mind and suit every environment.

He who is not able to enter into communion with the mind of another man is not a truly religious man. True religion consists in love, not in spiritual megalomania. Recognising every individual as a spark of the Divine, it is the duty of every true man to assist the individual to fulfil himself and not to reduce the world to a spiritual monotony. Those who stand for true religion stand for universality of spirit, for atomism of the search, for freedom in the approach to God. As far as there is any possibility of universal religion being achieved, it will have to take its stand on the basis of these fundamental principles.

## THE BHAGAVAD-GITA

WITH THE TEXT IN DEVANAGARI AND AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION BY DR. ANNIE BESANT.

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# THE WORLD BOOKS



**JAYA AND JAYANTI.** By Nanalal Dalpatram Kavi, translated by U. K. Oza. Heath Ganton, Ltd., London. Rs. 3.

Nanalal is the foremost poet of Gujerat and this poem was written by him in 1914 in the Gujerati language. Mr. U. K. Oza by his translating into English has given the poet a wider publicity which his genius greatly deserves. We have not the material to compare the translation with the original, but we must say that the translation completely satisfies us. Mr. Oza observes that Nanalal is more of a teacher than a poet and in saying that he does not mean that the poetical qualities of his works are not of a high order.

The theme of this poem, is the question that has often been asked 'whether love is not possible without physical contact.' Jaya evinces a love for Jayanti, the victorious son of the prime minister to her father. But the father has other views on the matter; he has intended a diplomatic marriage for his daughter which will add to the prestige of his dynasty. Jaya is banished and Jayanti leaves the palace and goes in search after him. Many are the pitfalls that come in the way of the young maiden, but she escapes from each with her virtue unstained. Jayanti meets Jaya in the end, but their love is spiritual in quality.

"Love craves not for carnation  
'Wherever the soul, the body has to be'  
Is not a syllogism  
Of the science of the world."

**THE VISION OF KWANNON SAMĀ.** By B. L. Broughton, M.A., (Oxon), Luzac, London.

Kwannon Samā; Sanskrit, Avalokiteśvara—is the Bodhisat of infinite compassion. In the preface, the author tells us, that a bhikku named P'n Ning composed the popular history of Kwanyin. The radiant vision of Kwanyin and the drama of her life, P'n Ning beheld by the gift of a diva. Similarly we owe our good fortune to behold this vision to Mr. Broughton. 'Her face of a perfect oval was fairer than ivory, her hair like the dark clouds of night for beauty was crowned by a tiara of golden stars. Stainless purity, infinite pity, the pain of all the sorrows in all the worlds were mirrored in the starry depths of her eyes.'

Kwanyin was Miao Shan in her former life and was the daughter of Miao Chung, emperor of China. The emperor was known for his prowess, cruelty and utter disregard of human lives. Between the daughter and the emperor there could be no understanding. Matters came to a crisis and the emperor ordered his daughter to be strangled. But she was of celestial origin, and lives. By the sacrifice of her limbs she rescues the father from death-bed and disease. He becomes a firm convert to the creed of compassion. But the greatest sacrifice of Kwanyin is to refuse the peace of Nirvana and her election to remain by the River of Time and help the suffering throughout the universe.

OBLONOV. By Ivan Goncharov. Pub. by George Allen & Unwin Ltd. Price. 10/6 net.

If any fiction can claim to reflect the life of a people, "Oblonov" can do it in a remarkable measure. It delineates a type of the decadent aristocracy of the middle of the nineteenth century which ages of wealth and opulence had reduced into an indolent, weak and lazy class. OBLONOV belongs to such a group. Though high and noble character was his right by birth, lack of will power, apathy towards life and all its concerns and a feebleness in acts as well as thoughts marred all that was good in him. The slow stages by which such natures descend to their fateful end, and lead a life more alike to death than life, is admirably told. The fire of ambition does not enter the portals of their mind. The needs of every day life find them unequal, not even the sacred fire of passionate love could infuse a speck into their lives. Indecision, surrender and resignation even of the inalienable prizes of life marks the key-note of their character. Ivan Goncharov, with a remarkable ability, places such a type on his anvil, turns it over on all sides, explores every phase and reveals all the doubts, and submission that inhabit there. In sharp and striking contrast however emerges the picture of the German Stolz, an ardent and faithful friend of OBLONOV—one to whom life had a meaning and a mission and who found in what lay about him a task worth doing and a duty to which he was called. His good will was a treasure from which all honest souls had their fill. He renders all help to OBLONOV by managing his ruined Estate, and attempts to bring light, hope, and activity into the dull monotony of his life. But the forces of darkness were too strong even for him.

The passionate Olga who starts by stirring up OBLONOV and who by her passionate love is able to some extent to turn his path was soon to learn with bitter disappointment that OBLONOV

was unworthy of her and that she learns from OBLONOV himself, whose noble nature forces him to make the revelation of his inadequacy and point to a man greater than he in whom her love should be centred. And that prophetic he was Stolz, who finally marries her. The figure of Zahar, not so high as Caleb Balderstone, but nevertheless approaching it, is a comic relief to the pathetic tale.

The novel has already become a classic in Russian and well deserves the high place among the first-rate fictions of the world.

#### POLITICAL PHILOSOPHY OF RABINDRANATH.—

By Soebin Sen, M.A., B.L., with a foreword by Pramatha Chaudhuri, M.A. Published by Asber & Co., 36, Simla Street, Calcutta. Price Rs. 2-8 available of G. A. Natesan & Co.

Numerous enthusiastic readers who have sufficiently acquainted themselves with Tagore's books dealing with diverse aspects of philosophic outlook will not be unwary of the publication of a book styled the "Political Philosophy of Rabindranath". Mr. Soebin Sen, the author of this beautiful brochure, has spared no pains in bringing before us and presenting to us in such a candid and appealing manner the scattered views relating to the political philosophy of Rabindranath, as to arrest the minds of all who are Politically-minded. At a time when every question affecting India's aspirations is not entirely devoid of, but possesses, a tinge of politics about it, it is quite opportune that this book is brought out, which deals with many of those questions which seem to retard and vitally affect the rapid growth of India, also suggesting here and there certain solutions as correctives to those evils. We whole-heartedly commend this book to the public and warmly appreciate the labours of the author in bringing out this book when India is to be disillusioned of certain thin veils which seem to blind her goal.



**BALADITYA.** By A. S. P. Ayyar, M.A., (Oxon), I.C.S. Taraporevala, Bombay, 1930. Rs. 4.

It is a far cry from droll stories to serious historical romance, but Mr. Ayyar has succeeded in producing a first class historical romance. In trenching upon the history of our country for his materials, Mr. Ayyar has to be accounted for as a pioneer, for with few exceptions, Indian writers have left unexplored that vast field. After reading this book, we even doubt if historical romance is not the natural home of Mr. Ayyar's genius.

The story is laid during the decadent Gupta period. The Huns have established themselves on the throne of the Guptas. The golden age of the Guptas has given place to a reign of terror. To Baladitya, a descendant of Samudragupta, the sorry plight of his countrymen and the vision of the former greatness of his dynasty, were like spurs on his side urging him to reconquer the country. But his sole source of optimism is his trusted friend Yasodharman, and these two set about planning a campaign against the Huns. Meantime Baladitya meets Saraswati and after a delightful period of romance they marry. Yasodharman unaware of this union, sought the hand of Princess Charumathi at the Swayamvara on behalf of Baladitya. Some one announces his marriage with Saraswati. "Why can't you plead on your behalf now that Baladitya is already wedded, asked the companion of Charumathi. Yasodharman dispraises himself, but the garland has been placed on his neck by Charumathi. With the help of other Kings, the reign of the Huns is put an end to. But the credit in the final battle belongs to Yasodharman. A rift had sprung in the friendship of Baladitya and Yasodharman. The former King's death under tragic circumstances however helps to restore the friendship at least in the memory of Yasodharman.

Mr. Ayyar is a reformer and that has made him stress his purpose somewhat. We however venture to say that the reforms that he has in

mind need no conscious justification in our history. Didacticism has properly no place in an historical romance. But we have nothing but high praise and admiration for Mr. Ayyar's art. We await with much eagerness more of this type from his pen.

**THE SALE.** By Joan Conquest. T. Werner Laurie, Ltd., 1930. 7/6.

The seeker after the curious and exotic in literature will derive ample gratification from a reading of this book. There are typhoons, twins and rubber trees. The descriptions of the typhoons are grim and vivid; the emotional appeal of twin psychology is very powerful and the writer's justification of unconventional episode is both eloquent and pathetic.

**HOW THEOSOPHY CAME TO ME.** By G. W. Leadbeater. T. P. H., Adyar, Madras, 1930.

Readers of this book will easily recognise the clear, simple and yet forceful style of the author. From cover to cover, interest is steadily maintained. Mr. Leadbeater was at first a clergyman who took some interest in spiritualism. He was introduced to Theosophy by Mr. A. P. Sinnett's great book "The Occult World" and later he came under the direct influence of Madame Blavatsky. The pen pictures of the Founder of the Theosophical Society that are given in the book are some of the most vivid and intimate ever written. Leaving London, he came to Ceylon where he became a Buddhist and thence to Adyar. Experiences in Egypt on the way to India and subsequently in Burma are pictured with great descriptive power. Incidentally the wonderful personality of Madame Blavatsky is brought out through a number of illustrative incidents. And the book closes with the statement by Mr. Leadbeater of some initial superphysical powers pointing out the way to his further spiritual development.

**THE NEXT RUNG.** By K. S. Venkatsaramani.  
G. A. Natesan & Co., Madras. Price Re. 1-8.

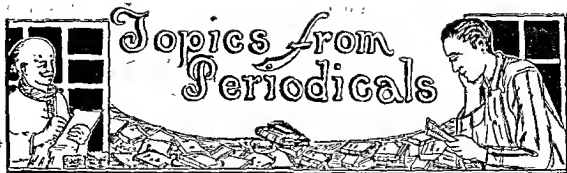
Time was when some of Indian reformers admired everything in the Western civilisation, and wanted our country to march on the path of Western civilisation. The pendulum has now swung back to the other side, and there are not wanting Indians who feel that Western civilisation is an evil which should be shunned, if possible, by India. Mr. K. S. Venkatsaramani belongs to this school of thought and in the book under review describes in a delightfully pleasing language the present stage of culture and civilisation and in the ladder of progress evaluates the present rung of development with reference to the next rung.

**A GLIMPSE OF ASSAM (Past and Present).** By Upendra Nath Barooah. To be had of the author at Jorhat. Price Re. 1-10.

This book is an attempt to trace the history of Assam in brief outline from the establishment of Ahom rule down to the British annexation of Assam in 1826, and in greater detail, during the period of the mutiny when Maoitau Dewan was executed on a charge of treason and disloyalty, believed in by the British officials and historians like Sir Edward Gait. Maniram was supposed to have incited the Saring Rajas, a scion of the Ahom royal family to revolt. The province has been enjoying peace except for occasional expeditions against hill-tribes. The author gives a brief account of the Ahom system of administration and of the improvements effected under British rule. He devotes one chapter to the consideration of the effects of opium-eating among the people and another to an account of the tea-industry built on the life-blood of the coolie-labourers. Also he takes care to point out the many things that exist in common between the Bengalis and the Assamese and the chief religious sects among them, Vaishnava and Sakta, both mingled to a large extent with pre-Aryan beliefs.

## BOOKS RECEIVED

- CHEIRO'S YEAR BOOK, 1930.** By "Cheiro,"  
The London Publishing Co., London.
- FEDERAL FINANCE IN INDIA.** By K. T. Shah,  
D. H. Taraporevala Sons & Co., Bombay.
- VENUS ON WHEELS.** By Maurice Dekobra,  
T. Werner Laurie, Ltd., London.
- PROVINCIAL FINANCE.** By Pramathanatha Banerjee, M.A., D.Sc., Macmillan & Co., Calcutta.
- THE EURASIAN PROBLEM.** By Kenneth  
E. Wallace, Thacker Spink & Co., Calcutta.
- A HISTORY OF INDIAN TAXATION.** By Pramathanatha Banerjee, Macmillan & Co., Ltd., Calcutta.
- REPORT OF THE RAILWAY BOARD ON INDIAN RAILWAYS FOR 1928-29.** Vol. II. Government of India Book Depot, Calcutta.
- VEILED MYSTERIES OF INDIA.** By Mrs. Walter Tibbits, Eveleigh, Nash and Orayson, London.
- THE SPLENDOUR THAT WAS 'IND.** By Prof. K. T. Shah, B.A., B.Sc., D. H. Taraporevala Sons & Co., Bombay.
- OUR VILLAGE.** By Norah Richards, The Orient Publishing Co., Lahore.
- MOHAMMED TUGHLAQ.** By R. S. Gupta, B.A., LL.B., J. W. Arrowsmith, Ltd., Bristol.
- BRITISH POLICY TOWARDS INDIAN STATES.** By K. M. Panikkar, S. K. Lahiri & Co., Calcutta.
- HOW THEOSOPHY CAME TO ME.** By the Rt. Rev. C. W. Leadbeater, T. P. H., Adyar, Madras.
- MYSTICISM IN BHAGAVAD-GITA.** By Mahendranath Sircar, Longmans Green & Co., Madras.
- THE UNITED STATES OF THE WORLD.** By Oscar Newfang, G. P. Putnam's Sons, London.
- HUMOROUS STORIES.** By Barry Pain, T. Werner Laurie, Ltd., London.
- THE INDIAN COTTON TEXTILE INDUSTRIES.** By M. P. Gandhi, Book Company, Calcutta.



## INDIA AND WORLD PEACE

Under the heading, "India—Symbol of Eastern Aspiration", Mr. C. F. Andrews contributes an article to the March Number of **WORLD TOMORROW**. If war is wholly to be renounced as an instrument of national policy, says Mr. Andrews, then the suppression of weaker races by force of arms must be given up with it. This is true of India's case. Mr. Andrews pleads for a World Commission to inquire into race relations in the various parts of the world. The controversy between Great Britain and India can hardly be settled by isolated action because it is part of a much greater conflict of ideals dividing the East and the West. Just as naval disarmament cannot be undertaken by any one power alone in isolation, so what I may venture to call "racial disarmament" requires a world conference, or at least a world commission. For the racial adjustment, needed throughout the world cannot be effected by the efforts of one Western power alone, however important. In the interests of world peace, the League of Nations must not for its own sake allow this whole issue to run its course, unnoticed and neglected, any longer. If it does, it will certainly be regarded by the East as a mere tool in the hands of the stronger Western powers. . . . Merely to let each Western nation go on doing just what it likes in a special corner of its own, which is called its "colonial empire," is really to go back once more to the old selfish view of absolute national sovereignty. It also keeps alive the fallacy that one country can be the "possession" of another. All that is meant by the World Court, the League of Nations, and the Kellogg Pact, is stultified by such an attitude of mind. Historically, it belongs to our pre-war mentality.

## INDIA'S RESOURCES

"Modernity has to be paid for and if India wants to take her place amongst the nations of the world, the leaders of our Social life, both Hindus and Mussulmans, must be prepared not to allow a policy of drift and demoralisation to continue, but to eliminate all wasteful and parasitic overgrowths and to train the public to discriminate the manner in which what they have earned, they will spend", writes Mr. Mann Suhedar in the April Number of the **MODERN REVIEW**. Mr. Suhedar has appropriately given a title to his article as "waste not, want not", and says that it is trite to say that India is a poor country. The great waste in India is not merely in money as Mahatma Gandhi has characterised it in his recent letter to the Viceroy but in the unit of time and labour. Mr. Suhedar writes:—

There is a larger number of men who are not fully employed throughout the year, and there is a still large number of dependents, who have nothing useful to do all the time. This waste has gone on to such an extent that a man thinks nothing of having been away from regular work for a long period. In fact other people are jealous of him, if he has managed to stay out of work for a long stretch and has managed to exist in a reasonable standard. The unemployed in India are after all, a burden on the community, and it would be better if the burden were assumed directly so as to enable the leaders of the community to know what is going on, instead of the burden being imposed without any appreciation of the problem by anybody and without any effort at the remedy for the situation.

## THE INDIAN PROBLEM

Writing in the NINETEENTH CENTURY AND AFTER, Lord Lytton deprecates the recent Parliamentary debates on India. The debates, he says, have done nothing but harm. The fact is, some of those who pretend to know India are merely repeating in the House all the questionable news that interested malicious reporters are cabling to the British press. They are seldom inspired by real knowledge or sympathy with the Indian stand-point.

"To understand the action of different groups in India, it is necessary to remember certain features which are at times characteristic of the Indian problem. In the first place, it is important to bear in mind that the aspiration to see established an Indian State, politically free, governed from within itself, independent of outside control, controlling its own administrative machine, responsible for its own defence, and able to speak for itself among the other States of the world, is not merely the claim of a small group of Congress extremists, but is common to all sections of Indian opinion—Swarajists, Liberals, Hindus and Moslems alike. The ideal, therefore, which has been proclaimed by the Indian National Congress for about fifty years, however unrepresentative that body may be shown to be, has evoked a certain measure of sympathy in the minds of all educated Indians, even when their proposals or their methods have been condemned."

Now a representative system implies the confidence of the larger body in the individuals selected "and the willingness of the selected few to exercise responsibility and act according to their own judgment in the interests of those by whom they have been selected." These necessary conditions, says Lord Lytton, are rarely satisfied in India. For the welding of India's diverse elements into a single political State, a

spirit of conciliation is required and a readiness to co-operate for a common good. This spirit is at present conspicuous by its absence in India. Co-operation is what the Indian finds it hardest to concede. Therefore, he has made a political virtue out of a temperamental necessity, and non-co-operation is now proclaimed as the test of true patriotism. The Swarajist politician professes that it is only with a "satanic" Government that he will not co-operate. In practice, it is not so. He finds it just as difficult to co-operate with his own countrymen. Every Indian claims to speak in the name of India, but there are few subjects on which other Indians will accept his authority. In the Legislative Council, Ministers are selected from the majority, and find, after their appointment, that their followers expect to give instructions, not to receive them. The representative in India is, in fact, never more than a delegate.

If India, continues Lord Lytton, were prepared to accept the good offices of a mediator between her conflicting interests, Mr. Gandhi could have rendered immense services to his country in that capacity.

"As a social reformer, he is a genuine idealist. As a politician, he is impotent, being easily duped by astute party managers. His dislike of violence is sincere, but he is readily persuaded that conciliation or compromise will drive the uncompromising elements into violent action as a counsel of despair, and that the best way to prevent violence is for him to champion the most extreme demands."

Lord Lytton concludes that the realisation of India's national ideal would also be the triumph of British statesmanship, "but if practical difficulties, which are enormous, are to be overcome, Indians will have to show greater confidence in each other and realise that a nation cannot be created out of criticism alone."

## THE TASK OF THE PUBLISHER'S READER

Frank Swinnerton has an interesting article in the March FORTNIGHTLY on "the Task of the Publisher's Reader". He pays a well-deserved tribute to that unknown person, "the reader", whose qualifications for success in the line are portrayed at some length. Now, a love of books is by no means a sufficient preparation for the "reader's" task. The really good professional "reader" is a rare type. His task is very different from that of the reviewer and much less simple. The reviewer has his likes and dislikes which account for the vagaries of printed criticism.

But the publisher's reader must have no vagaries. His prejudices must all be sunk when he takes up a manuscript. A dislike of the author must not influence him. Neither may he allow himself the satisfaction of refusing a book which attacks his idols. He must not have idols, in fact. He must combine enthusiasm with calm; caution with boldness. He must be patient, wary, shrewd; he must know something upon every subject; he must be acquainted with all literatures, and, preferably, with several languages. He must understand the book trade, must have a very easy familiarity with the work of all living authors, so that he knows how they are "ranked" by critics and how they are "rated" by the libraries. He must himself be a critic able to appreciate both the unfamiliar and the conventional. And he must never make a mistake.

He is expected to mark down a best-seller at sight, and to distinguish between work that is immature through excess of genius and work that is crude through congenital incapacity. He is to be a back and an explorer, the brains of a publishing business and the anonymous and frequently ill-paid servant of his employers. At all times, in all circumstances, he should have his stethoscope pressed close to the heart of the public, and as to know when that heart jumps a beat. If it

jumps a beat, or if the beat quickens or slackens, a change in literary fashion is imminent, and the professional reader must be ready to anticipate any change of fashion, and ready to discount mere fluctuations of pulse."

The reader must have the power to submit a clear and accurate précis of the book he has just read and the skill to make his verdict upon the book convincing to the publisher. He does not decide but suggests the decision. And that decision is based on the reader's conclusions. The fortune of the publisher is always made by the correct judgment of the reader. What is wanted in him is not merely literary ability of a kind to understand good literature. "He must be the natural man, the critic and the commercial gentleman, one by one and all together."

The publishers' reader must have, above all, a *flair* for the right thing, and his judgment must be sure. How does he do it.

"I say, by his unique variety of genius. He has had, as a rule, a lengthy experience of the publishing trade. He has observed the sales of books published over the whole of the period of his experience. He has read widely, and has been alert to the form and pressure of the time. Being an extremely shrewd person, he has learned to disregard reviews and publishers' advertisements, except in so far as they communicate to his private understanding messages which he could never transmit to other and amateur observers. Taste, experience, and a subtle enjoyment of drudgery for the sake of its occasional rewards (purely spiritual since he rarely experiences gratitude), go to form the publisher's reader.

**INDIAN INDEPENDENCE.** By C. F. Andrews. Mr. Andrews, the well-known friend of India, is discussing this subject in his book "The Indian Problem." Re. 1. Given at half price or 8 As. TO Subscribers of the Indian Review. G. A. NATESAN & CO. PUBLISHERS, MADRAS.

## INDIA'S CONTRIBUTION TO RELIGION

Under the above caption, Mr. S. G. Pandit, Attorney, Los Angeles, U.S.A., contributes a thoughtful article to the latest number of *WORLD UNITY*. The writer says that Hinduism is the only religion that has been never, in all its history, spilled one drop of human blood with the fancied object of extending God's Kingdom or saving other people's souls. For, Hinduism includes in its technic for spiritual growth the rational of idolatry, polytheism, monotheism, atheism, agnosticism and numerous variants and each of these is regarded as a method suited to some particular stage of spiritual stature for its further growth and development, without at the same time entertaining any bad idea of the different method adopted by the neighbour \* \* \* The Hindu regards the different religions of the world, or the various aspects of his own religion, as different roads all leading to God from different stages or directions, corresponding to the varieties of spiritual growth. He regards each religion as most valuable for the individual adapted to it by birth, environment, education, etc. Hence, he considers any effort inwards converting a man to another religion as futile and even mischievous. The only conviction he believes in is of oneself and of no one else, and it has to come from within and is a continuing process.

"Religion, to the Hindu mind, is not essentially a matter of the dead bones of formulated beliefs, but it is pre-eminently a living and dynamic process of fundamental growth leading to ever greater heights of self-unfoldment and mellowness of spirit. The religious or spiritual status of a man is determinable not by the labels placed on him by himself or by others—such as Hindu, Buddhist, Christian, Mahamadan, atheist, agnostic etc.,—nor by the burden of self-imposed religiosity under which he may be bowed to his misplaced satisfaction. It is to be determined rather by the natural simplicity of his living and by the measure in which there shines out through him, without the least affectation or self-consciousness, the free radiance of the Deity who "maketh His sun to rise on the evil and the good, and sendeth rain on the just and the unjust."

## THE INDIAN REFORMS

Sir Mark Hunter contributes an article headed, 'The alternatives for India' to the *ENGLISH REVIEW*.

Sir Mark Hunter says that with the Reforms of 1919 the whole outlook is changed. The reforms rest on the assumption that, politically considered, what suits Great Britain suits, or will now suit, India as well; and as for the services, their position, the whole environment in which they work, has been in part and will be altogether, transformed—as a first step towards ultimate extinction. Sir Mark continues:—

"There is nothing to deter and everything to recommend the increasing association of the best type of Indians in the government of the dependency. There are many loyal Indians capable of wielding influence in the Council Chamber and of worthily filling high and responsible office. They may be found readily enough outside the ranks of the politically-minded, though the majority of those, too, will speedily reconcile themselves to reasserted authority. Political advancement of this kind, which indeed was steadily proceeding before 1917, would be an honest fulfilment of the royal promise of 1858, and would be welcomed by all men of goodwill. If, on the other hand, the British people are really satisfied that the faith that was in Mr. Montagu and Lord Chelmsford is essentially the true faith, and in consequence insist on the rapid transplanting in India of constitutional machinery in slavish imitation of the machinery with which we in this country are familiar; if, strong in that faith, they seek to disturb the contentment which Queen Victoria looked to as her "great reward," it would be well for them to recognize that, as Indian conditions are now, and as far ahead as the longest-sighted can picture them, good government is compatible with self-government. They must choose one or the other, for they cannot have it both ways."

## INDIA'S FORMIDABLE COMPETITORS

The Government of India have decided to adopt Imperial Preference as far as cotton piece-goods imports are concerned. It is of interest therefore, to see how the trade in that line of Great Britain stands.

That will give an idea as to whether Britain is really in need of preference or whether the adoption of it by India simply means her helping Lancashire in her campaign of crushing the Japanese competition, writes the "Indian Textile Journal" in a recent issue.

The index numbers of business activity prepared by the "London Economist" (for which 1924 has been taken to be the basic year, and therefore the index number of that year is 100), show that the consumption of cotton in Great Britain in 1927 was 113, in 1928 it was 103, and in 1929 it was 106.

That is to say, during the last year the consumption went up in comparison with the previous year. On the whole the British export trade in 1929 was somewhat better than the immediately preceding years.

Coming to the figures for actual cotton goods exports, we find the position of cotton yarns and piecegoods as follows:—

Year	Quantity (000's omitted.)	
	Yarns lbs.	Piecegoods sq. yds.
1924	163,506	4,413,959
1925	189,532	4,435,618
1927	200,465	4,115,831
1928	169,207	3,866,500
1929	166,537	3,671,687

As for as piecegoods go, the figures are progressively deteriorating, and it is quite clear that Lancashire has been finding it increasingly difficult to sell her goods in foreign markets. The position of yarn improved from 1924 to 1927.

But during the last two years, it has again become weak. So, on the whole, the export position of cotton goods manufactured in Great Britain is distinctly unhappy. And thus the so-called protection to the Indian cotton industry coupled with Imperial preference is equally a protection to Lancashire.

## BRITISH AND AMERICAN SYSTEMS

Mr. Oswald G. Villard, the well-known Editor of the New York NATION, contributes a thoughtful article to the HARPER'S MAGAZINE in which he compares the Parliamentary systems of Great Britain and the United States. The result of the discussion is obviously to the advantage of the British system. "If Mr. Ramsay MacDonald were an American", could he have risen to his present eminent position in the counsels of the Government?

To a remarkable degree, MacDonald's case invites a comparison between American and British political institutions, their comparative flexibility and the relative opportunity they give to the political dissenter, to the holder of unpopular views, who is ahead of his times, to enter political life and to take a prominent part in the government of his country.

The advantages are, it is plain, largely, if not wholly, on the side of the British system. Thus the intending candidate for Parliament does not have to stand in the district in which he lives, as is the case usually in this country, where few have ever lived in one district and represented another. He does not have to go hat in hand to a party boss for permission to run.

A career in the Commons is a fair and open contest for reputation and leadership, and no one who fails can blame his failure upon party bonds or the rules of the House. It must be his own fault, if he fails. How different is the situation in America.

"An American Ramsay MacDonald with a similar war record would never again have been given a Democratic or Republican party nomination for the House of Representatives. Whoever offends against party regularity either in peacetime or war-time is pretty sure to find himself forever without the breastworks. For this, this domination of the parties by their bosses is largely responsible, as it is for the decadence of the quality of the Representatives from all sections."

## INDUSTRIAL FUTURE OF INDIA

THE HINDUSTHAN REVIEW for March contains an article on the "Industrial future of India: its possibilities and postulates" by Prof. C. V. Hanumantha Rao. Mr. Rao is of opinion that the problem of industrial development in India cannot be solved easily and in a very short time as it requires intense efforts, immense initiative and patriotic co-operation. He says:—

For protecting Indian industries by the imposition of import duties, we have to seek the assistance of the state; for expanding the Banking facilities and encouraging Industrial Banking and Indian Banking generally, we look up to the state; for leading financial and other help to the tottering indigenous industries for encouraging the policy of village reorganization and the development of village handicrafts, we require government initiative; for providing educational facilities and to dispel the vast mass of ignorance that pervades the people, we again have to depend upon the state and so on. But, if in spite of the necessity for all these reforms, the Government do not follow a consistent and comprehensive line of policy of national advancement, it is but inevitable that progress should either be very slow or that there should be complete stagnation all over. The Secretary of State for India, Mr. Wedgwood Benn, spoke sometime back of raising the standard of living of the people—not for the purpose of securing a market for British goods but as a good thing in itself—good the inducement in them of a spirit of hopefulness; but there is little scope for the fulfilment of these hopes, if there is not a full-fledged National Government pledged to a national programme.

The economic prosperity of India is bound up inseparably, says the writer, with her industrial development; and it is the duty of the Government to do everything to bring about the latter and the duty of the people to press for the necessity of bringing it about before everything else.

## INDIAN STATES AND BRITISH INDIA

Mr. A. Ramaiya contributes a thoughtful article under the above title to the March Number of the EMPIRE REVIEW. Whether the political relations between British India and the States are capable of a satisfactory adjustment or not, the harmonization of their economic and financial relations, says the writer, is vital to the efficient administration and prosperity of both, and must be attained. The main heads of revenue in which, according to the Princes, they are entitled to claim a share, are customs duties, profits from the railways, posts, and telegraphs, salt, currency and coinage, opium and Savings Banks. The contention of the Princes that the States should also have a voice in the determination of the tariff policies of the country has much force behind it. The writer concludes:—

"Provision will have to be made in the future Constitution of India for effective representation of the States in the Indian Legislature when matters of common concern for the whole of India are sought to be dealt with. The Tariff Board should be made an all-India body with provision for receiving representations from the States. But a Chamber or other representative body of the Princes or their nominees cannot, any more than the Legislative Assembly in British India, claim to be consulted in regard to such changes in the tariff rates as may be introduced by the Finance Member in his annual proposals for taxation. These changes will have to be kept strictly confidential till the moment of the publication of the Budget, and it would be futile to take any public body into confidence before the Finance Bill is actually introduced in the Legislature. Whether, and to what extent and in what manner, the States should be given representation in the Indian Legislature for safeguarding their interests from being prejudicially affected by British Indian legislation raises political issues which may well be considered by the expert body suggested by the States Committee for dealing with the question of financial settlement.



## POSITION OF INDIAN STATES

Professor Berriedale Keith is apparently not very assertive in his view that the rights of paramountcy vesting in the British Government cannot be transferred to a self-governing British India without the agreement of the States. For in the February Number of the JOURNAL OF COMPARATIVE LEGISLATION AND INTERNATIONAL LAW, while claiming that the doctrine itself is justified, he says it "might be pushed to absurd lengths." Further, he challenges the contention of Sir Leslie Scott that treaties alone are the source of the transfer of any part of the sovereign powers of the States to the British Government. He says:

Why, it is asked, should usage and prerogative be permitted to derogate from the express terms of compacts such as that between the Nizam and the (East India) Company in 1800, which excludes the Company from any concern with the subjects of the ruler? Even if a treaty has been in practice disregarded, the weaker party having yielded to *force majeure*, can it not now be relied upon and its literal terms demanded?

The answer to such suggestions appears clear. A compact of any sort can be interpreted correctly only by reference to the system of law, which must be deemed to have been in the mind of the contracting parties, the proper law of the contract. Now it is clear that the treaties of the East India Company were not contracted under the European system of international law, which had never been extended to Indian Princes *inter se*, and of which they were ignorant. The compacts, therefore, must be judged on the basis of the international law of contemporary India, and this law was dominated by the conception of paramount power. To the position of paramount power the Company attained by its conquests; and it proceeded to exercise *vis à vis* the States with which it had agreements the rights arising from paramount power. If this fundamental fact is not accepted, then the proceedings of the Company and of the Crown in succession to it become unintelligible. It was possible to allow the treaties to stand unaltered, in lieu of denouncing them with changed circumstances, simply because it was recognised by all parties that the position of paramount authority carried with it overriding rights.

## THE FUTURE OF INDIA

We congratulate Sir Albion Banerji on the publication of his excellent Quarterly—INDIAN AFFAIRS—in London. The first Number which is before us contains a number of weighty contributions on different topics of Indian interest. There are articles on Marriage reform and the Economics of Khaddar, Women's education and the Financial system. Sir Albion's own contribution is a powerful plea for "a Re-orientation of Indian politics." He writes:—

"The administration of British India, by pursuing the rigid idea of efficiency and following principles and ideas which were applicable more than a hundred years ago, has now become in many respects unsuited to existing conditions. It is only under a National Government that the administration can be so remodelled as to bring it in line with the present-day needs and the insistent demands of the people for greater political and economic expansion.

"The administrative authority of the country which is mainly in the hands of the Indian Civil Service, can no longer be retained by that body in its present form.

"In these days of specialisation there appears to be no place for the Indian civilian of average ability, who, through no fault of his own, has become a mere machine. India must no longer be denied the fullest discretion to recruit her own public servants from the Indian people, irrespective of community, caste or creed, and for that matter from any part of the Empire after exhausting the resources of India itself.

"If Persia can appoint a Millsapugh from America to administer her finances, why cannot India be given the freedom to do likewise? India wants the best of Englishmen to fill positions of responsibility requiring expert knowledge and experience, but there is no reason why such men should not be recruited under special contracts, as is done in many cases by the ruling Princes in respect of their State services. Nationalisation of the services on the basis of efficiency and fitness must be the aim once the educational policy is so expanded that equal opportunities are given to all."

## LAUGHTER

"Laughter gives a holiday both to the virtues and to the vices," writes Mr. Robert Lynd, in the ATLANTIC MONTHLY, "and takes the imagination on its travels into a country in which the only principle is the principle of comic incongruity. Here man can resign himself to the enjoyment of life as a topsy-turvy wonderland as strange as any that Alice ever visited, and can see his dullest neighbours as a gallery of caricatures."

"It is a land of happy accidents, of large noses and blown-off hats, where words are misspelt and mispronounced, where men wear spats on their wrists instead of cuffs, the land of paradoxes and hulls and the things that could not happen. Whether it is worth visiting, nobody will ever know for certain till the Day of Judgment."

"The worst thing that can be said against laughter is that, by putting us in a good humour, it enables us to tolerate ourselves. The best thing that can be said for it is that for the same reason it enables us to tolerate each other."

## WESTERN IMPRESSION OF THE EAST

Mr. Reginald A. Reynolds writes in VISVA-BHARATI QUARTERLY about the opinion of modern Indian thinkers on the modern West. He begins his article with some observations on the hurry with which all nations make generalisations about foreigners. There is a story told about an Englishman who went to France for the first time, and encountered on the quay at Calais a man with red hair, lame in one leg, and wearing a purple waistcoat. He thereupon wrote home to his friends that Frenchmen had red hair, were lame in one leg, and wore purple waistcoats. To a certain extent, this story is peculiarly typical of the English mind. But it is also to some extent typical of the universal mind. This is how the West judges the East, and the East judges the West.

## INDIA IN PERIODICALS.

SECOND CHAMBERS FOR INDIA. By Mr. S. K. Sarma, B.A., B.L. ["The Hindustan Review", Feb. 1930]

TRADE OF BENGAL IN THE MID-EIGHTEENTH CENTURY. Kali Kinkar Datta, M.A. ["The Calcutta Review", March, 1930.]

REIGN OF REALISM IN INDIAN PHILOSOPHY. By Prof. R. Nagaraja Sarma, M.A. [Review of Philosophy of Religion", March, 1930.]

THE MUSSALMANS OF MYSORE. By Rao Bahadur L. K. Ananta Krishna Aiyar, B.A., I.T. ["The Madras Christian College Magazine", April, 1930.]

"THE RING FENCE SYSTEM" AND THE MARATHAS. By K. M. Panikkar, ["Journal of Indian History", Dec. 1929.]

INDIA-SYMBOL OF EASTERN ASPIRATION. By C. F. Andrews. ["The World To-morrow", March, 1930.]

THE ECONOMICS OF MAHATMA GANDHI. By Mr. C. Hayavadana Rao, B.A., B.L. ["Indian Affairs", March 1930.]

THE NOONTIDE OF MARATHA POWER. By Sir Jadunath Sarkar, ["The Modern Review", April 1930.]

## The Vaishnavite Reformers of India

SKETCHES OF THEIR LIVES AND WRITINGS

By PROF. T. RAJAGOPALA CHARIAR

CONTENTS:—Nathamuni; Pandarikaksha; Yamunacharya; Sri Ramanujacharya; Sri Vedanta Desika; Manavala Maha Muni; and Chaitanya.

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## THE A. I. C. C.'S DECISION

The All-India Congress Committee met at Ahmedabad on the 21st March and unanimously adopted a lengthy resolution, approving the Working Committee resolution of Feb. 14, authorising Mr. Gandhi to initiate control of civil disobedience, and congratulating him and his companions on the march begun on March 12 in pursuit of his plan of civil disobedience.

The Committee hoped the whole country would respond and speed the campaign for Purna Swaraj to a successful issue.

The Committee authorised the Provincial Congress Committees to organise and undertake such civil disobedience as seemed suitable, adding that the provinces as far as possible should concentrate on civil breach of the salt laws.

The Committee trusted that while full preparations would be carried on despite any Governmental interference, civil disobedience would not be started till Mr. Gandhi had reached his destination and had actually committed a breach of the salt laws and given word.

In the event of Mr. Gandhi's earlier arrest, the Provinces would have full liberty to start civil disobedience immediately after.

The Committee concluded by congratulating Mr. Patel and Mr. Sen Gupta on their arrests, which, instead of weakening, strengthened the national resolve to reach its goal without any delay, and appreciating the example set by those village officials who had resigned from Government service in order to help the national campaign.

## PROGRAMME OF CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE

Speaking at Umer Camp on the 15th April, Mr. Gandhi outlined a more intense programme.

"Hitherto I have asked you to resist snatching of salt by the Police from your closed fists and suffer meekly and meekly whatever injuries the Police might inflict upon you. If you have got strength for suffering and faith in your mission, I want to go many steps further."

Pointing to the salt pans prepared by volunteers, Mr. Gandhi said: "I would like henceforth to regard yourselves trustees or guardians not merely of the precious national wealth locked up in your fists but of the whole treasure now being prepared in salt pans. Defend that treasure with your life if that be the price you have to pay for it. When the police come and raid these pans, surround them and not let the police touch them till they have overpowered you by sheer brute force. From your sufferings will rise into being not only Purna Swaraj but a non-violent army for its defence. Women ought not to take part alongside of men in defence of salt pans. I still give credit to the Government that it will not make war upon our women. It will be wrong on our part to provoke them into so doing. This is men's fight so long as the Government will confine their attention to men. There will be time enough for women to court assaults when the Government has crossed the limit. Let it not be said of us that men sought shelter behind women, well knowing they will be safe if they took women with them in what may be called, for want of a better name, aggressive non-violence. Women have in the programme I ventured to place before them enough work and to spare and all adventure and risk they may be capable of undertaking. The Labour Association of Ahmedabad has undertaken to picket liquor shops. Selling of contraband salt which was going on in Ahmedabad is now stopped. It will be done in villages by sending batches of volunteers."

## THE VICEROY ON "READING"

Lord Irwin as Chancellor of Delhi University delivered a thoughtful address at the eighth annual Convocation held on the 21st March. He chose for his subject the habit of reading. We reproduce a few passages from this admirable address: "Let us begin by the elementary enquiry of why we desire to read and ask what are the advantages that we derive from reading. I do not here speak of the more laborious kind of reading which we all know too well and which, in the case of the young I suppose, at times involves reading rather uninspiring text-books and, in my own, consists in reading through even less inspiring official files. It may be that for us both, the principal value of such study is that of a moral discipline, of training our mind to work with resolution and perseverance upon subjects that make so powerful appeal to our feelings at the particular moment when our task has to be performed. And it is perhaps the more necessary for those who are constrained to devote a good deal of their time to this kind of reading to seek refreshment when they may by recourse to reading of a more general character.

Such wider reading is the means by which we may at once increase our knowledge and, even more important, supply an often much-needed stimulus to a sordid imagination. We are able at any moment to take our place upon the magic carpet and fly where fancy wills acquiring new experience, hearing and seeing new things, so that as our reading leads us through fields hitherto unexplored, we find that our vision widens and all the things of life assume for us new meaning and significance. It is through books and through reading them that we are able to give satisfaction to one of the most instinctive impulses of human nature.

For many people this presentment in the form of their own inarticulate emotions is the great charm of all writing, whether poetry or prose. How often

are we not brought up sharply as we read by a passage or a line, 'a jewel five words long,' in which we are almost startled to see crystallised in language some dumb sensation of her own which we had never succeeded in bringing to such precise definition. In sheer joy how we read and re-read until we know by heart the lines that so wonderfully as it seems reflect or bring to light something of our very selves of which we had scarcely been aware. For those to whom music speaks clearly the sensation obtained through hearing must be analogous to that which I have described. And even if we are not musical, there is much for us all to gain and enjoy from observance of language and style. We had not perhaps been accustomed to pay much heed to this sort of thing until one day as we read, our ear was caught by the rhythm and sound of words. We suddenly detected a design for which we were not prepared, and once we had the clue we saw how the author chose language, how majestic, deliberate, restrained and calm, now rapid, impetuous, rushing like a mountain stream in space according to his subject and the effect he was seeking to create.

[As the years pass, much of the pleasure of our reading will lie in association. We meet our old friends repeatedly and though we like to make new ones, most people are intellectually conservative enough to keep a specially warm corner for those which were our first comrades and helped us to grow up. And one of the precious qualities of this pursuit of reading which I commend to you to-day is that it offers us so infinite a choice from which we can select as the spirit moves us.

Moreover, everyone will have his own favourites, both of subject and treatment, so that each must decide for himself what books he is going to make his companions. We must each make our own anthology and learn by heart the passages of our own choice. But there can be no doubt that by so doing we build for ourselves a store-house from which mind and soul can freely draw.

## BRITISH INDIA AND INDIAN STATES

The conversations between the Indian Princes and the political leaders have led to the appointment of an informal committee consisting of Sir Hari Singh Gour, Sir C. P. Ramaswami Iyer, Mr. Mahomed Ali, Col. Haskar and Sir Chuniabhai Mehta to sketch out the issues of common interest to British India and Indian States and suggest proposals before the next session of the Legislative Assembly in Simla.

The Princes gave an assurance of the sympathy with Dominion Status and said that their desire really was to have a proper interpretation of their treaty rights and that the course of action they were taking was not due to the fears of political movements in India.

British Indian political leaders assured them of non-interference in their internal autonomy and the ideal of a Federal India.

## THE NIZAM AND THE N. G. S. RAILWAY

The Nizam's Government has completed negotiations for the purchase of the N. G. S. Railway Company. It has been decided that the existing contract will be terminated at the end of the month. The purchase price is £8,300,000.

Deducting the share of the Government in the sinking and reserve funds and their rights as part owners of the capital, the net amount which the State will pay for the purchase will be £4,570,000. Of the net purchase amount, £1,500,000 was paid on April 1, and the balance will be issued in debentures payable in three years.

The future management of the Railway will be on the lines of State-Owned Railways in India. It will be managed by an Agent, a Railway Board, of which the Finance Member will be "ex-officio" President, and the Executive Council of the Government. The Government has offered the employees a continuance of service, provident fund, gratuity and all other privileges hitherto enjoyed by them.

## MALERKOTLA SAPPERS

In the course of his speech at the banquet at Malerkotla, H. E. the Viceroy recounted the services rendered to the Empire during the War by the Malerkotla State in the following striking words:—

"The services which the Malerkotla Sappers rendered to Great Britain during the Great War and the part they played in the second Battle of Ypres and the Battles of Neuve Chapelle Loos and La Bassée can never be forgotten. From 1914 to the last days of the War, this Force was constantly on active service, and suffered heavy casualties which were made good by reinforcements from the State. I believe that the total number of Your Highness's subjects who served during the War was over 50 per cent. of the eligible population of Malerkotla, a figure which was, I understand, surpassed only by two British districts and by no other Indian State. That generous contribution, moreover, which the State made towards the various War Funds earned the grateful thanks of the Government in those times of stress."

## NEW BARODA WATER WORKS

H. H. the Gaekwar formally opened on March 8, the Pratappura Lake, which is intended to supplement the water supply from the Sayaj Sarovar or Lake Ajwa. There were present a large and distinguished gathering including H. H. the Maharani Sahib, Lt. Col. Wilson the Resident, Rao Bahadur V. T. Krishnamachari the Dewan, Mr. R. H. Desai, and prominent officers, Sardars and citizens.

On arrival, Their Highnesses were received by the Dewan and Mr. S. K. Gurin, the Chief Engineer, and conducted round the dam.

After the ceremony, His Highness delivered a speech in which he reviewed the progress of public works in Baroda.

Rao Bahadur Krishnamachari presented to Their Highnesses Mr. S. K. Gurin and Mr. Sathe, the Irrigation Engineer in charge of the works.

# Indians Outside India

## INDIANS IN EAST AFRICA

Mr. Hirday Nath Kunzru, in an interview he gave to a representative of the MANCHESTER GUARDIAN, in London, put in a vigorous plea for the Indian claims in Kenya. He approached the question from the Imperial aspect and justified the Indian demands.

"The Indian demands are not unreasonable. We ask for nothing which is not in the interest of the natives themselves. His Majesty's Government declared in 1923 that they were the trustees for native welfare in Kenya, and the Hilton-Young Commission strongly endorses the policy of native trusteeship. Indians strongly support this view. If native interests are held to be supreme in practice, the fear of Kenya, with its 2,500,000 Africans and about 25,000 Indians, being dominated by some 12,000 Europeans, of whom only about 2,000 are settled in the land, will be effectually removed.

The policy of trusteeship requires that the ultimate control over native and inter-racial affairs should remain in the hands of the British Government. It follows from this that the official majority in the Kenya Legislature shall be retained until the natives are able to look after their own interests. If racial conflicts are to be avoided, means must be found of enabling natives living in settled areas to enjoy civic rights. The Hilton-Young Commission came to the conclusion that the only way of doing this without allowing the other communities to be suddenly overwhelmed by the Africans is to have a civilisation franchise which would be a test of fitness and effectively control the number of electors and apply equally to Europeans, Indians, Arabs, and natives. They recommend that an inquiry should be made to determine a suitable civilisation test and that the starting-point of the inquiry should be the system prevailing in Northern Rhodesia, where there is a common roll or all British subjects.

Indians are whole-heartedly in favour of a civilisation franchise and a common roll. In their opinion and that of the Government of India the existing communal electorates for Indians and Europeans lower the status of Indians and foster racial animosities. In order to satisfy Europeans that a common roll would not endanger their interests Indians have agreed that the number of Indian electors should be limited to 10 per cent. of the population, that seats in the Legislative Council should be reserved for the two communities so that there may be no inter-racial contests, and that Europeans should have more representatives than Indians. Indians have thus provided reasonable guarantees for the protection of Europeans, and they expect His Majesty's Government to do justice to them undeterred by unreasonable opposition. They ask for no privileges, but they would be satisfied with nothing less than absolute equality of status with Europeans and the full recognition of their Imperial citizenship.

If the declaration of 1923 regarding the responsibility of His Majesty's Government for native welfare has any binding force, proposals should be held to be totally inadmissible. This is bound to have dangerous repercussions throughout the Empire. I sincerely hope (Mr. Kunzru concluded) that His Majesty's Government will arrive at no decision inconsistent with their recent recognition of the political status of India."

## INDIANS IN KENYA

It is learnt from reliable sources, reports the Mombasa correspondent of "THE INDIAN DAILY MAIL," on April 16, that the Kenya Government are contemplating drastic reduction of Indians in the Government service in all departments, particularly the railway.

## BOMBAY MILL COMBINE

Sir Ness Wadia and other prominent millowners have been, for some time past, negotiating with the Government of India and the Local Government in connection with their scheme to bring about a merger of some of the big groups of mills with a view to facing outside competition. The greatest handicap of the local mills is that they are not in a position to stand the competition of Lancashire and Japanese mills—particularly of the latter—and it is therefore with the object of removing this long-standing handicap that the merger is being planned by the millowners.

The Chairman and Secretary of the Bombay Millowners' Association are carrying on negotiations with the Finance Member and the Commerce Member in connection with the scheme.

The merger, we understand would be on a very large scale and that it would be on the lines of the "Lancashire Combine" which is being assisted by the Bank of England. "No fewer than 50 mills will be merged into one big company which will be run on modern lines, every care being taken to see that it is run as efficiently and economically as possible. Latest and most up-to-date machinery will be purchased in order that good cloth at least as good as, if not better than, the cloth manufactured in England may be produced".

The new "Combine" will also pay great attention to the efficiency of Indian labour. The reason why the Japanese mills have been able to compete with Indian mills is that their labour is efficient. Highly paid and full-time directors will be appointed to look after the management of the proposed Combine.

The Imperial Bank of India, at the instance of the Government of India, is carrying on negotiations with Sir Ness Wadia and others with regard to rendering financial assistance to the mills. It is understood that the Bank has agreed to advance a loan of about Rs. 10 crores at a very favourable rate of interest.

## "SWADESHI" MOVEMENT IN ENGLAND

In an attempt to help the Cotton Industry of Lancashire, women are being asked to buy and wear at least three cotton dresses in the coming summer and wear red roses (made of cotton) as a sign of determination to buy Lancashire goods wherever possible. Mannequin parades are being arranged with the same object in view.

## BOYCOTT OF FOREIGN GOODS

The Bombay English Bleached and Plain Piecegoods Merchants' Association have decided "on account of the continued economic exploitation of India under the British Government's policy and with a view to extend support to Mr. Gandhi's movement" to observe a complete boycott of all foreign cloth for three months forthwith.

## LANCASHIRE'S POSITION

THE MANCHESTER GUARDIAN says that whatever may be thought of the Government of India's manner of fulfilling their responsibilities, the masses of Lancashire cannot and must not trust the efficiency of any measure of retaliation to secure to them the Indian and Chinese markets. The future of Lancashire lies in hard and steady work in internal re-organisation.

## FISCAL AUTONOMY

Sir George Rainy, speaking on the Tariff Bill in the Assembly, declared that the fiscal autonomy convention operated only when the Government of India and the Legislature were in agreement. When this agreement was not possible, the Government of India were responsible to the Secretary of State for India and could not accept the vote of the House against the Government's own judgment.

## PIKARA SCHEME

The Secretary of State has, it is reported, sanctioned the continuance of the appointments for about two years from the beginning of this month of the personal assistant to the Chief Engineer for hydro-electric schemes in the Presidency, the Civil Engineer, the Electrical Engineer and the Engineer-in-Charge, Pikara Hydro-Electric Scheme.

## INDIAN EGGS

An organised attempt is to be made to persuade the British housewife to buy Indian in preference to Chinese eggs. In pursuance of this proposal, the first consignment of 21,600 eggs was shipped by the Ranchi. They came in 15 cases from the United Provinces, one of the largest egg-producing Provinces in India. The United Provinces Poultry Association is sponsoring the venture. The original idea was to collect eggs at Lucknow and forward them to Calcutta for shipment to London. This was subsequently given up and the Bombay port was chosen. It is expected that there will be regular weekly shipments of 72,000 eggs.

## MADRAS AGRICULTURAL SERVICES

The Government of Madras have, it is understood, passed the following orders on the reorganisation of the Agricultural and Veterinary Departments :

The Royal Commission on Superior Services recommended that no further recruitment should be made to the Indian Agricultural Service and the Indian Veterinary Service and that the personnel required therefor should in future be recruited and appointed by local Governments. In accordance with the above recommendation, recruitment to these Services was stopped in 1924 and vacancies were filled up by the creation of temporary posts in the Madras Agricultural Service pending the creation of the new Provincial Service.

The Royal Commission on Agriculture, which examined the question, recommended that the Provincial Agricultural Service might be constituted into two classes—class I replacing the Indian Agricultural Service, and class II the existing Provincial Service with the corresponding scales of pay. The chances of recruitment of non-Asiatics to Provincial Services are small, and future recruits will ordinarily be from local men. The demand of Indians in the past for high salaries was based on the claim that they should get the same salary as the majority of the service.

## MODERN METHODS OF AGRICULTURE

Sardar Sir Jogendra Singh, Minister for Agriculture, Punjab, performed the opening ceremony of the Ferozepore Farm last month. In the course of his speech, he said :

"The Department is still young, so young that I am opening this farm as the starting point of modernising agriculture only to-day in your district. Other countries have been busy, for long years, gathering an immense amount of knowledge and increasing yields, so much so that we have lost some of our markets. It is the ambition of the Agricultural Department to get first the results obtained elsewhere and to improve them, and then to show you how to use them."

Proceeding, he said that, by means of experiments, the Department had been able to secure very good results in some districts—as much as 30 maunds of cotton to the acre, 40 maunds of barley and 100 to 120 maunds of *gurr*. The object of opening the farm was to see to what extent progressive methods of agriculture would improve the district of Ferozepore. He would be satisfied, he said, if in the next ten years, they raised their average yield of cotton to 15 maunds per acre and of *gurr* to at least 50 maunds per acre.

"You can imagine the possibilities of development when I tell you that Java not more than fifty years ago produced the same amount of *gurr* per acre which we are doing to-day," he continued.

"Java had improved its sugar-canes to such an extent that every acre now produced about 150 maunds of white sugar and levies a tribute from India, which is more than all the land revenue we pay in the Punjab."



## BAN ON INDIAN MEDICAL DEGREES

Prominent members of the Medical Profession in Bombay are preparing themselves to take up the challenge that has been flung at them by the British Medical Council who have refused to recognise Indian Medical degrees. An urgent meeting of the Bombay Medical Council was held last month at the Secretariat to consider, among other things, the decision of the British Medical Council, the Surgeon-General with the Government of Bombay presiding. The proceedings were "in camera."

Interviewed on the subject, the Hon. Moulvi Rafiuddin Ahmed, Minister of Education, declared that the attitude of the Government of Bombay was wholly dependent upon the action that was taken by the Government of India in the matter. "The whole question is that the British Medical Council has not yet informed us officially of its decision. We cannot rely upon mere newspaper reports."

The following resolutions have been passed by the South Indian Medical Union (the organisation of the independent medical profession):—

The South Indian Medical Union (Madras) welcomes the decision of the General Medical Council of Great Britain withdrawing the recognition of the degrees of the Indian Universities as this enables the country to develop medical education in India on lines best suited to Indian conditions, without being hampered by the dictates of the General Medical Council of Great Britain.

The South Indian Medical Union requests the Government to remove the disabilities of medical graduates of Indian Universities consequent on the decision of the General Medical Council withdrawing recognition of Indian degrees.

The South Indian Medical Union requests the Government of India to take early steps to establish a General Medical Council in India to control and develop medical education in India.

## CANCER AMONG ANIMALS

Remarkable facts regarding cancer distribution and the prevalence of the disease among animals are contained in a preliminary report of the Westmoreland Field Commission for Cancer Research published in the BRITISH MEDICAL JOURNAL.

Dr Lois Sambon, under whose guidance the investigation was carried out, says the Commission, discovered that certain villages in Westmoreland were entirely free of cancer, while others suffered heavily. The same condition applied to single streets and houses, but perhaps the most striking discovery was the great prevalence of all types of malignant and other neoplasms among wild and domestic animals. This has opened up a wide field of possibilities which the Commission is exploiting.

The report points out that, without knowledge of animal sources of infection, it is impossible to understand, much less control, outbreaks of the disease in man. A memorable example is that of the Russian artillery which was sent to destroy all inhabitants of a plague-stricken border village in order to stay the epidemic. Unfortunately, the people were sacrificed, but nobody troubled about the rats, and the disease soon spread like wild-fire.

## AERO-PLANE SURGERY

A New type aero-plane, which is virtually a flying operating theatre, is now undergoing tests in Great Britain. This new flying surgery is intended for use in the remote parts of the Empire, where medical aid is usually difficult to obtain. The body of the machine is so arranged that a stretcher can be placed on board without disturbing the patient, and racks for surgical instruments are fitted, with an ice chest and fresh water tanks. There is accommodation for a doctor and two nurses, in addition to the crew and the patient.

## THE CASE FOR SCIENCE

"Science has knit the world more closely together than treaties. War is no longer well adapted to secure national needs. The recent War was not the sin of science, it was the last struggle of the militarists to escape from the new order," says Dr. Robert A. Millikan, the Nobel prize-winner.

"The worst disasters in the world have come from a panic born of ignorance. Great explosions, like the World War, have been mental, not physical. Science is influencing men to replace panicky action by reason. War was the chief occupation of man before science was understood, and every scientific advance shows ten times as many peaceful uses as those supplying warlike needs. We might as well find out the facts, for we have to live with them."

## ARTIFICIAL RADIUM RAYS

Artificial radium rays produced by 1,600,000 volts of electricity in special vacuum tubes, have now been achieved by physicists at the Department of Terrestrial Magnetism of the Carnegie Institution annual of Washington. At the Institution's annual exhibit of its research activities, the tubes for producing these rays were shown.

The tubes are really X-ray tubes, and by applying voltages of from one half to several million, rays similar to the gamma rays of radium are emitted. The other kinds of radium rays, known as alpha and beta rays, can be produced by suitably modifying such a tube. With the aid of these rays the Carnegie physicists are studying the structure of the heart of the atom.

The tube is composed of many separate X-ray tubes with the rays of feeding from one into the next. The entire battery of tubes is immersed in oil, while each one is individually shielded from the others. This makes possible smaller tubes, and higher voltages, than Dr. W. D. Coolidge, of the General Electric Co., needs in a somewhat similar expression.

## MILLION YEARS HENCE

What would happen to the world after a million million years hence? The inquiry may not be profitable but all the same does not cease to be interesting. Scientists tell us that matter was evolved from crystallized units of electricity which in turn evolved the atom. Evolution presupposes involution: but at what stage it is to begin or whether it has already begun, it is difficult and almost impossible to say. That which had a beginning must have an end. Lord Kelvin says "it is almost certain that the sun has not illuminated the Earth for 500,000,000 years. As for the future we may say with equal certainty that inhabitants cannot continue to enjoy the light and heat essential to their life for many million years longer, unless sources now unknown to us are prepared in the great store-house of creation." Sir J. H. Jeans, a distinguished astronomer, writes that "after a million million years hence the inevitable course of events will have reduced the Earth's temperature by about 30 degrees centigrade." Whether terrestrial life would continue in this temperature it would be rash to conclude. But as the writer says, "the inevitable wastage of the sun's weight is likely to drive all life out of Earth." This gloomy outlook is relieved by the assertion that the Venus may step into the place of Earth, when Earth fails, as fail it must one day.

## HIGHER THAN EVEREST?

It is reported that Dr. Joseph Rock, Director of the National Geographic Society's expedition to South-West China and Tibet, who has just returned to America, has discovered a mountain higher than Everest in the Himalaya Range.

## Literary

### THE INDIAN DAILY MAIL

Mr. K. Natarajan relinquished the editorship of the INDIAN DAILY MAIL, on the 15th March after filling that responsible position for nearly five years. He accepted the chair in 1925 at a



Mr. K. NATARAJAN

critical stage in the history of the paper, and during these five years, this journal though comparatively young rose rapidly in public estimation. "His capacity to view questions in a detached and a dispassionate manner, his sense of justice and impartiality, even criticising opinions opposed to his own, and his knowledge of human nature have earned for him the respect of the public, and the loyalty of his co-workers and subordinates." He has now resumed the Editorship of the INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

Mr. F. W. Wilson, the new Editor, was lately editor of the PIONEER. Of him the DAILY MAIL writes:

"Although Mr. F. W. Wilson has only been two and a half years in India, he has already made a name for himself throughout the country as a skilled and sympathetic writer on Indian politics. Alone, among English journalists in India, he has

championed the cause of Indian nationalism, strongly advocating Dominion Status, and pleading incessantly for the policy of the Round Table Conference announced by the Viceroy at the end of last year. It is no secret that his views incurred the strongest disapproval in certain official quarters and that his refusal to trim his opinions on the fundamentals of the present political problems in India cost him the editorship of the PIONEER."

### LATE MR. VATCHAGANDHI

The late Mr. Vatchagandhi was the first to start a Gujarati evening newspaper in Bombay. The late Mr. Ardesher Patel, a veteran Parsi journalist and for many years the editor of the "Jam-e-Jamshed", conceived the idea of starting a Gujarati evening newspaper. He approached Mr. Vatchagandhi who supplied the capital. Shortly after the venture had been launched, Mr. Patel died and the brunt of the work fell on his surviving partner who had no knowledge or experience of journalism. Mr. Vatchagandhi was, however, a shrewd business-man and his enterprising nature and sound commonsense came to his aid. He made the venture not only a financial success but he made his newspaper a powerful organ of Indian public opinion.

A short time after his return from Europe, his popular newspaper celebrated its silver jubilee in 1927.

### TRIVENT

The monthly journal, THE NEW ERA, is incorporated with TRIVENT, journal of Indian renaissance, published once in two months. To assist Mr. K. Ramakotiwara Rao, Editor, TRIVENT, in the conduct of the journal, a new Advisory Board has been formed consisting of Prof. S. Radhakrishnan, Prof. K. T. Shah, Mr. C. Jinarajadasa, Dr. B. Pattabhi Sitaramayya, and Mr. M. S. Chelapati (formerly Editor, THE NEW ERA.) The January-February Number contains a number of useful articles.

## THE FUNCTIONS OF UNIVERSITIES

Emphasising the need for a wider outlook in the educational policy of the country, at a meeting held on the 13th of last month in the Senate Hall of the Calcutta University in connection with the



SIR C. V. RAMAN

Students' Day celebration under the auspices of All-Bengal Students' Association, Sir C. V. Raman said: "The Indian Universities are producing stereotyped graduates devoid of interest in wider spheres of life outside the college curricula with the result that in practical life their contribution is not commensurate with their potentialities. Brawn must not be sacrificed to brain, athletics should be given a place of honour".

Illustrating the point, the speaker referred to his experiences in Cambridge where scholars are found indulging in all sorts of manly games all hours of the day which led Sir Ernest Rutherford to retort, "Our universities do not seek to produce mere book-worms, but Governors able to rule an empire," when a Cambridge life was criticised.

## EUROPEAN EDUCATION

Addressing the Madras Diocesan Council, the Bishop of Madras dealt with European education and pointed out that with the growing Indianisation of the services, the places once occupied by the domiciled community were no longer theirs exclusively, and that they must consider whether they received the proper education to equip them to take their place in life in this country, and make suggestions boldly to make the education more efficient. Inefficiency due to want of funds, His Lordship remarked, might spell disaster. There were a large number of small institutions here and there, and they should be concentrated in one place. In the course of a discussion that followed, Mr. A. R. Rebeiro stated that poor Anglo-Indian children were not sufficiently provided for. Dr. H. S. Hensman was of opinion that Anglo-Indian schools should be thrown open to Indian children in order to create better understanding between the pupils of the two communities. Miss de la Hay referred to the great value of the education given in European schools. Rev. Mr. Flynn suggested the consideration of the question of creating a Provident Fund for teachers, and the Rev. H. J. Edmonds expressed the view that poor schools might be brought closer together and a correspondant appointed for all the schools.

## FUNDAMENTAL RIGHTS

The Nair Committee are of opinion that it is essential to embody in the Government of India Act a declaration of certain fundamental rights to the following effect:—

"No subject of the King-Emperor shall, by reason only of his religion, place of birth, descent, colour or caste, or any of them, be disabled from, or prejudiced for the purpose of, holding or being recruited for any office or post paid out of public funds; or of adopting freely any profession, trade or calling or engaging in any industry; or acquiring any right, title or interest in any property; or finding admission to any educational institution supported out of funds in the hands of the Central or Provincial Government or a local body; or entering or using public roads, public wells and other places whatsoever so maintained; and all orders and enactments placing any such disability now in force are null and void. Provided that this provision shall not affect the Punjab Land Alienation Act or any similar Act for the protection of agriculturists in India."

## INTERNATIONAL LAW

Sir Eric Drummond, who attended the Conference on Codification of International Law, speaking at a non-official gathering at which he was entertained, expressed the opinion that members of the League would have to make considerable financial sacrifices in future years to enable the League to carry on its work.

Another meeting discussed the vexed question of nationality of married women. The demonstration began with the march past of girls. The depth of blue in the dresses indicated legislative progress made in various countries towards satisfying the women's claim to be permitted (if she so desires) to retain her own nationality when she marries a foreigner.

## THE "G. O. M." OF THE BAR

Sir Edward Clarke entered on his ninetieth year last February, for he was born on February 15, 1841—a year which has often been described as a "good vintage," King Edward VII., the late Sir Squire Baneroff, and many other celebrities having chosen it.

The "Grand Old Man" of the Bar is in excellent health (says an EVENING STANDARD writer), and when I had a talk with him—he was of course, wearing his famous grey frock-coat—during a garden party given in Albany last summer, he had the physical and mental vigour of a man of quarter of a century his junior.

He chuckled over his discovery that a popular novelist had used a speech he made in a case forty years ago.

Born in the City of London, Sir Edward also went to school in the City, at Dr. Pinch's, where Sir Henry Irving was a fellow-pupil. Before being called to the Bar in 1864 he was for some time—a fact I have rarely seen mentioned—the editor of a monthly magazine. There were youthful editors in those days, for he was only 18.

## THE ENGLISH BAR AND AMERICA

It is proposed that representatives of the English Bar should visit America in August next, as the guests of Canada and the United States. It is anticipated that the invitation would include members of the Bars of Scotland, Northern Ireland and the Irish Free State, and that the French Bar, together with the solicitors' profession and benches of these countries would also be represented. The delegation will have the privilege to be the guests of the Canadian Bar Association at Quebec; to attend the annual meeting of the Canadian Bar Association at Toronto; to be received by the American Bar Association at Buffalo or Detroit and to proceed to Chicago for the annual meeting of the American Bar. Time would also be found for visiting Boston, where the third centenary of the foundation of the city would be in progress.

## SIR FAZL-I-HUSAIN

A Gazette of India Extraordinary dated April 1, says:—

Whereas the Honourable Khan Bahadur Sir Muhammad Habibullah Sahib Bahadur, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E., KT., has, on the afternoon on the 31st



SIR FAZL-I-HUSAIN

March, 1930, vacated the office of a Member of the Executive Council of the Governor-General of India, and whereas His Majesty the King Emperor of India has been graciously pleased to appoint the Honourable Khan Bahadur Mian Sir Fazl-i-Husain, K.C.I.E., KT., Barrister-at-Law, to be a Member of the said Council in the room and place of the said Khan Bahadur Sir Muhammad Habibullah Sahib Bahadur, it is hereby notified that the Honourable Khan Bahadur Mian Sir Fazl-i-Husain has, on the forenoon of this day, taken upon himself the execution of his office.

## MIRABAI'S STORY

\*\*\* Mirabai, (Miss Madeline Slade,) the Englishwoman in Mr. Gandhi's Ashram, is a daughter of the late Admiral Sir Edmund Slade, one time C-in-C. of the East Indies Squadron. Five years ago, Miss Slade, who was then living



MISS M. SLADE

in Paris, became attached to Mr. Gandhi's teachings, according to an account which she herself is said to have given to an interviewer, by reading the life of him by Romain Rolland, the author of "Jean Christophe". She immediately decided to write to Mr. Gandhi, asking him to take her in his Ashram. He replied welcoming her, although he is said to have asked her to think over her decision before making a final choice. In any case, she spent some time in preparations, including the acquisition of a complete khaddar outfit, before she sailed for India. She has renounced her private fortune, and, according to the report of a recent visitor, is turned "almost black" by the sun.

## DARBHANGA'S ENGLISH ESTATE

Sir Rameshwar Singh Bahadur, Maharajah of Darbhanga, of Darbhanga Raj Bahia, and of Grissa, India, a member of the Viceroy's Council of State, and owner of immense properties in India, left, exclusive of Indian property, personal estate in England of the net value of £167,804. He died intestate.

# DR. BESANT'S CABLE

Dr. Besant has sent the following cable to Mr. Wedgwood Benn:—

"Increasing restlessness in India while English policy is uncertain. A definite declaration that



DR. ANNIE BESANT

the work of the Round Table Conference is to outline a Dominion Status Constitution will place matters on a right foundation and direction."

## PANDIT MALAVIYA'S RESIGNATION

Pandit Malaviya, leader of the Opposition in the Assembly, in an elaborate letter of resignation of membership of the Assembly addressed to the Viceroy recalls his record of a quarter of a century in the Legislatures, of his opposition to the boycott of Legislatures at the Lahore Congress, and successful persuasion of a number of Congressmen to seek re-election, and the evils inherent in the present system of government and declares that, under the Reforms, the power of the Government of India to exploit India in British interests has very little diminished and that they have used it almost as freely as they used to do, and in certain respects much more freely than before the inauguration of the Reforms. He enumerates his charges against the Government

including the continuance of the oppressively high military expenditure, non-appointment of a single Indian to the Railway Board, the ruinous financial administration, especially the currency and exchange policy of the Government, and its use of the bloc of 40 official and nominated votes to force through the House unpopular measures.

Adverting to the Viceroy's Announcement, which he welcomed, he says one of the conditions for offering help to the proposed Round Table Conference was that the Government should begin to act as if Dominion Status had come into existence. A very important occasion arose to show this when taxation and fiscal proposals were put forward, but the fiscal autonomy convention, as explained in the Selborne, Crows and Fiscal Commission reports, was violated by the Government. Even the clear opinion of the Chair was disregarded and the Government practically coerced the House to accept their imperial preference scheme. He could therefore no longer work a system under which such atrocious wrongs were perpetrated on the people.



SIR E. N. BHABHA  
who succeeds Sir E. N. Mitra to the Viceroy's Executive Council.

## FIRST INDIAN TO FLY TO ENGLAND

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The following Communique has been issued:—

The Governor-General in Council is pleased to grant a sum of Rs. 7,500 to Mr. R. N. Chawla in recognition of his successful flight from Karachi to England. The flight complied with all the conditions laid down with regard to the Aga Khan's prize except that Mr. Chawla flew in company with Mr. Engineer, a son of Mr. H. M. Irani of Karachi, who very kindly provided the aero-plane whereas, to be eligible for the Aga Khan's prize, a solo flight must be carried out. Mr. Chawla's flight was undertaken on a D. H. 50 air-craft fitted with a Gipsy engine. Mr. Chawla originally learnt to fly in October 1928 at the Nottingham Aero-Club. He returned to India in 1929 and his training has been continued by the Karachi Aero-Club since October last. This further training was rendered possible by

the generosity of a keen supporter of aviation, who placed funds for the purpose at the disposal of the Director of Civil Aviation. Mr. Chawla is the first pilot to fly in a light aero-plane from

Although at present it only touched the merest fringe of India's millions, it was undoubtedly educating them in some measure and drawing the lowest classes from the grogshop, and others from less desirable entertainments.

In the course of a discussion that ensued, Mr. Bruce Woolfe, Managing Director of British Instructional Films, expressed the opinion that India should concentrate on producing films for international exhibition rather than internal.

Sir Atul Chatterjee supported Mr. Bruce Woolfe and stressed the need for cultural films which, he hoped, would help completely to transform Indian village life.

Dr. Drummond Shiels advocated the travelling cinema on the lines adopted by the Railway Board and the show of health films for the prevention of epidemics. He hoped in places where illiteracy prevailed, talkies would become most useful.

## INDIA vs. ENGLAND

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## THE COTTON TARIFF BILL

On March 31st the Assembly rejected Pandit Malaviya's amendment to the Cotton Tariff Bill by 44 votes to 60 and carried Mr. Chetty's amendment by 62 votes to 42. The Bill as thus



PUNDIT MALAVIYA

amended was passed. The Nationalist Party led by Pandit Malaviya thereupon walked out in protest.

The President in his ruling held that Pandit Malaviya's points were points of order. As for the first point, he did not hold that any specific interpretation of fiscal convention was necessary for any specific purpose connected with the debate and it was therefore unnecessary for him to interpret the convention at this stage. As regards the second point, he said whether the interpretation of Pandit Malaviya or of the Commerce Member be correct, the Government had taken up an attitude which they had no right to do and which had created the impression in the minds of members that if they did not accept the Government's proposals, the mill industry would go without protection resulting in its total destruction. Even according to the Commerce Member's interpretation, the Secretary of State would resume his powers in a case of disagreement between the Government and Legislature's views, but if the House was deprived of free vote, it would, by accepting the Government's proposal, be also deprived of having the matter

examined by the Secretary of State. The statement, therefore, that the Government would not proceed with the Bill, was not warranted by the constitutional position and was calculated to seriously interfere with the free vote of the House. There was also the power of recommendation and certification. The Government were not, therefore, fair to themselves or to the Secretary of State when they conveyed the impression that if the House did not accept their proposals, they would allow the mill industry to go to wreck and ruin. He asked the Government even at this late stage to reconsider their attitude and tell the House if they had an open mind, because by their attitude they had rendered the whole debate unreal and farcical and violated the spirit of the convention.

As for the third point, if the convention was to be worked in the spirit of the Selborne Report, the official members should not vote, but by no stretch of language was it open to the Chair to rule that officials or nominated non-officials shall not vote.

Sir B. N. Mitra, Leader of the House, said the Government had given considerable thought with an open mind to the various amendments, and had decided to accept Mr. Chetty's amendment. Sir George Raib, wished the House to know clearly the Government's position and his statement had been made after the fullest consideration. He regretted, therefore, that the Government were unable to accept the Chair's suggestion and to resile in any way from their position.

Before putting Pandit Malaviya's amendment to the vote of the Assembly, President Patel said in view of the fact that Government were unable to accept his suggestion, he had decided to place on record that any final decision by the Assembly on this question would not be by the free vote of this House.

- March 18. Earl Balfour is dead.  
 March 19. Trial of Mr. Sen Gupta begins at Rangoon.  
 March 20. Satin Sen is convicted and sentenced to six months' rigorous imprisonment.  
 March 21. Sir Hugh Stephenson is appointed Acting Governor of Bengal.



MR. R. S. DAJPAI

- April 7. Messrs. Kothari, Ramdas Gandhi and several other Salt Satyagrahis throughout India are arrested and convicted.  
 April 8. Messrs. Nariman and Mr. G. Desai have been sentenced for breaking Salt Law.  
 April 9. Mr. Deva Das Gandhi is arrested and convicted for breaking salt law.  
 April 10. Sir K. V. Reddi leaves Madras for Simla en route to South Africa.  
 April 11. Mrs. and Mr. Motilal Nehru re-name Ananda Bhawan as Swarajya Bhawan and dedicate it to the public.  
 April 12. Mr. Sen Gupta is convicted for 6 months' R. I. for reading proscribed literature.  
 April 13. Pandit Malaviya launches the campaign of boycott of foreign cloth in the Punjab.  
 April 14. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru is sentenced to 6 months' S. I. for breaking Salt Law.  
 April 15. Messrs. Prakasam and Nageswara Rao are fined Rs. 500 each and their cars are attached on their refusal to pay the same.



SIR DENYS BRAY

- March 22. Mr. R. S. Dajpai succeeds Mr. Coatsman as Director of Public Information.  
 March 23. Mr. Sen Gupta has been sentenced to 10 days' simple imprisonment.  
 March 24. Government of India awards Rs. 7,500 to Mr. Chawla, the Indian Aviator, who reached London by Air.  
 March 25. A. I. C. C. approves Gandhi's programme.  
 March 26. Trial of Prof. Indra begins in Delhi.  
 March 27. Indian teachers of Sastri College leave Bombay for Durban.  
 March 28. Council of State passes Finance Bill.  
 March 29. Mr. Langford James, Senior Counsel in the Meerut Conspiracy Case, is dead.  
 March 30. Assembly passes the Tariff Bill as amended by Mr. Chetti.  
 March 31. Mr. Sen Gupta is released.  
 April 1. Bengal Council passes the Criminal Law Amendment Bill.  
 April 2. Pandit Malaviya and seven nationalists walk out from the Assembly.  
 April 3. Council of State passes the Tariff Bill.  
 April 4. Mr. Cosgrave is re-elected President of the Irish Free State.  
 April 5. Prof. Indra is awarded 9 months' rigorous imprisonment by the Delhi Magistrate.  
 April 6. Mr. Gandhi and 84 volunteers break the Salt Law at Dandi and manufacture salt.

- April 16. Sir Denys Bray is appointed member of the India Council.  
 April 17. An Anglo-Soviet Trade Agreement is signed.

# THE INDIAN REVIEW

A MONTHLY PERIODICAL DEVOTED TO THE DISCUSSION OF ALL TOPICS OF INTEREST.

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## The League of Nations and India

BY DR. SIR DEVAPRASAD SARVADHIKARY

IT is a hopeful and significant sign of the times that the busy representatives of the nations of the world who are members of the League of Nations at Geneva, amidst their multitudinous engagements and engrossing calls upon their time should have the inclination, and be able to, make time for learning things and matters connected with India, whenever there is an opportunity. During the few weeks that I have attended the League meetings in Geneva, as a member of the Indian Delegation, nothing has struck me more than the acute interest that men and women from all lands, otherwise deeply preoccupied, manifest in matters Indian, even in the most meticulous details. Truth and half-truths find prominence in columns of newspapers representing all ranks and shades of political opinion and presenting to the European mind exaggerated and often absolutely unreliable pictures and stories of what is going on in India in connection with or absolutely unconnected with the constitutional demands engrossing attention in Great Britain and India. These misrepresentations have made no difference to the interest in India which, while phenomenal, is not always grotesque. I have not been asked, for example, as I used to be asked even in cultured circles in South Africa, whether

India has any mountains higher than the Table Mountains, whether there is in India any city bigger than Johannesburg, and whether, besides the Moslem and the Christian, there are any religious denominations in India. Macaulay's "Every schoolboy" knows a little more of India nowadays than that, but the ignorance is all the same still colossal. If there is to be a clear and proper understanding between India at its best and Great Britain and other civilised nations of the West at their best, mountain high misapprehensions must be removed, and that can be done not only by mere propaganda but by close personal and human contact. For this reason I have been pressing with all the earnestness and zeal that I can command at every possible place and time—sometimes I am afraid also impossible—that there should be a permanent delegation, legation or representation—whatever you may call it—of India in Geneva, as there is in the case of other countries and nations. Even when information in abundance can be otherwise secured, the League has League correspondents in places like London, Rome, Berlin, Paris and Tokio, to propagate League notions, to impart League information, and to collect information on behalf of the League. The intellectual Co-operation Bureau of the League is in

Paris, but the Cultural Institute of the League is in Rome, and other centres of League activities are to be met with at other important centres. While I press for Indian representation in Geneva, I also earnestly press for the establishment of a League office in some centre of culture in India, like Calcutta or Bombay, or at least in a political centre like Simla or Delhi. This point of view has found favour with League officials and many members of the League, and it remains to be seen whether the idea will fructify or not.

There was hardly an afternoon or evening when I have not been called upon to narrate to crowded, enthusiastic and interested meetings in Geneva what India stands for. The vastness of the subject has made it impossible for me to deal with it in even the most fragmentary way, and the treatment has necessarily been of an extremely casual character. I have, however, tried to bring home to my audience that it is a mistake to think that the rank and file of the Indian population are uneducated in the real sense of the term, or that women in India are oppressed, paralysed and crushed down as some reformers try to paint the picture, or that disorder and disorderliness are the absolute and unfailing objective of the people. Abuses there are, have always been and will be; abuses sometimes of a monumental character lasting over ages. But to think of India as a vivid exemplification of the unchanging East, whether in political, religious, social or economic matters, is one of the biggest mistakes of the century. When after spending a few years or even months abroad an Indian returns home he finds changes in all directions, that at times stagger him. These changes may

not always be on the surface but are, all the same, real though subtle. In the same way the Hindn religion, or to be more accurate religions, is not the same to-day as it was and has been in the ages past. Nor is Hindu society the same. Hinduism viewed and understood aright is but a series of protestantism spread over long-drawn ages. The teachings of the raiders, though allied to, are different from the teachings of its founders. In the same way the teachings of the Upanishads are different from, though interconnected with the teachings in the Purans and other later Scriptures that got inter-mixed with the Buddhist teachings and have at times been seemingly inseparable from one another. To suit the requirements of the times, to keep pace with fast moving times, there have been protests against abuse after abuse, whether of principle or of practice. There has thus been infinite change, though seemingly indefinite, and the enormous elasticity of the religious system and also the social system of the Hindu, has made it possible for him not only to outlive ancient civilizations that find place in history, but also succeed in growing from more to more. Systems that were once the pride and glory of Greece, of Chaldea, Babylonia, Assyria, Egypt and Crete, and of Persia and China in the mid and far East, have now been gathered into the majority. The Hindu still exists, and it is legitimately claimed that, in spite of seeming weakness, all-round strength is really gathering and manifestations of it in all directions will not be long wanting. However backward for the moment we may be politically, however long delayed may be Dominion status, which India insistently and unitedly demands,

the first principles have been acceded to when India was allowed to be a party and a real signatory to the Treaty of Versailles. That is the *Covenant under which the League assembles and works*, and though with the growing requirements of the times amendments of the Covenant are becoming necessary though the growing popular demands in the countries that have suffered, revision of the Treaty of Versailles and the Pact of Paris will soon be necessary for the real peace of the world, there can be no getting away from the position that, in spite of her political drawbacks, India has been accorded by the united councils of Great Britain at least the technical position of Dominion status. If that was not accorded India would not have a place in the League of Nations.

As a matter of fact, at the start this objection was seriously adduced by many who urged that India, having no responsible and representative Government in the League sense, could not become a member of the League. While the United States, Egypt and Turkey are still outside the pale of the League, India has an honoured and credited position there, and that position has to be made good. It is by bringing home India as she really is to the united representatives of 54 nations that assemble at the League that India's claim will really remain good in the end, and for this purpose proper understanding of her religious, economic and social organisations is of the utmost importance. It is not possible to give even the faintest idea of these vast and multitudinous subjects of far-reaching importance in one discourse. The International Club of Geneva, the Supreme Peace Organisation and other Societies of a similar

kind, deeply interested in these subjects, have been requisitioning my services for expounding points connected with these *grave issues*. Whatever has been imperfectly placed before them has been appreciated with great interest, and zeal and enthusiasm have been roused with more knowledge in every direction.

It is therefore with high hopes and supreme gratification that in spite of the many calls on my time I have been able to do what little was possible within the limited time at my disposal. To the Indian reader it is unnecessary to set forth details regarding these subjects, which were of momentous interest to the European audience, but Europeans and Indians alike would be all the better for the conviction that India is no longer a part of that unchanging East that has always been a terror to the European mind, bent on its betterment and advancement.

India can give a real and acceptable contribution in carrying out the objects of the League. In its present position questions of disarmament and other international questions of supreme moment must necessarily be left to the British Delegation to deal with. In regard to questions of tariffs and customs, which are dividing members of the British Delegation amongst themselves, matters must be left to the intervention and final arbitration of bodies like the Imperial Conference in London. In matters of internal politics, like those agitating all sections of the Indian people, we will await with bated breath the issues of bodies like the Round Table Conference, that also is soon meeting in London. These are mat

ters of inter-internal politics, or inter-Dominion politics that cannot come before the League of Nations and do not ordinarily do so. These questions furnish difficulties and delicate situations hard to deal with and the Indian who is pressed down with the sense of uncertainty and worse in regard to things going on in his own country, can hardly conjure up strength and fortitude enough to follow his right role in the League of Nations that has been assigned to India under the Treaty of Versailles. He feels that in his uncertainty of position he is more or less toying with the situation and can hardly find strength and insistence enough to make his position felt. Theoretically he has been accredited with all the rights and powers that other nations have, but when it comes to practice he feels that he is acting almost in phantom form.

However much all this may be true of things political and of moral interest, there is no getting away from the fact that even in this imperfect condition of things India can make real contributions to League activities in various directions. In regard to questions of health, for example, it was one of the most important items dealt with by what is known as the Second Committee of the League, officials and experts engaged in the elucidation of health questions in India can make real contributions. India is the home of maladies bare mention of the names of which would take away the breath of the European expert. Malaria, cholera, smallpox, hookworm and kalazar have all their assigned place within that Temple of Unhealth. Active and vigorous research and propaganda work would be possible in all these various directions and

Indian contribution will not and cannot be negligible.

Take again the question of Intellectual Co-operation which also is an important item of activity of the Second Committee. Although for ten years these activities had been more or less in evidence, nothing much has been done in the way of securing co-operation and contribution from India. The Parisian Institute which has charge of affairs in this direction has of recent times been disorganised, and under the new reorganisation scheme, in which Monsieur Bonnet will have a large part, interchange of professors, students and research scholars will be possible. In regard to the library movement, the museums movement, the movement for the protection of rights of authors and scientific investigators, the movement for the protection of art in general and the advancement of artistic ideas, and the movements for collecting bibliographical information regarding all spheres of Intellectual activity, India could make a real contribution. Take again important matters like child welfare in its broadest sense, and the subject of illicit traffic in noxious and narcotic drugs, in these the Indian contribution can be considerable. It would not be right, therefore, either for Indian delegates or for the Indian people to think that they have no real part to play in connection with League activities, and non-co-operation with health in the various directions suggested would spell indefinite and infinite injury to the Indian cause in the eyes of the representatives of the world who come together in the Geneva League of Nations. As soon, therefore, as a settled state of things becomes possible in India, everyone's efforts must be correlated for the advancement of League ideas in the directions mentioned above. With growing and larger political powers, other avenues of activities will also soon open, and when that is done India's place in the League of Nations will have been more than justified.

# Impressions of South Africa

BY RAO BAHADUR M. A. TIRUNARAYANACHARI, B.A., M.L.

OF the countries overseas where our Indians are settled, I had already visited Burma, Ceylon, the Malay States and Indo-China, and I was desirous of visiting South Africa of which we have heard so much. So, when during his recuperation from his recent illness, Sir Kurma Venkata Reddi extended to me a very kind invitation to visit South Africa as his guest, I readily accepted it.

I left Bombay on the 16th July by the S. S. KHANDALLA, one of the four steamers of the B. I. S. N. Co., which ply between Bombay and Durban regularly once a fortnight and carry the Mails. The sea was very rough for nearly a week after we left Bombay, as it was then the middle of the monsoon. The steamers call at several very interesting places on the way. Our first stop was at the Seychelles, a group of Islands right in the middle of the Indian Ocean 1,500 miles from the nearest land, and getting its tides once a month. The Islands are very fertile and the rainfall is plentiful. Coconuts are grown largely and without effort, and with Vanilla form the chief export. There also grows the double coconut or *cocoa de mer*, the shells of which are used by wandering mendicants in India as begging bowls. Formerly, the islands were ruled by the French, but now they are British. There is a small Colony of South Indians, mostly from Tanjore. We then visited Mombassa, the rising port of Kenya and Uganda, Zanzibar, an Island nominally ruled over by a Sultan but in reality by a French Resident, and producing 9/10ths of the world's output of cloves, Dar-es-salam, the capital of Tanganyika, formerly German,

but after the War, administered by the British as a mandated territory under the League of Nations, and lastly Lorenzo Marques, the capital of Portuguese East Africa, at the head of the picturesque Delagoa Bay, a beautiful city with its princely Polane Hotel, its sea baths, kiosks, shops and broad avenues, looking like a European sea-side town bodily transplanted to the African Continent. After a voyage lasting 21 days, we reached Durban, the chief port of Natal.

South Africa has a temperate climate, healthy and bracing. Situated south of the equator, its seasons are the reverse of those in the northern latitudes. When we have our summer, they have their winter, and *vice versa*. In fact, when I reached Durban, winter was just coming to a close. Johannesburg and Pretoria (5700 and 4500 feet respectively above sea-level) are colder than Durban, and so is Cape Town, which, though on the sea-coast, is some degrees further south. Fruits grow plentifully; peaches, plums, apples, apricots, pears, grapes, oranges-grape fruits, pineapples, and mandarins (a kind of loose-skinned orange). Bananas are grown largely in Natal. There are the diamond mines at Kimberley and the gold mines in the Transvaal.

Four Provinces form the Union of South Africa, Cape Colony, Natal, Transvaal and the Orange Free State. Each of the Provinces has got its Provincial Council, while there is a Union Assembly with power over all. The Central Government is more of the type of the Government of India than a Federal Government. The Government is now pre-

dominantly Dutch, the British having lost power with the fall of General Smuts. The British however preponderate in Natal. The party in power wish to throw off the connexion with the British Empire, and talk of establishing the right of secession. They have devised a flag for the Union in which the Union Jack appears as a small speck, which it requires a microscope to detect. The British in Natal are opposed to this policy and also feel that their Province is not treated fairly. In their turn, they talk of seceding from the Union, if the Union should secede from the Empire.

However nice the climate and rich the soil, it was painful to see how Indians are treated there—the disabilities and humiliations to which they are subjected. The Indian population in the four Provinces is as follows:—

#### CENSUS OF 1921

	Indians.	Whites.
Cape Colony ...	6,493	650,609
Natal ...	141,336	136,838
Transvaal ...	13,405	513,485
Orange Free State ...	100	189,556

Various laws have been passed prohibiting Indians from acquiring land. When the boroughs alienate vacant sites, they add what is called the Asiatic clause, that is, prohibiting the purchaser from selling to an Asiatic. Such a clause has been held to run with the land. Even private owners, when they sell land, add such a clause, and it is considered negligence on the part of a solicitor if he omits to put in such a clause when he draws up a sale-deed.

All traders are required to take out licenses, but while in the case of white men the licenses are granted as a matter of course, in the case of Indians, they are as a rule refused. Indians

cannot reside on or occupy for purposes of trade land held under the Gold Law in the Transvaal, but are confined to locations which are kept in a horribly filthy state and do not receive the attention of the Boroughs or Corporations. Even elsewhere they live in locations more or less under similar conditions. In the extensive and beautiful residential quarters of Durban called 'Berea,' there is not one single house occupied by an Indian.

Indians cannot bear arms and they have not the franchise, Parliamentary or Municipal, save in the Cape Province, where they have the Municipal franchise, and can vote for the Provincial Council but not for the Assembly. Even here, they have been swamped by the recent enfranchisement of white women.

The education of Indian children is practically neglected. While there is free and compulsory education for white children, there is no such provision for coloured children. Of 48,183 Indian children, 8,416 are taught in schools (12 Government and 39 aided schools) while of 338,500 white children, 331,031, are educated in 4,833 schools. There is almost no provision for high school or University or professional training for Indians.

In the public trams, they have to mount up to the top and there occupy two back rows. They are not admitted to theatres or hotels. They cannot sit on the benches in the streets or public parks. Their children cannot ride on Jumbo, the elephant presented to the Durban Zoo by an Indian Maharaja. In the Railway stations, the Post Offices, and even in Courts of Justice, separate places are assigned to white and coloured people, the best positions, of course, being allotted to the former.



If Indians wish to travel by train, they have to give previous notice so that a special compartment reserved for non-Europeans may be attached.

I may mention two instances which came within my personal experience. At Durban, an Indian friend phoned to a Taxi Co to send a taxi. The officer of the company wanted to know the name of the person for whom it was wanted and when an Indian name was mentioned, he curtly replied that they did not let their Taxis to coloured gents. Again in Cape Town, I went to the Office of a Company which ran a charabanc to the Cape of Good Hope to buy a ticket, but the clerk said he was sorry but they issued tickets to whites only, adding "These Cape Town people are a funny lot." By what is called the Gandhi-Smuts Agreement made in 1913, it was agreed that there should be no further Indian Immigration into South Africa, while the Government undertook to treat the domiciled Indians fairly. But while the first provision has been strictly enforced, the second was violated. There was bitter resentment, and a Round Table Conference was held at which a compromise was arrived at whereby the Union Government agreed not to impose further disabilities on Indians and to educate them to Western standards. But it is hardly three years since the agreement was reached, before we find that the Government have introduced the Transvaal Asiatic Bill which draws the noose tighter round the necks of the Indians and imposes on them further disabilities as to residence and occupation.

When we consider that the vast majority of the Indians were taken there under covenants that they would be settled on the land after the

period of Indenture was over, that they were so settled, that they have lived there for two and even three generations, and that they have distinguished themselves by their industry, sobriety and law-abiding nature (the proportion of Indians in Jail is far less than that of white men and African natives) it is difficult to believe that a nation calling itself civilised can treat them in the way it does, or be so callous to fair name and the world's opinion. The Government are anxious to clear them out of the country by any means, fair or foul. Side by side with the coercive policy, they have a repatriation scheme by which Indians are induced to return to India by the offer of a passage and a bonus of 10 to 15 £ per head. But this scheme has not been successful, as they find the Indian climate unsuitable and are not able to obtain employment here.

Very few of the original immigrants are left, and most of the Indians in South Africa have been born there and in many cases their parents also. They have not seen India, and the places from which their forbears came are to them but a tradition. Yet their love and reverence for India are great, and they love to hear about India and especially about the great movement that is going on for India's Independence. They worship Gandhi and claim with pride that he had his first training in South Africa. They are very hospitable to visitors from India. They do not observe caste distinctions. Hindus and Mohamedans live like brothers, although they do not intermarry. Hindu girls are generally not married before 18 or 20. They do not seem to have much sympathy with the Justice party of

Madras, which they often call the 'Injustice party'.

I had the privilege of visiting the Sastri College at Durban, and of meeting the six Professors who have been sent from India. Though called a College, it is only a High school. The buildings have been built at a cost of Rs. 1,70,000 provided by the Indian residents. But the Government maintains the Institution. It is intended to make it a training College for teachers. The Indian Professors came from different parts of India: 2 from Madras (both Malayalees), 1 from Bengal, 1 from Bombay, 1 from the United provinces, and one is a Mahomedan.

The Principal spoke well of their work. He said he wanted men who could teach languages (French and Latin) but the India Government had sent Science and Mathematics men. Of course, it was not the latter's fault.

I cannot close without bearing a word of testimony to the great name left behind by the Rt. Hon. Mr. Sastri, the first Agent of the Government of India, both among Europeans and Indians. I have heard many a one among the former say that it was a revelation to him to find that an Indian could wield the English tongue with a facility and grace which very few even born Englishmen could hope to attain.

## The Defence of India

BY MR. ISWARIAH S. ANDREWS, B.LITT.,

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THE problem of India's defence affords a powerful searchlight on the whole constitutional future of the country. In fact the two are inextricably bound up with each other. The Dominions of the British Empire have not got a baffling defence problem such as obtains in India, and therefore any conception of a dominion constitution for India is complicated by the difficulty of a solution of the problem of defence compatible with such a constitution.

### STANDING ARMY IN INDIA

The object of stationing a powerful standing army, almost on a war footing, is twofold: to protect the country from foreign invasion and also to protect her against herself, i.e., to prevent the rival peoples and sects from flying at each other's throats. Now, let us examine these in detail, as well as all other

collateral factors bearing on this question of the army in India.

The question of defence takes us back into the dim past of India's history. India has had to endure a series of incursions by foreign invaders who have forced their way through the defiles in the north-west and at other points where a gap was found in the immense mountain barrier which cuts off India from the rest of Asia. Since the mutiny of 1857 there have been 80 expeditions undertaken by the Government of India to ward off foreign invasions, which works up to one invasion a year,—quite an annual function like the exodus to the hills! Events of the last few months prove how easily the frontier may be set ablaze.

An Indian publicist—Sir C. P. Ramaswamy Iyer, if the writer is not mistaken—once

suggested that the League of Nations should undertake the responsibility for ensuring the safety and inviolability of the frontier. The suggestion is not quite so easy of solution because behind the frontier lie states and peoples that have not, and never can, come under the League of Nations. The frontier, therefore, is the real bugbear of the whole problem of self-government for India. Self-government and self-defence go hand in hand.

#### DEFENCE AND SELF-GOVERNMENT

When the principle of "progressive realisation of self-government for India" was enunciated in the 1917 declaration, it seems for one reason or another the hard facts of the Indian defence were not faced in the light of reforms in India. Now, the deadlock having arrived with "dominion status" the cry of the land, it is important and necessary to analyse and examine all the facts and factors operating in a situation of this character, keeping the broad fact prominently in mind namely, that the conditions partly geographical and partly racial that are peculiar to India, afford no parallel with the question of dominions defence.

In the case of the dominions of the British Empire, no serious risk of foreign invasion threatened them when they arrived at successive stages of self-government and were able to dispose with British troops. In case of emergency, the dominions raised a nucleus army from its citizens, and if there was a menace from without there was always the British navy in the offing; and thus the problem of defence was rendered relatively simple. But the situation is different in the case of India: it is the natural victim of the invader; from time

immemorial it has been the happy hunting-ground of hordes of invaders. For the first time in the history of India the problem of its security from invasion was tackled when the British came and maintained to this day by incessant vigilance and not a little hard fighting. The frontiers of India are strewn with myriads of graves of soldiers, British and Indian, that tell the price of India's peace. In 1919-20, there were 600 raids in which 300 British subjects were killed and 460 kidnapped and property worth Rs. 2,000,000 looted; In 1922-23, 125 raids, 50 killed, 60 kidnapped and Rs. 7000 looted. Mr. K. T. Paul, in his book "The British Connection with India", states: "to this service undertaken, by one people for another, I do not know of a parallel in the history of the world, not excluding Rome; either in the magnitude, the difficulty or the cost in human life".

The grim reality of the frontier situation being recognised so far, the important issue arises as to why, during the last 150 years of British rule, India's teeming millions had not been fitted for the task of taking over the burden of defence? A critical analysis of this question involves a careful examination of several factors, starting with the mutiny of 1857. The mutiny constitutes a tragic chapter in the history of the Indian army. Standard works on the history of India, dealing with this event, do hardly narrate the terrible atrocities perpetrated on both sides; only the Indian atrocities loom large on the page of these works. But to those who would want to know about the atrocities committed by the British army, I would say "go to the British Museum and read Lord (then Subaltern) Robert's letters to his mother, which are

carefully preserved to this day in the historical records section of the museum". These letters, reeking of abominable cruelties and atrocities that put the much-advertised German atrocities in Belgium in the shade, naturally have not been incorporated in the works on the life of this gallant Field-Marshal.

The upshot of the mutiny was this; the fear and distrust aroused by this event, the atrocities committed on both sides, dug a deep gulf of suspicion which affected the army organisation most of all. The granting of the King's Commission to Indians practically ceased. The gunners in the artillery were to be exclusively British and also the scientific corps, the engineers, the signallers, and latterly the air force and the tank corps. In other words, the leadership and brains of the army were to be British; Indians were effectively shut out from real responsibility, and from that experience in the higher commands which is so important in modern warfare. The attitude of distrust also led to the exclusion of Indians from the volunteer corps, until during the crisis of the European war a territorial force was seen to be desirable.

#### REACTIONS OF THIS POLICY

As a natural sequel of the policy of the British Government, the intelligentsia of India and the old aristocratic families ceased to have their ideals of public service and their sense of discipline maintained by the honourable duties of military service in defence of their own land, with the result the army was recruited as a rule from the uneducated classes producing types unequal for the duties demanded of an officer to-day.

At this point, the question, naturally, might be asked, "would not India have made rapid strides of advance in the direction of self-defence as an integral part of self-rule, had the deep gulf of suspicion and distrust—the aftermath of the mutiny—not existed at all? To this question a fair answer is possible after taking into account two or three fundamental factors bearing on this aspect of the matter.

#### MILITARY TRADITION

Students of military history realise that a country, to be properly equipped for the arduous task of self-defence, must possess a military tradition, and an aptitude on the part of a large section of its citizen for military life. Judged by this test, it is apparent that the peoples of India are as divergent in their aptitude for soldiering as they are in race and religion. Consequently it has been found impossible to raise an Indian national army drawn from India as a whole in which every member will recognise the rest as his comrades, in which Indian officers will lead men who may be of different races, and in which public opinion will have general confidence. This is a task of the greatest possible difficulty.

Therefore, it becomes possible to form some conception of the difficulties of solving simultaneously the problem of self-rule and the problem of self-defence. At present, the Punjab, the home of the great martial races, furnishes considerably more than half of the entire Indian army. The suggestion that recruitment is deliberately stimulated in certain chosen areas is not true, in view of the fact that, at the height of the great war when recruits from any area were certainly not discouraged, the Punjab contributed about

350,000 of them out of a population of 20 millions, whereas the total for the whole of Bengal, with its population of 45 millions and with a majority of Muhammadans, was not more than 7,000. The province of Madras does not come in the picture at all! Therefore, there can be no question, in fact, about the remarkable contrast between one Indian race and another in their military capacity.

#### DEFENCE OF INDIA AND SELF-GOVERNMENT

There are wheels within wheels in a consideration of these two questions taken together. Now, let us discuss the defence of India on the footing of (1) an Independent India; (2) a Dominion India; and (3) a Dependency India given its second dose of Reforms. Taking (3) first, it is obvious that this subject will be retained as a "reserved subject" thus maintaining a unity in the Imperial policy as applied to ruling India. Under this arrangement it is to be expected that things will jog along pretty much as before in an atmosphere of a nebulous defence policy, with perhaps just a slight acceleration of the process of Indianisation of the army and defence forces. Dealing with (1) and (2) together, it is without question that a self-governing India must have the armed forces which its normal tasks demand; and for this purpose the objective must be to develop Indian army organisation upon a purely Indian basis and officered by Indians. If England is not prepared to hand over the army to a self-governing India, it will be tantamount to proclaiming to the world that she does not trust India. This is one view, the other being the following.

#### "WHEELS WITHIN WHEELS."

There is no getting away from the fact that India is peopled by races diametrically

opposed to one another, from whatever angle the question is viewed. If there was no question of friction between Moslems, Hindus and Sikhs, and if, further, the position is not complicated by the existence of the Indian States, then the formula of an Indian Army in a self-governing India responsible to the legislature will work smoothly; and as for external defence, British troops of British direction can be hired out.

But the cry of "India for Indians" reveals a peculiarly nationalistic brand of sentimentality that takes no account of factors likely to turn the earthly paradise of the internal safety of India into the holocaust of a second China. The Frontier problem looms large in this connection. If the frontiers are a permanent menace, as they undoubtedly are judging from the history of the past, and the recent happenings in that region, that is not chiefly because of the war-like nature of the tribes dwelling beyond it. After all, the numbers of the frontier tribes are limited. Afghanistan itself is a thinly populated country, and not all its inhabitants are so very formidable. Beyond Afghanistan, Central Asia no longer teems with hordes of fighting men. In regard to munitions, communications, science, technical skill, and industrial power the advantage is all on the Indian side of the frontier.

But what India has to fear, and what has always been her undoing in the past, is the fact that the foreign invader can so easily draw support from the malcontent elements within her frontiers. This makes it extremely unsafe for India to experiment in self-government supported by troops hired out from Britain. Nor would England lend an army under such circumstances.

The unreadiness of India to take over the burden of self-defence being recognised so far, the question arises: "what will be the position of a hired army in a swaraj India?" The situation will be about this. So long as England maintains an army in India or controls the Indian army, under the new dispensation assuming it comes about, every malcontent party can and will maintain that the Indian government is merely British Raj camouflaged and that the Indian Ministers are tools in the hands of British masters. The tactics of the malcontents will be to compel the Indian Cabinet to use British troops against Indian mohs, and the extreme elements, whether Hindu, Moslem, or Sikh, will feel that the presence of the foreign Army supporting the government justifies them in inviting a foreign invader. Again circumstances might easily arise in which the British Troops would be compelled to choose between two governments, each of them claiming to be legitimate; or a Sikh Maharaja fearful lest the malcontent educated class among his subjects should be supported by the educated class in control of the Government of India might put himself at the head of all that is most fanatical in the Sikh nation and call for the support of the Sikh element in the army.

It is quite clear that in such a crisis a British force and British officers in a self-governing India so far from serving to guarantee the safety of India would be likely to excite and aggravate internal disorder. Further, British troops and officers might easily find themselves in an exceedingly dangerous position. They could not feel sure of the good-will of the civil population, of

the Indian soldier, or of the civil administration.

The above is another view, the British view honestly believed in by a very large body of Britishers in the military circles, and there is no doubt but a good deal has to be said for it, and this therefore complicates the question of self-defence and full self-government going hand in hand.

The Simon Commission has suggested that the defence of India be declared a "matter of supreme concern to the whole Empire", and for at least a long time to come should not be entrusted to the Indian Government. Presumably, however, the people of India would continue to bear the financial burden of maintaining the defending army (now amounting to about 14,000 million rupees a year), and whether a self-governing India would consent to such an arrangement is a question.

The Imperial aspect of the defence question comes in here; India is on the high road to several possessions in the East; there is the Singapore naval base to be protected; and India affords a convenient base for operations in the East and for stationing forces to be held in readiness for such contingencies; and there is the point about India being a useful training-ground for British troops such as England does not afford with its geographical conditions. There is a large immigrant Indian population in South Africa and the trade between India and Africa is very considerable. Australia and New Zealand are closely connected with India through ocean transport and the problem of the external defence of India is said to be of particular importance to them. This is another view.

But if self-defence and self-government must go hand in hand, then India must be put in a position to defend herself. Here again, there are stupendous difficulties facing us. It would be undoubtedly necessary to provide adequate safe-guards during the transitional period.

# PRINCIPLES OF POLITICS

BY REV. J. STEENKISTE, S. J.

TO students of Politics familiar with Text-book platitudes this *Essay*\* will bring refreshing novelty both as regards matter and treatment. If we may use a homely market phrase, they will undoubtedly get their money's worth, should they decide to strike a bargain and take the author's wares. Though they may not agree with him on all points, they will find his work highly suggestive and his ideas stimulating. At the same time they will appreciate the moderation with which he exposes his views and the detached, scientific almost impersonal tone, free from all bitterness, from which he never departs.

If the author had meant to produce a text for beginners, he would, naturally enough, have begun by an explanation of the very title of his work. He will not take it amiss, we feel sure, if for the sake of clearness, we consider, in this short review, some of the contents of his *Essay*—the title included—according to an order better suited to the convenience of the general reader.

The word 'rationalization', he tells us (p. 446, note 2), "although open to obvious objections, seems to me to have philosophic value as summing up all movements which imply that human, social and political activities can be systematically organized in accordance with the test of efficiency for fulfilling recognised social aims, instead of being carried on solely in accordance with the habits men happen to have formed (in some cases called their 'national character') of doing things."

It will readily be granted that rationalization, properly understood, shorn of the excesses to which it is apt to lead in the economic world (cfr. Andre Siegfried's observations; *REVUE DES DEUX MONDES*, April 15, 1930, Europe and American Civilization), is

badly needed in the political sphere of human activities. Unfortunately "no study has hitherto been undertaken consistently of what type of measures have usually met with strong public support and by whom, what measures with indifference, and what measures with outbursts of law-breaking and among what specific groups of society" (p. 445). Again (p. 446). "In the age in which we live, clumsy hit-or-miss methods are no less inexcusable in administrative methods and social organization than in the mechanism of industry".

In the preface, the author sets forth the method he followed in his attempt to supply a crying need of the day. Briefly stated, the method is based on the supposition that, "the approach to politics from the angle of political philosophy and of the humanities is less important for the needs of the present day than an approach from the angle of psychology and of statistics".

No one can quarrel with an author for limiting the scope of the work he presents to the public. If a botanist chooses to produce a monograph on fungi or cryptogams, it would be irrelevant to expect in his production a detailed description of Australian oaks or banian trees. It is quite possible for a writer to write on Politics from one particular point of view, provided it is made sufficiently clear that the author does not mean to be exhaustive and simply intends drawing attention to a neglected aspect of the subject studied. But the author, in the present instance, professes to offer an "Essay towards rationalization," and, on this score, his deli-

\* *A STUDY OF THE PRINCIPLES OF POLITICS* being an Essay towards Political Rationalization by George E. G. Collin, M.A., F.R.S. George Allen & Unwin, Ltd., Museum Street, London. Price 18s. net.

berate rejection of whatever savours of metaphysics or theology seems hardly justifiable. We do not wish to be unduly critical and severe. But the deficiency of the "modern mind" lies precisely in its reluctance, not to say congenital inability, to have recourse to the full use and exercise of the "mind," to the stern discipline of reason, to the probing of political problems, as well as of other problems, by means of the complete intellectual powers given to man. It is, of course, the fashion to deride metaphysics, to selegate "antique Ideas" to the lumber-room of discarded notions and worn-out theories, as though old Ideas were necessarily false and unprofitable. Granted that Plato and Aristotle are inadequate, that the Schoolmen are not sufficiently inductive, that the complexity of actual political problems requires new solutions and a much more alert strategy than is at present visible anywhere, it does not, necessarily, follow, that inductive methods alone will bring about the thorough rationalization of Political science and satisfy the needs and cravings of the modern political man or groups of men. Mere observation, however acute and comprehensive, together with the conclusions from such observation, cannot enable us to build Political Science whether theoretical or practical on foundations at once secure and lasting. Empiricism in medicine has been condemned. Empiricism in Politics is equally bound to fail in the long run, let alone the short period.

In fairness to the author, we hasten to add that his attitude to rational processes is not one of contempt. Nor is he altogether unacquainted with the "metaphysical" literature of his field of investigation. He even spolo-

gises in the following terms for the possible effect of his statements:

It may be that much in the following pages will prove offensive to tender consciences. But the method adopted has been based upon the assumption that neither physical nature nor human nature is best studied scientifically by those who have a prejudice in favour of writing a theology. The fundamental problem is that of control; the indispensable means is that of investigation without prejudgement of the results.

We can reassure the author about tender consciences, provided they are instructed and enlightened enough to see the one-sidedness of certain scientific methods, so-called. Whatever may be the case of physical nature, human nature at any rate demands, if it is to be known as it is in its full integrity,—its highest values and richest meanings not expected—to be studied, even for the purpose of political speculation, not merely by the microscope of the social anatomist but by the intelligent philosopher who has no prejudice against any branch of knowledge concerning man and his place in the universe, be it theodicy or ontology or deontology.\* And supposing that the fundamental problem is that of control, the solution of this problem, attempted without reference to ends and ideals, ultimate ends and ideals, is little better than the remedies of quack doctors which may deceive the simple-minded but will not cure deep-seated ills. One may shirk the issue between free will and mechanical, soulless determinism; one may reiterate in solemn asseveration, that politics has nothing to do with ethics; one may turn one's face against natural rights and the supposed illegitimacy of all abstract reasoning; one may insist time and again that the modern man and the modern trend of thought will have nothing to do with

\* *cfr.* for remark's of a similar character, a brilliant article by Mr. Thomas Browne entitled "A Dehumanised Science of Man," in the *NEWST JOURNAL*, 1930.



the questions of man's higher destiny and brush away from the political, as well as the material universe, every reference to God and the supernatural. And this is exactly why, both economically and politically, the modern world, if the tendency becomes so generalised as to be universal, is in danger of hopelessly floundering in struggles the only issue of which is destruction, and European civilisation, untrue to its origins and unmindful of its strongest assets, is liable to be assailed from within and without by forces strong enough to wipe it out of existence.

This is not tantamount to depreciate the inductive method so ably used by the author. We can only refer the reader to the book itself, for the innumerable good points and wise remarks it contains about the scope and laws of political science, liberty and authority, the group will, the general will, mutuality and solidarity, the foundation of authority, the limit of authority, force and consent. But his otherwise valuable treatise suffers here and throughout from the same deficiency noted above. Nor can we agree with him in regard to will and autonomy of will—the human will, of course—for the will he insists upon seems strangely divorced from reason, *i.e.* from human reason, which, as an analogous, finite participation of the Highest Reason is made for truth, provided it exerts itself to find the truth and does not remain inertly passive or satisfied with a few obvious deductions from obvious premises, but uses both the inferential and inductive processes to the fullest of its capacity.

In the chapter on "Conflict and Solidarity," the author proposes an excellent analysis of

some present-day problems. Passages abound worth quoting. One among many will suffice:

The question is whether every year it will not become more apparent to the dominant part of society that the Nation State, which exists as a political organisation to give security, is itself one of the causes why security cannot be given.

Equally interesting and thought-compelling are the views of the author on sovereignty. Absolute sovereignty he regards as a piece of political mythology (p. 255), and notes:

The sovereignty of a Government (or of a State expressed through a Government) is absolute to the extent to which the maintenance of the political balance permits it to be absolute. If carried too far, exchange will break down because the balance of advantage in liberty through security has been lost.

It is perhaps invidious to take one sentence from its context and argue from it in a sense unfavourable to the view thus baldly and incidentally expressed. But to judge from the tenor of other passages bearing on sovereignty, it would seem that the author, while censuring, and rightly too, idealist theories of state supremacy, never abandons the mere empirical standpoint. Sovereignty, for him, is good and may be allowed to hold its ground so long as it works. But if challenged, and successfully defied, it no longer justifies itself. At that rate, the state, or rather government, exists on mere sufferance. Chronic bad will among citizens, whatever be the reasons or pretexts of the opposition, stands as sufficient cause for a change, however radical the nature of the change and the methods used to bring it about.

It will perhaps be answered that such extreme conclusions can only be conjured up "in imagination," and that no people in any part of the world can afford, even if they wished it, a revolution every morning. The answer is good as far as it goes. The pity is that it does

not go far enough. Authority must stand on more solid ground than the subjective moods of ever varying wills. The author has an inkling of the solution of this difficulty in the previous page (p 254) where he alludes to the doctrine of a social order divinely authorized and we add sanctioned—because dictated by immanent reason. Had the author dived a little deeper in Vitoria—whom he quotes in a passing reference to the subject of war (p 301) and a number of other thinkers, he might have fruitfully developed a more thorough doctrine of sovereignty. Some, like Duguit, base authority on collective sentiment, akin to instinct, but foreign to reason and justice. Subjective foundations for the super-structure of authority are but shifting sands to build upon and order must be erected on some thing firmer if the common good is to be obtained and peace in the commonwealth to endure. A few schoolmen, it must be admitted, are not altogether free from political subjectivism, and if this is some excuse for the author of the Essay on Political Rationalization, we shall not grudge him the benefit of extenuating circumstances.

It would be entirely alien to the ideas conveyed in these remarks on sovereignty to conclude that therefore the sovereign can act as he pleases, regardless not only of morality, but of the practical consequences of wrong-headedness in governing. Such political fatuity would lead to disaster for the ruler. He has to feel constantly the pulse of the body politic, if he wishes to prescribe the needful remedies. This admission looks rather empirical. But, again, it must be repeated that empirical methods in political life are not to be dispensed with. Our contention is that

they alone cannot suffice either in political science, or political education, or political practice. In other words, while the more or less hypothetical conclusions of experimental political science deserve recognition and should be held in mind, the rational and intellectual, as well as ethical, foundations of politics deserve equal, if not more attention, for without them the very conclusions of scientific observation cannot be stated in valid terms.

To include morality in Politics is, as students of Political Science are well aware, distasteful to many (p. 394). But the alternative is political atheism and political immorality. To say that the State, in matters of ethical obligation, stands in an order apart, is pure Machiavellism. We shall be told, it may be expected, that the conclusion is extreme and chimerical, and that no one would nowadays advocate murder and fraud as justified by the *raison d'état*. We are thankful for this correction. But we are not convinced that the conclusion is not obviously implied in the accepted premises. We can only once more admire the curious texture and singular workings of the "modern mind."

On groups and minorities much valuable material is condensed in the pages of this Essay. Certain notions in "Equality and Status" could have been more amply developed especially in view of the rise of political consciousness in the East. But, while admitting the high quality of the ancient culture and civilisation of the Chinese, Japanese and Hindu peoples (p. 330), the author confesses (p. 345) that "a culture group is not necessarily a power group." In a general work of

the kind of the Essay towards Political Rationalization one cannot reasonably expect to find a full application of the principles enunciated to the many varying actual problems confronting rulers in every part of the globe. It can be noted, however, that the political student, as well as those in power, would meet in this work numerous suggestions helping towards a better understanding and an easier and more rapid solution of the very real difficulties existing between the governed and their governors. Though the latter need not be accused of selfishness and tyranny or lack of sympathy and comprehension yet political strategy is universally so cumbrous and slow-moving that it would seem on the surface at any rate, that they are out of touch with their constituents and expect grave problems to be solved almost exclusively by the march of time and the wearing out of the patience of those who demand readaptation of the political machinery. The Rationalisation of Politics was never more necessary than in our times to enable the rulers and the ruled to save their political souls.

To conclude this long drawn-out review—which we admit is far too short to do full justice to the sterling merits of a serious and original piece of political thinking—we wish to emphasize that our intention throughout this examination of the important contribution to political literature imparted by this Essay was not to criticise its shortcomings in a spirit of bitter dogmatic censoriousness, but to consider the contents of the Essay in the frame of mind of the purely objective student. There is much to be said for the method used by the author. Empty theorising on the State and Government, the necessity of order in Society,

the duty of obedience, is of no great use in a world of hard facts, concrete realities, and ever shifting complex movements, the outcome partly of propaganda—subversive or otherwise—partly of genuine aspirations towards better conditions, greater equality and a desire, legitimate within bounds, of ampler room for the self-expression of both individuals and groups. Mere empiricism on the other hand, the absence and deliberate rejection of all fundamental principles, is also objectionable. Man, the whole man, is not ordered towards the State. And even in his political life, his rational nature demands an ultimate explanation of things, a reliable basis for authority and obedience, which compromise and purely practical expedients do not and cannot offer.

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# INDIAN SUGAR INDUSTRY

By MR. TULSIDAS L. VASSA.

IS it not surprising that India, with an acreage of more than three millions under sugarcane, has still to import about three-fourths of a million tons of outside sugar? India is probably the world's largest grower of sugarcane and was once one of the largest exporters of sugar, but now what is the situation? Not only her export of sugar has ceased but on the other hand her imports of sugar from other countries increases by leaps and bounds every year. During the last half a century her imports have increased by 400 per cent. At present the imports of sugar amounts to about Rs. 18 crores per annum and the majority of the imports are from Java. Thanks to India's patronage, Java has been able to compete with the other sugar producing countries of the world so successfully. Does Java in return take up anything from India? Absolutely nothing. Thus India allows the Java Sugar Industry to develop at the expense of her own. Will it not be possible for India to develop her own sugar industry by investing 18 crores of rupees which she has got to spare for imports from other countries?

As is in all cases, the question of finance is of primary importance in the sugar industry also. The majority of the cane growers who supply the sugarcane to the factories are generally the small ryots. It is an established fact that an improved seed would produce an improved quality and so would fetch a better price but so much indebtedness prevails at present among the cultivators that it is difficult for them to spend a single penny more than the minimum they can pay and the consequence is

the deterioration of quality. At present in most cases the cane is crushed in stone or wooden mills driven by bullocks and the juice is boiled in open pans and it is through these wasteful processes that the loss is estimated to be 33 per cent. or more. To prevent such an enormous wastage, it is desirable that 3 or 5 iron roller mills should be substituted and better boiling pans be introduced. Again, the marketing conditions are also uneconomical. The industry has to pay double profits, one to the grower and the other to the manufacturer. Thus there are a few elementary difficulties in the way of developing the Indian sugar industry which should first of all be removed as soon as possible. The Co-operative Credit and Sale Societies should play an important part in the Industry. The Societies should supply cheap credit to the grower to enable him to purchase better quality of seeds and manure and to introduce efficient mechanical appliances so that the industry may work on a less wasteful basis. To finance the Co-operative Societies, the Government should lend necessary funds at low rates of interest for long periods. The Societies should also undertake the sale of their members' products and thus fetch favourable prices. It is only through these measures that the sugar industry in India will regain slowly but surely her original prosperity.

With the introduction of labour saving mechanical appliances, with extensive research work and with the strong Government assistance, the other sugar producing countries (U. S. A. Cuba, Germany, France, Russia,

Czechoslovakia, Canada and Natal) have marvellously expanded their respective sugar industries within a quarter of a century. Why should India then rest content before she sees her sugar industry fully developed when she enjoys so many advantages over other countries? Cheap labour, substantial protective duty, suitable climate, better transport facilities of late, all these factors would go a long way to develop the industry if right methods have been followed. The question which one might then be tempted to ask will be what measures have been taken in the past for the improvement of the sugar industry? The question was first discussed in 1907 by the Board of Agriculture who suggested the local Governments to establish sugarcane experimental stations and the lines on which to conduct them. But little heed was paid to the recommendations till in 1911, the Board of Agriculture, again pressed the Government to take immediate steps to save the British Empire from the extreme dependence for sugar on foreign countries. The Government accordingly established a small sugar factory at Natwabganj and a cane-breeding station at Coimbatore. On further recommendations of the Board, the Government established in 1918 a Sugar Bureau at Pusa to collect the information on the development of the sugar industry in India and to impart that information to those interested. But the conditions did not seem to have improved and therefore in 1919 the Mackenna Sugar Committee was appointed to investigate into the then conditions and to make recommendations for the improvement. The Committee, after a thorough and careful investigation suggested the Government to create a Sugar Board and

to establish a Sugar Research Institute with sub-stations in all important towns. To protect the industry from foreign competition, the tariff duty had also been raised from 5 per cent. ad valorem to 10 per cent. in 1916, to 15 per cent. in 1921 and to 25 per cent. in 1922. In 1925, the ad valorem duty was converted into a specific duty of about Rs. 4-8-0 per cwt. Even in spite of all these measures, the imports of sugar from outside are pouring in enormously and unless more stringent measures are adopted, it would not be surprising if the outside replenishes the Indian indigenous industry altogether.

Out of the total production of sugarcane in India,  $2\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. (80,000 tons) are used for manufacture of refined sugar while 15 per cent. are consumed for chewing etc. and the remaining  $82\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. are made into gur (unrefined sugar). Although gur is at present given a preference to sugar by the majority of the Indians, dislike towards it is gradually making its way among them. Again the imported refined sugar is sold at a cheaper rate than the impure product gur and this is a clear indication that the gur will slowly but surely be replaced by the refined sugar.

After the Great War, the sugar production goes far ahead of the consumption and this has resulted in keen competition with sugar producing countries. The prices have gone down, much below the cost of production. To save India from this calamity, it is necessary at this juncture to protect the industry temporarily by a further increase in the tariff duty, to take such measures as would leave little wastage, to utilize the bye-products, to make provisions to finance the industry and to organise the Sale Societies for the economical marketing of the product.

# SOME ASPECTS OF RATIONALISATION

BY MR. ERNEST KIRK

IN view of the many schemes of retrenchment, arising out of the modern idea of rationalisation, that are under consideration in the various Industrial concerns in India or have already been launched, as for instance on the S. I. Ry., the B. N. Ry. and the N. W. Ry., it will be of interest to the public in general and to Trade Unionists in particular to know how rationalisation is viewed in other countries, what it really connotes, and what, so far, have been the results of its application to industry.

## RATIONALISATION AT GOLDEN ROCK

A good idea as to what rationalisation means may be gathered by any one who is fortunate enough to make a tour of inspection, under an intelligent guide, as was recently my privilege, of the S. I. Ry. Workshop at Golden Rock. Quite apart from the idea of centralisation here you have installed the most modern labour-saving appliances that it is possible to find in any part of the globe. In the engine room, for instance, the roaring furnaces that heat the great boilers are fed with coal direct from the railway trucks by rollers. There is no shovelling, no fetching and carrying as in the old days; everything is done mechanically and efficiently and with human labour reduced to an almost uncanny minimum.

It is the same in varying degrees in almost every section. In one shop you see big teak logs coming in direct from the trucks at one end, and, after being sawn to specified lengths by powerful electrically driven machines, planed, and assembled, leaving the shop at the other end the completed railway truck, body, carriage or saloon. There is no overlapping and no wastage and for the most part everything is done by machinery.

Even in the repair shop huge powerful overhead 80 ton cranes can easily lift the biggest locomotive and carry it to any part of the shop. In this way three or four men do the work that it formerly took fifty to do, and that also in a hundredth part of the time.

Rationalisation in the repairs shop is particularly striking and interesting. An engine comes in to be overhauled. It is at once stripped. All the separate parts are then sent to the sub-sections in the shop, methodically arranged, dealing with those parts. These are then examined, repaired or replaced with new parts, and reassembled, and the engine which came in yesterday, panting and puffing and wheezy, goes out to-day or to-morrow, after being duly tested and passed, under its own steam, all spick and span and ready for another life period. In the event of it being necessary to transfer any part from one workshop to another this is done in a trice by electric trolleys. Delay in the execution of any task is at once registered in the Progress Office where a red label shows when anything is overdue. The whole workshop is built and managed strictly according to the most approved rationalistic plans available; even all the windows face north so as to get the light without getting the glare of the sun.

Well that is what rationalisation means, as applied to industry. It means doing things by the most rational and modern methods. From that standpoint it has come to stay. No one in his senses would, other things being equal, go back from the motor car to the bullock bandy, from the electric lift to the climbing of a long flight of stairs, from the management of a business on sensible,

scientific, labour-saving lines, to a more costly, muddling, unscientific way of doing things.

#### RATIONALISATION INCREASES UNEMPLOYMENT

But that is not by any means all that rationalisation, as at present conceived and applied, connotes. To begin with, while it enormously increases output, and profits, it does this by employing fewer workers and without increases real wages. Touching on this point in his recent remarkable speech on the Unemployment Debate, Sir Oswald Mosley said :

I applied the criterion of rationalisation to four big groups of trades and I found, between 1924 and 1929, an average increase in production of over 20 per cent; but an average decline in the insured workers in those trades of over 4 per cent. Over five years you have that immense increase in production—a very great achievement—and over the same long period a steady decline in the unemployment in those trades which were over increasing their efficiency and expanding their markets.

Sir Oswald also applied this with shattering effect to the theory propounded by Government that if they could restore export trade by rationalisation to its previous position they would cure unemployment, and showed that if this could be done it would actually mean a decrease of 5 per cent. in the men employed in those export trades.

Similar conclusions are arrived at by Dr. Harry W. Laidler, Vice-President of the U. S. National Bureau of Economic Research, who in a recent survey points out that :

Improved machinery in four major industries in the United States—farming, manufacturing, railways and mining—has eliminated 2,300,000 employees in the last eight years. Seven men now do the work which formerly required sixty to perform in casting pig-iron, two do the work which formerly required 128 to perform in loading it. A brick making machine in Chicago makes 40,000 bricks in an hour, whereas formerly it took one man eight hours to make 450. In New York the number of workers in the paper-box industry has increased 32 per cent, while the output per wage earner has increased 121 per cent.

And it should be remembered that wages are higher in America than in any other

country in the world. It is clear therefore that rationalisation is not only not a cure for unemployment but that on the contrary it is a cause of unemployment. It is clear also that while it increases output and profits it does not give corresponding benefits to the workers.

#### HOW OVERPRODUCTION DEPRESSES TRADE

There is another and very serious aspect of rationalisation to be considered ; it is that the increase in output, due to rationalisation, results in overstocking the markets, which in turn gives rise to a drop in prices, trade depression, short time, occasional wage cuts and the further dismissal of many workers. The world is in fact at present confronted with the curious phenomenon of mankind being stinted in the midst of plenty. This was recently bemoaned in the SUNDAY DESPATCH (8/9/30) by Mr. Hartley Withers, that able defender of capitalism, as a system, in the following words :—

From almost every country in the world there comes a melancholy wail about trade depression, due to low prices and over abundance of food, materials, metals. During the past year there has been a fall of 11·8 per cent. in foreign wheat, 33 per cent. in potatoes, 22·8 per cent. in tin and 28·2 per cent. in rubber. Mankind has smothered itself under a mass of goods which it cannot get to market and use; those who manufacture and distribute are working short time and dismissing employees because there is not enough demand for finished goods. The spectacle of universal plenty, along with universal distress, is very far from creditable to all alleged enlightenment and civilisation that we are supposed to enjoy.

#### A PACE THAT KILLS

Rationalisation is also responsible for reducing even skilled workers to unskilled automatons, cogs in the great rationalised machine.

This is particularly noticeable in mass-production plants. It is an effect that is being increasingly resented in responsible labour circles, especially as the transformation is accompanied by a pace that kills. Describing what happens in a typical mass-production

motor plant in America, Mr. Hugh Grant Adam, who recently accompanied a deputation of Australian industrialists and Trade Unionists to America to study industrial conditions there, says :—

At 8 A.M. the worker takes his place at the side of a narrow platform down the centre of which runs a great chain moving at the rate of a foot a minute. His tool is an electrically driven riveter. As he stands, riveter poised, the half built framework of the car passes slowly in front of him. . . . Once, twice, he plunges the riveter down upon the hot metal. . . . once, twice, once, twice and so on for eight hours a day, day after day, year after year—if he can keep his job.

There is not a job on the mass-production chain more complicated technically than that. The chain never stops. The pace never varies. The man is part of the chain, the feeder and slave of it. He must keep going or the chain would jam, and he would be excommunicated all along the line; for each man is paid not according to what he himself does, but according to the progress of the chain. . . . Ninety out of every hundred workmen employed in these great manufacturing industries have neither training nor skill—and this in a country that is teaching and preaching individualism, the ambition to push ahead, and the shame of staying in the rut.

It is not until one has made oneself acquainted with the above aspects of rationalisation that one is able to understand and appreciate the workers' deep-rooted suspicion of it. From bitter experience they know that whatever may be the advantages of rationalisation to society in general, and to employers in particular it is bringing not good but evil to them. Incidentally also this is one reason why many workers, and many economists also, have an instinctive appreciation of the back-to-nature vision that has inspired many of Gandhiji's activities. These activities certainly have their place and have got to be reckoned with, but they must somehow include or complement the use of improved machinery.

#### HOW TO RATIONALISE RATIONALISATION

The truth is, there is nothing wrong with rationalisation, *per se*; all that is required is to see that it is really rational—by which I also mean humane—in its application. There would, for example, be no objection in labour-

circles to rationalisation displacing labour, and of course to increasing output, provided, (1) work was found elsewhere for those displaced; (2) a more humane method of applying it was adopted, a method that would encourage and develop initiative and individual uniqueness in the workers; and (3), which is partly covered by 1 and 2, that rationalisation be applied to distribution and consumption also and not, as at present, to production only.

Take for instance the important question of over-production, which as we have seen is largely due to rationalisation. The usual remedy proposed by the employing class for a glut in the market is restraint of production. One witness—Bernard M. Baruch—may be cited here as being typical of the rest. Said Mr. Baruch while recently speaking on this subject before the Boston Chamber of Commerce: "Over-production is the cause of many of our industrial ills. The obvious remedy is restraint of production." A book might be written on the attempts, the scandalous attempts, that are being made daily on the stock-exchanges and in the various combines and financial rings of the world, to curtail production and force up prices. Many leading industrialists, however, are not in agreement with this policy and are recommending something much more sensible and dynamic.

#### A REMEDY FOR OVERPRODUCTION

One method that is being steadily tried out in America is that of increasing consumption by raising wages. It is felt that the crying need of the moment is not to increase plant capacity, but to create a larger market for the goods already being produced; and to do that in the first instance by enhancing the purchas-



power could be utilised for living expenses by the people, their demands would materially increase, and that would relieve a considerable amount of our present unemployment problem.

The third important subject dealt with by the Assembly was with reference to a general reduction of tariffs by the nations of the League. This discussion was introduced by Mr. Graham, the President of the British Board of Trade, and was supported by several delegates of other countries. It will be remembered that the World Economic Conference of 1927 laid down certain principles in reference to tariffs; the wish was to call a tariff truce, and gradually to reduce the tariff walls around so many countries in Europe. But instead of carrying out those principles of reduction the opposite has been the tendency, and we have to-day higher tariffs than ever. One delegate said that this policy of protective tariffs had done the greatest harm to the development of the League. Mr. Graham called a halt on tariff increases, and asked the Assembly to return to the principles accepted in 1927.

These three subjects indicate the world-wide interests of the 1930 Assembly of the League.

#### THE IMPERIAL CONFERENCE

The present indications are that the Imperial Conference now sitting in London is going to make history that will have far-reaching effects upon the whole of the British Commonwealth of nations. The last Conference faced the question of equal status and absolute independence of the Dominions; in this Conference the Dominions are speaking with a voice that is being heard, and the British statesmen are taking note. The great problem facing every nation to-day is markets and unemployment. The British Labour Government and the

Liberal Party are upholders of the traditional Free Trade policy, but the Conservative Party and the Dominions Prime Ministers are seeking to solve the problem through Imperial trade co-operation and protection against outside competition. Mr. Bennett, the new Conservative Prime Minister of Canada, has taken the initiative, based on his belief that unemployment can be solved only by protection against foreign competition, and has demanded a Preference System throughout the Empire, with a tax on foreign imports introduced by the British Government. Almost at once Mr. Stanley Baldwin accepted the new proposal on behalf of the British Conservative party, and Mr. William Graham, President of the Board of Trade of the present Labour Government, has stated that the British Government accepted the principle that where tariffs exist in the United Kingdom preference shall be given to the Dominions. This is real progress, but it may mean the recasting of Britain's traditional free trade policy. If this suggestion is finally accepted and acted upon it will kill Lord Beaverbrook's policy of "Empire Free Trade," and it will open the way for adopting a thorough going national wheat policy, such as the quota system which has been suggested. The idea is that taking knowledge of the fact that at present the wheat milled for making flour in Britain comes from: United Kingdom, 13 per cent.; from the Dominions, 44 per cent.; and from foreign countries, 43 per cent.; the suggestion is that British mills shall in future grind a specified quota of home-produced wheat, a specified quota of wheat grown within the Empire, and the remainder may come from foreign sources. That is the method as applied

to one commodity by which preference may be allowed. One thing is certain that the 1930 Imperial Conference will decide that the welfare of the British Commonwealth lies in closer economic union; the method of bringing that about is what the assembled delegates are now discussing and trying to formulate.

#### FRANCE AND ITALY—NAVAL TALKS

At the break up of the Five Power Naval Conference early in 1930 after Great Britain, United States, and Japan had agreed upon a basis of naval limitations, and France and Italy were not able to accept that agreement; it was understood that those two powers would continue negotiations with a view to arriving at some mutual understanding. Conversations have been proceeding between M. Briand and Sig. Scialoja, but because no agreement has been found possible the negotiations have been suspended but not broken off.

The reason of the deadlock may be summarised as follows: The Italian representative suggested a new "yard-stick" as the basis of calculating naval strength, and was to include both tonnage and number of ships. The French representative, on the other hand, wanted the reckoning of strength to be limited to the number of ships only, allowing each country to build what kind and size of ship it wished to build. This arrangement would give to France considerable advantage over Italy, which of course Italy will not favour, consequently the conversations have ceased for the present.

The British Foreign Secretary, Mr. Henderson, has been in close touch with these talks; he is naturally disappointed, as are many others also at this deadlock, but he is hopeful that the talks will be resumed soon.

#### UNITED STATES' "ECONOMIC IMPERIALISM"

The economic interpretation of history is having fulfilment in the United States trade aggression in these days. The United States is rapidly reaching the satiation point, because of her industrialisation and large scale production; despite her protection policy she is straining every nerve to find foreign markets; how the policy of high protection and the securing of foreign trade can be reconciliated is a subject of great interest to all economists. At present the United States business interests are engaged in a movement of trade penetration in South America which some of the Latin Republics are resenting very much; they call this movement—U. S. economic imperialism, and they are beginning to say that they need a Monroe Doctrine against the United States trade penetration. United States money and goods are at work in many places in South America, and even United States soldiers are called upon to defend U. S. interests in Latin America. The Pan-American Union is looked upon with suspicion by the southern peoples as simply a means to the end of U.S. predominance.

"The United States," wrote Dr. Raymond Lealla Baell recently, "has used force to protect American business interests abroad to as great an extent perhaps as any other Power. Altogether American troops have been landed on foreign soil for this purpose more than a hundred times during the last 115 years. Anyone who takes the trouble to read through the debates on the Cruiser Bill last winter will realize that dozens of Senators and Congressmen with a big navy not because they believe that American territory is in danger of attack, but to protect and promote American business upon the high seas and to foreign countries."

#### PALESTINE DIFFICULTIES

It will be remembered that the Balfour Note held out hopes to the Jews of a National Home in Palestine under a British Mandate but more recently the Arab community have been contesting that policy; racial and reli-

gious feelings have been generated with the result that Great Britain in trying to help and please both parties is bringing down trouble upon herself and satisfaction to neither community. Recently a Committee has been at work on the problem, and has issued what is known as the Hope Simpson Report. On the basis of that report the British Government have published a statement of policy, saying:

The Government affirmed the view endorsed by the Permanent Mandates Commission and the Council of the League that the obligations laid down by the Mandate in regard to sections of the population are of weight. You will also recall that the Commission expressed the view that had the Mandatory Government concerned itself more closely with social and economic adaptations to the new conditions due to Jewish immigration, it would have served the interests of both sections of the population. Our present policy is in conformity with that suggestion and envisages a scheme of more methodical agricultural development which, as shown in the Hope Simpson Report, is the only method whereby additional Jewish agricultural settlement would be possible consistently with the condition laid down in Article 6 of the Mandate, which enjoins that the rights and positions of other sections of the population are not to be prejudiced.

The Government made it clear in the statement of policy that measures for development are envisaged to the benefit of which Jews and Arabs can both share. Neither as regards land policy nor as regards irrigation do the Government aim at crystallising the Jewish National Home at its present stage of development.

In order to give effect to this policy the Mandatory Government have decided to give a measure of self-government to the people of Palestine in the form of setting up a Legislative Council which will be representative of the various interests in Palestine. That of course will give the Arabs equal rights with the Jews, but the Jewish leaders say that such a policy and government will defeat the whole purpose of the Balfour Note in promising Palestine as a National Jewish Home. One can see quite plainly how we have here a major problem bristling with difficulties.

#### BIG-HEARTED GIVERS

Mr. Edward S. Harkness of New York has recently given a large sum of money, some-

thing like two millions sterling, to Great Britain to be used for charitable purposes to show his belief in and appreciation of what the British people are doing for world peace and progress.

In this connection it will be of interest to note the new record in philanthropy established by United States givers during the year 1929:

Gifts to philanthropy in the United States during 1929 reached the tremendous total of \$2,470,720,000, or an increase of \$120,120,000 over 1928, the previous highest year, according to the John Price Jones Corporation of New York. The amounts under various headings were as follows: religion, \$906,300,000; education, \$467,500,000; gifts for personal charity, \$279,760,000; organised charitable relief, \$278,710,000; health, \$221,510,000; foreign relief, \$132,000,000; the fine arts, \$40,000,000; play and recreation, \$20,900,000; miscellaneous reform organisations, \$14,040,000.

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E. Nov. '30.

# OUR PERFECTING WORLD

BY MISS TERESA JOSEPH, M.A., B.Sc. (Econ.)

WE must congratulate Mr. Dhalla, the High Priest of the Parsis, on his excellent book, "Our perfecting World."\* It is simple without being elementary, and compact without omitting even some of the most remote aspects of that exceedingly comprehensive science of humanity, viz., Sociology. A whole series of the most vital problems that interest men of all climes and of all ages are discussed here with a clearness and breadth of view which is specially commendable in view of the abstrusive and controversial character of many of the problems connected with the subject. The pivot of the whole discussion in Mr. Dhalla's book is the problem of evil which has been a persistent thorn in the side of noetic Philosophy ever since man learned to think. Mr. Dhalla has ranged over the whole field in short compass, discussing the solutions of great world teachers like Zarathustra, Buddha, Christ and Mohammed, and of renowned philosophical systems like that of Confucius, of Lao-tze, of the Stoics and of the Epicurians. But he does not limit himself merely to the religious and ethical aspects of the problem. Boldly he ventures to discuss also the idealistic solutions of dreamers like Karl Marx and Tolstoy as interpreted by men like Lenin and Mahatma Gandhi. In an age of travail and despair like ours, anyone who proclaims the gospel of hope is indeed a welcome prophet and we may unhesitatingly declare that the keynotes of Mr. Dhalla's book are sympathy for suffering humanity and intense belief in the possibility of the evolution of a more perfecting world.

Some of the most interesting chapters are to be found in the section that deals with Social Life in Evolution. Many a pertinent question like war, nationality, democracy, and colour prejudice are briefly and sympathetically tackled. The discussion of war leads him on to suggestions for the cure of this, the most accursed of human ills. Mr. Dhalla's solution is more or less the same as that of Professor Lowes Dickinson, who sees in the League of Nations the only ultimate hope for afflicted humanity; but we may doubt whether the eternal problem can ever be solved. The anti-social tendencies of unbridled nationalism are strongly emphasized in the chapter on Nationalism, and here as elsewhere the discussion takes place in an atmosphere of hope, and the final verdict of Dhalla is that "it is not an idle dream to strive for the dawning of a day, in some distant future, when man may know neither nation nor race... and when mankind may claim the world for its motherland." Mr. Dhalla's faith in Democracy is not shaken though he realizes that Democracy does not secure the rule of the best, since its last word is liberty and not best rule. In the chapter on colour bias, the author pleads for mutual sympathy and understanding and for the need for a change of heart and mind on the part of the white races.

The only criticism against the book is that there is little that is original in it. Perhaps we can excuse this on Goethe's principle that the great thoughts of the world are pre-existent and have to be rethought out by each man in his life. The book can be recommended as a worthy attempt to keep alive in man the eternal hope that God is in heaven and all will be well with the world.

\* OUR PERFECTING WORLD. By MAREKHI NUSSERVANJI Dhalla, Ph. D. High Priest of the Parsis. Oxford University Press. Available of G. A. Natesan & Co. Rs. 10.

# British Missionaries' Manifesto

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[On the eve of the Round Table Conference British missionaries in India have issued the following appeal. They urge that the determining factor in laying down the lines of India's future Constitution should be the wishes of the people of the country. The manifesto records the Missionaries' conviction that the cause of the present distrust and bitterness in the country is to be found in the growing sense of ignominy in the minds of Indians that the destiny of the nation lies in the hands of another people. No settlement will be satisfactory that does not respect Indian sentiment. Christians, it says, must be prepared to take risks for the establishment of a spirit of friendship and goodwill. The signatories to the manifesto number over two hundred, including Principals of leading Mission Colleges and institutions, as also the members of the Cambridge Mission at Delhi and numerous members of the Church of England, the Church of Scotland Missionary Societies, the Baptist Wesleyan Congregation and other Missionary bodies.—EDITOR, I. R.]

WE, men and women of British Nationality, who are working in India in connection with various Missionary Societies, feel that it is our duty as Christian people to make a statement regarding the present political situation, which we hope will be of some help to our brethren in the West. We are not politicians, and we realise that party politics as such lie outside our sphere; but we feel that the present movement is more than political. It touches the springs of personal and national life, and as Christian men and women we feel that we cannot remain silent in regard to issues which have caused such widespread and deep disturbance in the lives of men.

We have to face a situation that is marked by misunderstanding, distrust and bitterness. We recognise that many explanations may be advanced to account for this, but we would record our conviction that the main cause is to be found in the growing sense of ignominy in the minds of Indian people that the destiny of the nation lies in the hands of another people. To us the national awakening is a very real thing, and it is our belief that no settlement will be satisfactory that does not respect Indian sentiment and make for the recovery of national self-respect. India is now of age and can speak for herself. We therefore urge that the principle should be fully and frankly recognised that the determining factor in laying down the lines of India's future constitution should be the wishes of the people of India. This principle is held by politicians of all schools, and it is one that accords with our deepest Christian convictions. Its acceptance by the sovereign power would go

far to ensure the success of the Round Table Conference.

We are fully aware of the complexity of the problems connected with the future Government of India, and in particular we are sensible that the acceptance of the principle we have urged may give rise to grave anxiety in the minds of many regarding the position of the minority communities in India. But we feel that in this matter Indian leadership must be trusted.

During the past months, when motion has so largely taken the place of constructive thinking, we have been doing what we could to strengthen the hands of all who were striving for peace, and we will continue to do so. For we feel that for an adequate and final solution of the political problems, which are in themselves sufficiently difficult, there must be a wide diffusion of a more Christian spirit of good-will, and a restoration of mutual respect and trust. We, as a Christian people, must be ready to show the forbearance, faith and Christian love and are prepared to take risks for the establishment of this spirit of friendship and goodwill.

We look forward with deep and prayerful interest to the Round Table Conference, and we regard it as a good omen that it will be opened by the King Emperor. We have every confidence that the Indian representatives will give clear and convincing expression to the prevailing mind of the country, and we are equally confident that they will receive a fair and friendly hearing. It is our earnest hope that the Conference will lead to a just and lasting settlement, and that the Indian and British peoples may go forward in an honourable partnership which will be for the highest good of both.

# The Round Table Conference

[The opening of the Round Table Conference in the Royal Gallery of the House of Lords on Wednesday the 12th November was attended with stately splendour. As has been observed, for the first time in the history of British connection with India the King of England presided over the Conference and gave his Royal blessings to a historic gathering called upon to deal with the momentous problem of India's future constitution. There were 26 delegates in all: 16 from the Indian States, 57 representing British India and 13 from the British political parties. The central figure in the scene was the King himself. The Premier, Princes and their Ministers sat to the right of the throne. Mr. Benn and other British delegates to the left and the British Indian delegation to the front. Among the keenly interested visitors were the Prime Ministers of the Dominions. The speeches delivered on the occasion were impressive, and as the Conference has just begun its labours we must be content with a summary of the proceedings of the inaugural meeting.—EDITOR, I. R.]

## H. M. THE KING EMPEROR

IN opening the Conference H. M. the King said:—

"It affords me much satisfaction to welcome to the capital of my Empire representatives of the



## H. M. THE KING EMPEROR

Princes, Chiefs and People of India and to inaugurate their Conference with my Ministers and representatives of other parties composing the Parliament in whose precincts we are assembled.

More than once a Sovereign has summoned historic assemblies on the soil of India but never before have British and Indian statesmen and rulers of Indian States met, as you now meet, in one place and round one table to discuss the future system of Government for India and seek an agreement for the guidance of my Parliament as to the foundations upon which it must stand.

Nearly ten years ago, in a message to my Indian Legislature, I dwelt upon the significance of its establishment in the constitutional progress of India. Ten years is but a brief span in the life of any nation, but this decade has witnessed not only in India but throughout all nations forming the British Commonwealth a quickening and growth in ideas and the aspirations of nationhood which defy the customary measurement of time.

It should, therefore, be no matter for surprise to men of this generation that, as was then contemplated, it should have become necessary to estimate and review the results of what was begun ten years ago and to make further provision for the future.

Such a review was lately carried out by the Statutory Commission, appointed by me for that purpose and you have before you the outcome of their labours, together with other contributions which have been, or can be made to the solution of the great problem confronting you. No words of mine are needed to bring home to you the momentous character of the task to which you have set your hands.

Each one of you will, with me, be profoundly conscious how much depends for the whole of the British Commonwealth on the issue of your consultations. This community of interest leads me to count as of happy augury that there should be present to-day representatives of my Government in all sister States of the Commonwealth. I shall follow the course of your proceedings with the closest and most sympathetic interest, not indeed without anxiety but with a greater confidence.

The material conditions which surround the lives of my subjects in India affect me nearly and will be ever present in your thoughts during the

forthcoming deliberations. I have also in mind the just claims of the majorities and minorities, men and women, town dwellers and tillers of the soil, land-lords and tenants, strong and weak, rich and poor, of races, castes and creeds of which the body politic is composed.

For these things I care deeply. I cannot doubt that the true foundation of self Government is the fusion of such divergent claims in mutual obligations and in their recognition and fulfilment.

It is my hope that the future Government of India, based on this foundation, will give expression to her honourable aspirations.

May your discussion point the way to a sure achievement of this end and may your names go down in history as those of the men who served India well and whose endeavours advanced the happiness and prosperity of all my beloved people! I pray that Providence may grant you in a bounteous measure wisdom, patience and goodwill."

### THE PRIME MINISTER

Mr. Ramsay MacDonald said :—

"My first duty, as Chairman, is to ask your consent—I know it is forthcoming in full measure



THE PRIME MINISTER

—to convey our humble duty to His Majesty and the expression of loyal gratitude with which we have welcomed his gracious presence here and

the inspiration his words have given us. I know also that you would have me include our loyal and grateful appreciation of the kindly solicitude of Her Majesty the Queen, which my Indian friends, have been privileged to experience. Nor are we unmindful that it is to His Majesty's gracious permission that we owe the honour of holding our meeting in this Chamber to-day and hereafter in the Royal Palace of St. James's. We are deeply conscious of these signal marks of Their Majesties' sympathy and favour. I am very conscious of the responsibility you have put upon me."

Mr. MacDonald, continuing, said :—"But the responsibility lies heavily on us all, for we are now at the very birth of new history. Declarations made by the British Sovereigns and statesmen from time to time, that Great Britain's work in India was to prepare for Self-Government have been plain. If some say that they have been applied with woeful tardiness, I reply that no permanent evolution has seemed to anyone going through it to be anything but tardy.

I am never disturbed by people who say that I have not fulfilled my pledges, provided I am fulfilling them. We have met to try to register by agreement a recognition of the fact that India has reached a distinctive point in her constitutional evolution. Whatever that agreement may be there will be some who will say that it is not good enough or that it goes too far. Let them say so. We must boldly come out and appeal to the intelligent and informed public opinion.

The men who co-operate are pioneers of progress. Civil disorder is the way of reaction. It destroys a social mentality wherefrom all constitutional development derives its source and whereupon all stable internal administration is based."

Proceeding Mr. MacDonald said :—"The task ahead of us is beset with difficulties for a solution, of which the past affords no ready-made guide. There are stubborn diversities of view still to be brought together and conflicting interests that have hitherto proved irreconcilable. Could any issues be more momentous? Could any be more enticing to men who love to make rough places smooth? We must bring to our task all the resources of mutual trust, practical sagacity and statesmanship which we can command.

This is not the time for reciting, to say nothing of prejudging, our problems. We shall meet them as we proceed. Let us face them as men

determined to surmount them. Why not? What problems of growth and development is liberty and institution have our peoples not faced? And united we remain despite our diversities, because of our skill in harmonising the difference by a reasonable mutual accommodation. What better example could we have than the goodly array of distinguished Prime Ministers who have been with us consulting about dominion affairs?

His Majesty's presence at the opening of our deliberations has enabled us to understand both the strength and flexibility of the bond binding our whole Commonwealth of Nations together in loyalty and devotion to the Crown. The attendance of the representatives of the Dominion Governments is an earnest of the interest and goodwill with which sister-states of the Commonwealth of Nations will follow our labours. The association of Princes for the first time in a joint conclave with representatives of the people of British India is symbolical of the gradual moulding together of India into one whole and, when I turn to the representatives of British India I am mindful of India's different communities, languages and interests, but I am reminded still more of the quickening and unifying influences which have grown irresistibly from her contact with Great Britain and of the aspirations for a United India which were in the minds of her philosophers and her rulers before the first English traders set foot on her shores.

Nor is it without significance that we who though not of India, also seek India's honour, are drawn from all the three parties in this Parliament and on the inter-play of whose rivalries on less than ideals, is built up our British system of Government.

But, apart from these things, surely the simple fact that we have come here to sit at one table with the set and sole purpose of India's advancement within the companionship of the Commonwealth is in itself an undeniable sign of progress towards that end and also an inspiring challenge to reach an agreement.

We must now begin our labours. Things have been said in the past whether in anger or blindness or for mischief, which we had better forget at this table. Whatever be the story that is to be written of this Conference, be assured that it will be written. Let us strive to make it worthy of the best political genius of our peoples and add by it to the respect paid by the world to both our nations."

## MAHARAJA OF BARODA

The Maharaja of Baroda voiced the sense of privilege in saying a few words on behalf of the Indian States delegation and said that they were



MAHARAJA OF BARODA

deeply beholden to His Majesty, to whom he begged of the Premier to convey their sentiments of loyalty to his throne and person. He said: "These historic precincts have witnessed many conferences fraught with import, but I doubt if ever before they have been the scene of one like this when the issues at stake involve the prosperity and contentment of India's millions and greatness of the British Empire. By the concession in a generous measure of the aspirations of the Princes and peoples of India and by that alone can the realisation be given to the noble words of the great Queen Victoria as expressed in the famous proclamation namely, 'In their prosperity will be our strength, in their contentment our security and in their gratitude our best regard?' May we all labour whole-heartedly with mutual trust and goodwill for the attainment of so great an end."



## MAHARAJA OF KASHMIR

The Maharaja of Kashmir expressed deep gratitude for His Majesty's cordial welcome and prayed to Providence to grant them the vision and will to realise the hopes expressed in the inspiring words of their beloved King Emperor. He drew attention to the unprecedented nature of the gathering and continued:—"Allied by treaty with the British Crown, and within our territories independent rulers, we have come with a full sense of the responsibility to our states and all India. As allies of Britain we stand solidly by the British connection. As Indians and loyal to the land of our birth, we stand as solidly as the rest of our countrymen for our lands the enjoyment of a position of honour and equality in the British Commonwealth. Our desire to co-operate to the best of our ability with all sections of the Conference is genuine as also is our determination to base our co-operation upon the realities of the present situation. Neither England nor India can afford to see this Conference end in failure. We must resolve to succeed. The difficulties shall not be insuperable. We must exercise patience, tact and forbearance and be inspired by mutual understanding and goodwill. We must give and take. If we succeed, England no less than India gains. If we fail India no less than England loses. The task is gigantic. In the case of no people would such aim as ours be easy to accomplish. In the case of India, the complexity of the factors is unique, but, by the grace of God, with goodwill and sympathy on both sides the difficulties shall be surmounted and with the words of the King-Emperor still ringing in our ears we Princes affirm that the Conference shall not fail through any fault of ours."

## SIR AKBAR HYDAKI

Sir Akbar Hydari declared that His Majesty's address, full of personal sympathy to which every Indian heart immediately responded, would prove an inspiration and guide to all of them. "The Nizam counted 'Faithful Ally of British Government' among the proudest of his titles. For 150 years the Nizams had held steadfastly to the 'alliance in perpetuity' as the treaties proudly proclaimed it. 'As with Hyderabad so with all the States and I can assure the peoples of the Empire and the world at large that no hand shall sever the ties binding the Princes to the Crown. At the same time the States, autonomous within their own borders, can fully sympathise with the aims and ideals of the people of British India and be ready to work in harmony with them for a

Greater United India, which we all hope will be the outcome of our deliberations. In this spirit we enter the Conference and shall do our utmost to assist in the solution of the problems to our country's satisfaction of her aspiration. Every race, creed and religion has its own distinct contribution to make to the Commonwealth and we of the States bring as mean inheritance, traditions and culture handed down from the spacious days when in politics, arts and Science, India was amongst the foremost of the peoples of the world. We approach a task beset with so many difficulties in all humbly, not trusting in our own power, but in the guiding hand of Divine Providence."

## THE RT. HON. SASTRI

The Rt. Hon. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri said —  
"The gracious and inspiring words of His Majesty contain lessons which we must learn to



THE RT. HON. SASTRI

practise if we would succeed in the enterprise about to begin, Sir, under your gracious and well proved guidance. The Crown is the symbol of both power and unity and draws our hearts in willing homage and reverence.

It is, moreover, the fountain of justice, freedom and equality among the various peoples of the Commonwealth, and loyalty, therefore enjoins faithful and unceasing pursuit of these ideals and we should be failing in our duty to the Crown if we knowingly tolerated anywhere under the British flag conditions that produced injustice, inequality or undue restrictions on the growth of communities.

This Conference will enable all parties interested in India to bring together their ideas as the subjects of her contentment and peaceful advance to the fulfilment of her destiny. Bold and candid speech is required, but also moderation, forbearance and a readiness to appreciate different views. Above all a vision of India as a whole must be the sovereign consideration governing all our plans. You will hear, Sir, many claims and counsels. Some may be in mutual conflict. Our common prayer is that somehow through the magic of your personality, these claims may be reconciled and these fragmentary counsels gathered into one complete scheme so that this table may be hereafter remembered as the table of rounded wisdom and statesmanship.

Through all clouds of prejudice and misunderstanding that have darkened the problem two statements of policy shine like bright guiding stars and both have the authority of His Majesty's Government. Firstly, of the Viceroy last year to the effect that the natural issue of India's constitutional progress as contemplated in the declaration of August 1917 is the attainment of Dominion Status; secondly in July of this year he promised India the enjoyment of as large a degree of management of her own affairs as could be shown to be compatible with the necessity of making provision for those matters in regard to which she is not yet in a position to assume responsibility.

Our allotted task is to interpret these statements liberally and to translate them concisely into positive measures for the benefit of India and the increased glory of the Commonwealth."

MR. M. A. JINNAH

Mr. Jinnah acknowledged the sympathy and kindness of Their Majesties and opined that it was fortunate that the statesman of Mr. MacDonald's calibre and experience had agreed to preside over the deliberations. He was glad that Mr. MacDonald had referred to the declarations of British sovereigns from time to time that

Britain's work in India was to prepare her for Self-Government.

He drew attention to the Viceroy's recent announcement that the only issue implicit in the declaration of His Majesty's Government is the "attainment of Self-Government. But I must



MR. M. A. JINNAH

now emphasise that India now expects the translation and fulfilment of these declarations.

There never was a more momentous or graver issue in the history of the two nations than the present one on which hangs the fate of nearly one-fifth of the population of the world. We welcome the association of the Princes' Delegation with the representatives of the people of British India. I desire and hope that all parties, interests and communities will apply to the task (in words of Mr. MacDonald) all resources of mutual trust, practical sagacity and statesmanship which we can command.

I must mark my pleasure at the presence of the Premiers and representatives of Dominions. I am glad they are here to witness the birth of a new Dominion of British Commonwealth."

MR. U. BA PE

U. Ba Pe. on behalf of Burma, appreciated the honour by the selection of a Burman to speak on the momentous occasion and assured His Majesty of Burmans' loyalty and hoped that His Majesty would live long to preside over the destinies of the Great Empire. He voiced the gratitude to His Majesty's Government for arranging the Conference and believed that a friendly discussion would remove the obstacle that would have otherwise looked insurmountable. He thanked the Government and the political parties and people in England for the hearty welcome and generous hospitality and pointed out that the case of Burma, in some ways, was a special one, but they brought the fullest measure of goodwill and co-operation, confident that the deliberations would promote the political progress of Burma, satisfy the aspirations of the people and increase their prosperity and happiness. They had brought high hopes that in

the words of Mr. MacDonald uttered recently "our liberty will be broadened in self-government, which is essential for the national self-respect and contentment." We love our country and believe in the greatness before it. We look to England for friendship and affection and hope that we will soon be able to take our place as equal partners with other Dominions in the great British Empire."

At the conclusion of the speeches the Conference agreed to the Premier's proposal that a committee to advise on the conduct of business be constituted with the Maharaja of Alwar, Mr. Benn, the Maharaja of Bikaner, Sir Hubert Carr, Col. Haksar, Sir Samuel Hoare, Sir Akbar Hydari, Sir Mirza Ismail, Messrs. M. R. Jayakar and M. A. Jinnah, Sir B. N. Mitra, Lord Reading, Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, the Rt. Hon. V. S. Sastri, Sir M. Shafi and Sardar Ujjal Singh as members.

## THE REFORMS DESPATCH

[Simultaneously with the opening of the Round Table Conference in London, the Government of India published their despatch to the Secretary of State on the working of Constitutional reforms in the country. The Despatch which runs to over 200 pages, reviews comprehensively the Simon report and allied documents, and after summarising the local Governments' views, puts forward alternative suggestions on many subjects, including Finance, Franchise, Communal and special representation and an enlarged scheme of Frontier reform. It is an unanimous document signed by Lord Irwin, Sir William Birdwood, Sir George Rainy, Sir James Creer, Sir George Schuster, Sir B. L. Mitter, Sir Fazl-i-Hussain and Sir Joseph Blore, and embodies their views on the further progress which might now be made towards the development of responsible government in India as an integral part of the British Empire. The Despatch has been criticised as altogether too narrow in outlook and oblivious to the realities of the situation. Commenting on the halting nature of the proposals the TIMES says that "it is a little depressing that, at a moment when the whole destiny of India is under review, they should have almost gone out of their way to discourage hopes of a new and larger experiment in constitutional progress." The following is a brief summary of the proposals, under different heads:—ED. J. R.]

### CENTRAL ADMINISTRATION

**E**FFECTIVE partnership between Britain and India should be maintained during the transition towards full responsible Government. Conditions at the Centre involve an inevitable duality of power between Parliament and the Indian Legislature.

"The precise form by which public opinion may make itself felt in a Government which must be prepared, in certain matters, to be guided ultimately by the will of Parliament is the cardinal problem that confronts us." So says the Despatch and continues that it is the essence of the Gov-

ernment's proposal that Home control should be of such a nature as to establish partnership in place of subordination.

"Our aim should be partnership in a common cause, and we should without delay set ourselves the task of encouraging the establishment of effective relations between the Legislature and the Executive and thus prepare the foundation for full responsible Government which we desire to establish."

The Government of India state that "the conditions of British India point clearly to federal development."

The Central Government is to consist of official as well as elected members, nominated by the Governor-General, the former to ensure "that the purposes of Parliament are not impaired."

The Government consider that the Simon Commission's scheme for the inclusion of one or more elected members of the Central Legislature in the Executive Council contains promise of Imperial development. Elected members would not be removable by the Legislature by a vote of censure.

A maximum strength of 200 members is recommended for the Assembly and retention of the present proportion of elected and nominated members for the Council of State.

The existing powers of the Governor-General in relation to the Legislature must remain unimpaired and the power of restoring a rejected demand should be given to the Governor-General in place of the Governor-General-in-Council.

#### THE PROVINCES

The Government are in agreement with the Simon Commission in favour of giving the Provinces the maximum of autonomy consistent with the interests of India as a whole.

Dyarchy should be abolished.

There should be no Second Chambers in Madras, Bombay, the Punjab and the Central Provinces; there should be such Chambers in Bengal, the United Provinces and Bihar and Orissa.

In regard to Provincial Cabinets, the Government think there should be discretionary power with the Governor to appoint an official Minister, the choice resting on the general consent of the Cabinet. A minority community might be represented in the Cabinet.

Ten per cent. of the total population should be enfranchised. Communal electorates should continue where they now exist and the special representation of great landlords must continue.

#### FRONTIER PROVINCE

For the North-West Frontier Province, the Government of India favour a scheme for a Legislative Council with the Chief-Commissioner as Agent to the Governor-General assisted by two Ministers.

#### FINANCE

Proposals to provide elaborate safeguards in regard to finance, tariffs, European and Anglo-Indian vested interests, Government commercial departments like the railways, and the Services, are made.

As for financial administration, the Government consider it would do nothing but disservice to Indian interests for Parliament to transfer its responsibility until confidence, now conspicuously lacking, in the policy of those who would control the financial affairs in the new regime had been established.

#### DEFENCE

It does not seem possible for Parliament yet to part with the responsibility for India's internal security.

The general position of the legislature in regard to Defence matters is to remain unchanged. The appointment of a civilian Member for the Army Department is approved, as also the proposal for a Committee on Army Affairs including members of the legislature.

The Commission's proposal for a Dominion Army is not favoured.

#### POSITION OF EUROPEANS

"As regards British business, if once agreement could be reached to relieve the apprehensions of European business, control could pass into Indian hands. Europeans do not wish to live by sufferance or to be treated as foreigners."

Citizens of the Empire should be allowed to enter India, to engage freely in any trade, business or profession, and to receive just treatment. Britain might be given the treatment of the most-favoured nation.

#### INDIAN STATES

In regard to the Indian States, the Government think the door should be left open for a British India Legislature for British India purpose, and for the possible creation of an all-India Legislature in which the States and the Provinces would be represented.

Govt. of India's Despatch on Proposals for Constitutional Reform. Price Rs. 1-4. net Postage extra. G. A. Natesan & Co., Book-sellers, George Town, Madras.

# Second Chambers in the Provinces

PROF. HARICHARAN MUKERJEE,

*Midnapur College.*

THE Europeans are insistent in their demand for second chambers in the provinces to serve as the medium through which the Governor's veto must act and as an additional safeguard whilst the Indians of almost all shades of opinion are equally opposed to it. The question was discussed threadbare in the Simon Report and after weighing the arguments *pro* and *con* the Commissioners are unanimously of opinion that the present stage of development when the Governor will continue to be armed with extensive executive and legislative powers of over-riding the decisions of the council and having his own way when it will be necessary for the safety, tranquillity and good government of the province the existence of a second chamber will be merely superfluous. They also stress the lack of suitable materials in the provinces out of which it can be formed. If a high property qualification be insisted upon as the necessary qualification for voting, the franchise will be very limited and the House will consist of the representatives of the moneyed and landed interests who will be sure to oppose any legislation which will prejudicially affect their class interests. So occasions of friction between the two chambers will be very frequent. If on the other hand the voting qualification be lowered and made the same as that for the members of the lower house, the upper house will be merely a duplication of the lower the members being of the same political views and sympathies and so the existence of the house will not be justified, viz., for holding up hasty and ill-considered legislation. All

the provincial governments with the exception of three only are opposed to the scheme. The central committee recommend it only for the United Provinces where according to them suitable materials will be found in the Zamindars and Talukdars of Ondh. But this proposal is open to the objection urged against it at the beginning, viz., that it will give undue representation to the landed interests specially in view of the fact that the Zamindars already enjoy representation far in excess of their numerical strength or importance. This will be evident from an analysis of figures. In the third Bengal Legislative Council, the Zamindars in addition to five representatives from their special electorate captured as many as 17 other seats. That was also more or less the case in other provinces as well. That is why the Commissioners want to do away with their special representation as they are confident that the Zamindars will be able to hold more than their own in open competition with others in the general constituencies. In the face of this it will be simply preposterous to think of forming a second chamber which will mainly consist of representatives of their order.

A second chamber is not an invariable concomitant of the parliamentary form of government. In the provinces of the Dominion of Canada there is no upper house except in Quebec and Nova Scotia though the Lieutenant Governors there who are sole representatives of the Crown are not at all armed with such extensive powers as those of veto, certification and restoration of grants

as our Governors in the provinces. In Westminster also it is solely due to an accident that there are two houses. The Great Council of the Norman kings of which the present Houses of Parliament are the lenial descendants was not divided into two halves. The greater barons as well as the lesser ones and abbots, bishops and knights from the shires and burgesses from the towns used to sit and deliberate together. If individual personal invitations to attend the sessions of the parliament would not have been issued to the greater barons as opposed to a general summons to the lesser ones and commoners the former would have still continued to sit with the latter in the same chamber. From the political as well as the practical point of view the existence of a second chamber is neither important nor indispensable. It has been more often than not a chamber of reactionaries and obscurantists who always try to obstruct progress and the emancipation and advancement of the lower orders. Twice during its recent history it was compelled to yield and pass necessary legislation under the solemn threat of the sovereign of creating a sufficiently large number of peers to overcome their opposition. Lastly they were shorn of all effective power by the Parliament Act of 1911. It has been the tragedy of India that all ideas and usages that have become either exploded or antiquated should be still fashionable here amongst certain sections of the people and should be always held up before us for our edification or models for our imitation.

The Simon Commission's recommendations as regards provincial autonomy are hedged in with thousand and one safeguards. There is

no fear whatsoever of any discriminatory legislation being hurriedly rushed through the provincial legislature as the Instrument of Instructions to the Governor expressly arms him with power to prevent legislation. This provision will also be introduced in the Reformed Constitution based on the Commission's recommendation. Therefore the fears of the European as well as other minorities are utterly groundless. The question of establishing second chambers will come within the range of practical politics when the Governor will be relieved of his extensive powers with which he is now or will be, armed under the new regime and he will come to occupy the position of strictly "Constitutional" Governor. The Commission unfortunately do not think it safe at the present stage to divest him of these powers and transfer some of them to a second chamber, for they are afraid lest the latter will make common cause with the Lower House and thus defeat the purpose they have in view, viz., the maintenance of the supremacy of the Governor and the ultimate responsibility of Parliament. The Indians will not seriously object to the existence of an Upper House in the provinces consisting not only of the representatives of the landed aristocracy as well as commerce and industry but also men of administrative and other experience, of culture and learning who will lend grace, dignity and weight to its deliberations and remove the suspicion of bias and party spirit when that blessed time will come when final responsibility will be shifted from the Parliament at Westminster to an elected Indian Legislature. But the question is—when?

# THE INDIAN CRISIS

BY GWYNETH FODEN,

*Overseas League, London.*

I have been reading Mr. Fenner Brockway's little book\* of 208 pages. It is so compact, so concise, yet so absorbingly informative as to be intensely interesting to both Indian and British alike. Moreover, there can be no question of it being banned from India as have the books on this subject written by some of his contemporaries. The author states that he has tried to be scrupulously fair in this account of Indian conditions. He has not glossed over defects which arise from Indian traditions any more than he has hidden the defects of British administration.

He gives contrasts in the lives of the people of India from the millworkers' tenements in which whole families live in one dark room the size of a prison cell, to the merchants living in comfortable villas. In Madras, for example, a large Palace was occupied by an Indian family which combined all the luxury of the East and West; yet at their very gates, other Indians lived in a group of primitive huts made out of bamboo and leaves.

He attacks the Zemindari class—who are not above exploiting their own countrymen that they might live in laziness and luxury while their victims exist in horrible poverty and degradation. The author blames Britain for the fact that despite the science and industrial skill of the West, the peasants are condemned to exist in disgraceful poverty and ignorance owing to the failure to provide adequate education. To my mind, this is the whole crux of the question. With the intrin-

duction of education, there could be no explanation to the extent that exists in India to-day, for the people would realise their true position and refuse to submit to it any longer whether under Indian or British rule. He speaks also of the heavy indebtedness of the people, partly due to the expensive festivals connected with marriages and provisions of marriage dowries. As a friend of India, which Mr. Brockway undoubtedly is, he has had the courage to show up social evils that unfortunately exist.

Unless these defects are given publicity, they can never be remedied, and the people will remain semi-starved wage-slaves retarding the progress of the land either under Foreign or Indian rule. This part of the book should be carefully studied by all Indians.

In their fight for Freedom they must keep uppermost in their minds the vital fact that the betterment of their people depends upon the abolition of these social evils. First, they must raise the standard of living: it would be ironical to put a book in a man's hand to educate him when he is craving for food.

Another point in this book that should most carefully be studied by the British both in and out of India, especially those with vested interests is the question of commerce. Many excuse their denial of Freedom to India because of their fear that it would jeopardise their vested interests which to them is far more important than keeping India for England's sake.

Mr. Brockway states quite plainly that so far as British investments and British goods are

\* THE INDIAN CRISIS. By A. Fenner Brockway, M.P., Victor Gollancz, London.

concerned, much will depend upon the manner in which self-government is attained. If it is secured as a result of a long drawn-out conflict, they will undoubtedly suffer; if secured as a result of an early agreement, there is no reason why the mere change of Government should bring any considerable loss. But the failure to reach an early and amicable agreement in the present struggle may have a still graver ultimate effect upon British economic interests. The author offers a word of friendly advice to those who have capital invested in India. He says, "the real danger to British investments in India lies not in the political revolution, but in a social revolution. The revolutionary psychology which the present movement is creating cannot suddenly disappear. Those who wish to safeguard their economic interests would be well advised therefore, to urge that reasonable terms be made as soon as possible in order that an atmosphere of reason may be created."

The prestige of British power in the world would undoubtedly suffer if Indian independence were won as result of a struggle in which Britain finally surrendered. But if the British response to India's demands were such that the people of India felt that they could with self-respect continue to co-operate with Britain, British prestige would rise rather than fall. The effect would convince the world of a supreme gift of wise statesmanship. Even if India insisted upon complete independence from the British Empire, Britain would win more honour ultimately by recognising the right of India to National freedom than by attempting the hopeless task of ruling India against her will.

Mr. Brockway mentions feelingly of the great master, Mahatma Gandhi; of his wonderful gifts; his love of humanity; his hatred of inhumanity; his passive resistance of evil; his positive activities for good. \* \* \*

Anyway, this courageously outspoken little book cannot fail to stir deeply all fair-minded people of any nationality of India's right to rule herself and to be recognised among nations as a nation. This book should become the property of every Indian and every Britisher. No work ever written on the subject of India could bring about a better, and more sympathetic understanding between the two nations more than Mr. Brockway's book. Let us hope that we can welcome him as the war-weary world did President Wilson when he announced the right, all nations large and small had to self-determination. It was a bold and enthusiastic dream. It collapsed because he was not strong enough to see it put into practice.

Let us hope that Mr. Brockway's mission of peace will receive all enthusiasm and support it deserves by both nations. Then his task will not have been in vain nor his ideals an unobtainable dream.

#### BOOKS RECEIVED

- MY TRIP TO THE HAPPY VALLEY OF KASHMIR.  
By Manohardass Kauramal, B.A. This Raja  
Printing Works, Karachi.
- STUDIES IN TAMIL LITERATURE AND HISTORY.  
By V. R. Ramachandra Dikshitar, M.A. Luzac  
& Co., London.
- THE BOOK OF LIFE. By Upton Sinclair. Pub-  
lished in California.
- LETTERS TO JUDD. By Upton Sinclair, Cali-  
fornia.





# THE WORLD BOOKS



LAYS FROM LANCASHIRE. Words by Nelson Jackson, Decorations by Arthur Moreland, with an introduction by the Rt. Hon. Tom Shaw, P. C., M. P. T. Werner Laurie, Ltd.

These humorous verse tales in facile fourteeners about the "tacklers" of Lancashire, supplemented as they are by suitable illustrations, are calculated to be very enjoyable. They are also of peculiar interest to readers in India. Just at present, as Mr. Tom Shaw puts it, Lancashire good temper and jollity are under a cloud, apparently due to the effective boycott by India of Lancashire goods. But miserable as the tackler's existence is, the artist derives abundant humour from many incidents of his life. The fun comes mostly from the tackler's ambition to take part in games and pastimes which he cannot really afford and which he hardly comprehends. Then his poverty is accentuated by a numerous progeny, the increase sometimes being by triplets. In the poem 'The Job,' the suggestion is made that a candidate will sometimes push a labourer to be drowned in a stream, to win his place. In his desire to look smart in his clothes, the tackler wears the coat hanger under his coat! The funniest story is probably the last in which a tackler keeps his two hands apart at a particular distance, like a dazed man, all through his journey by a bus, because he meant to remember the measure of a glass he wished to buy!

SRI MADHWA: HIS LIFE AND DOCTRINE. By C. P. Krishna Rao. Published by the author at Mangalore.

This small brochure was first written as an introduction to the Kannada translations of Sri Madhwa's works published by the Madhwa Muni Seva Sangha at Udupi. It is intended for the general reader and avoids abstruse points of controversy and questions of metaphysics. The first part devotes itself to an account of the life of the saint, of his strong personality and of his works. The author is careful to caution against believing that Sri Madhwa was a third incarnation of Vayu; and while trying to refute some points accepted by the previous biographers of the saint like Messrs. Krishnaswami Iyer and Padmanabhaiah, he is careful to avoid stressing on points which might give offence to the followers of Advaita.

The latter part of the book is an elementary exposition of Sri Madhwa's religion and philosophy; it takes as its basis of treatment the nine hand-marks propounded by Vidyabhooshana Baladeva, a follower of Chaitanya, who summarised Sri Madhwa's teachings. It is fairly cleared in the exposition of the meanings of *pramana*, *mukti*, *dravita*, *bhakti* and other fundamental basic conceptions of the Madhwa faith. Mr. Krishna Rao's book is sober and is bound to be a very handy help to the understanding of the lay reader.

**HINDU ADMINISTRATIVE INSTITUTIONS.** By V. R. Ramechendra Dikshitar, M.A., Dip. Econ. Published by the University of Madras.

Mr. V. R. Dikshitar is certainly to be congratulated on the admirable manner in which he has worked his way out of the tangle of historical data available for Ancient Indian History. This latest publication of his is the fruit of his labours as a research scholar between 1923-27.

The book opens with a scholarly analysis of the concept of *Danda-Niti* or the science and machinery of Government. *Danda-Niti* is nothing but *Trivarga-Vidya* or the science of the three ends of life—Dharma, Artha and Kama or the Purusharthas; the end of the state is to function properly towards the attainment of these Purusharthas which in its turn should lead to the summation of human happiness or the attainment of Moksha. The chapter closes with a lengthy argument on the much controverted question of the conception of the Hindu State.

We have next a statement of the general principles of the Central Administration, a discussion of the theory of kingship and on explanatory account of the king's insignia, titles, duties and rights. In dealing with the problem of the origin of the kingly institution, Mr. Dikshitar appears perilously near the common error of considering kingship as a contribution of the Dravidian to the Aryan. However, he very convincingly exposes the fallacy of regarding the ancient Hindu king as a Niradivate and establishes the fact of a social contract. The consecration ceremony, the Ratinis or the King-makers etc., are no doubt detailed with much precision but one should very much desire that they are punctuated by an explanation of their rationale.

The third chapter of the book is on account of the technique of administration consisting of the Yuvaraja, the Purohit, the inner cabinet, the ministerial board and the General Assembly. In a valuable appendix to the chapter, we have a

correct interpretation of a number of technical terms of great administrative importance such as Sabha, Parishad and Samiti.

The remaining four chapters of the book treat of the fiscal, judicial, military and local administration respectively. In the exposition of the various details connected with the Government functions, the author gives copious and accurate references to a number of Sanskrit and Tamil texts. Another welcome feature of the book is the natural comparison that is instituted wherever possible, as between a modern state and the Hindu state, Modern Society and Hindu Society, the deposition of Richard II with the fate of Vena etc.

In a brief concluding chapter, Mr. Ramachandra Dikshitar emphasises the continuity and tenacity of Hindu Polity while at the same time he does not ignore the salient fact that centralisation was foreign to Hindu tradition. The bibliography at the end of the book is fairly full and indicates the wide scholarship of the writer.

**CHRISTIAN DHYANA.** By Vorrier Elwin, S. P.

C. K. Bombay. 12 as.

The author is a student of mysticism in religion, and being a European *Sanyasi* in the "Christa Seva Sangha," seeks to harmonise the Teachings and Practices of Western Catholic mystics with those of Hindu Yoga. He is certainly not the first in this field of research; but his distinctive contribution is that the essential and basic distinction between the two lies in the conception of *bhakti* and in its outward expression. This view is derived from a Western mystic of the fourteenth century (identity still open to doubt) who wrote a work called "*The cloud of the knowing*." It is not clear whether this Catholic mystic was fully aware of the Hindu Yoga system. Nevertheless Mr. Elwin traces in it a harmonising blend of both systems of *bhakti*. The book is intended to familiarise us with Catholic mysticism with special reference to Hindu Yoga.

**DEVOTEES OF THE LORD.** By T. R. Rangaswami Ayyangar, M.A., I.T. The D. N. Publishing House, Kambakonam.

The author has chosen a score of lives from all religions and described them mainly with a view to inculcate a spirit of piety and devotion in the young. It is a common complaint that the education that students receive in the schools is thoroughly godless and the tendency is to cultivate a spirit of indifference or even defiance to everything that savours of religion. It is to counteract this effect of modern school education that the author has gathered together a number of short studies of saints. Lest the student should take too fanatic a view of his own faith and the devotees of his own religion, he has carefully chosen the subjects of his studies from diverse religions. Thus we have Christian saints like St. Francis and St. Catherine, and Islamic devotees like Ibrahim Ibrah Adham and Abdul Kadir Jilani hymning their choras of praise to the Lord in the company of Meera Bai and Thyayumnavar.

**SOVIET UNION YEAR BOOK 1930.** Compiled and Edited by A. A. Santalov and Louis Segal, Ph.D., M.A. George Allen & Unwin, Ltd.

Tremendous changes have taken place in Russia during the last decade and comparatively little is known by the general public, of the new economic and political order of the Soviet Union. And yet a mass of literature is abroad which is altogether warped by prejudices for or against the Soviet. Under the circumstances a directory of trustworthy information on the actual conditions of life in the U. S. S. R. must be invaluable to all interested in promoting the economic and cultural relations between the Soviet Union and the rest of the world.

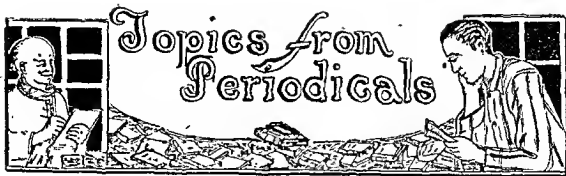
The addition of sections on Health, Trade Marks and Patent Laws and the Rights of Foreigners is a distinct improvement on the previous edition.

**PLEASURES AND PRIVILEGES OF THE PEN.** By N. G. Kelkar. Published by Keshinath Kelkar. (G. A. Natesan & Co., Madras. Price Rs. 5.).

This bulky volume extending over a thousand pages represents an almost complete collection of the speeches and writings in English of Mr. N. G. Kelkar, on a multitude of subjects. Mr. Kelkar is a distinguished scholar in Marathi and Sanskrit, a discriminating reformer, and an advanced politician. The range of his interests is extremely wide, but right through it all, one feels the impress of a sane, acute, and practical mind. As the right hand man of Bal Gangadhar Tilak, Mr. Kelkar had much to do with the evolution of the political policy later known as responsibility. When, after the death of Tilak, Gujerat became the storm centre of Indian politics and the personality of Gandhi emerged into the field, Mr. Kelkar tried his best to keep that principle alive. In the field of social reform Mr. Kelkar appears to be imperceptibly undergoing an evolution towards liberalism. The opponent of the Age of Consent Bill in the eighties of the last century, becomes a strenuous supporter of the Civil Marriage Bill of Mr. Bann in 1913. The part played by Mr. Kelkar in the Hindu Mahasabha organisation is well known. "Pleasures and privileges of the pen" is a record of the evolution to which we have referred; and of the versatile tastes and achievements of a notable publicist.

**SOME ASPECTS OF HINDU MEDICAL TREATMENT.** By Dorothea Chaplin. Price Rs. 3-6.

The author calls attention to the works of Charaka, Susruta and other standard writers on Indian Medicine, to the pulse system of the Hindus, to the superior virtues and potency of drugs obtained specially from the Himavat, to colour therapy and psychotherapy as practised by Hindu Physicians. The book will serve as an introduction to the allopathic doctor who knows nothing of Hindu medicine.



## THE INDIAN UNREST

Mr. Ernest B. Havell, writing in the *INDIAN AFFAIRS*, says that in considering the question of Indian unrest it may be taken as an axiom that its deeper motives are to be found in the region of economics rather than in politics. European text books in the schools and universities of India have no doubt to a great extent westernised the Indian mind and created a demand for the political liberty which is enjoyed by every European and American citizen. But it is the heavy economic pressure suffered by the masses that is responsible for the political cry of India. Mr. Havell writes:—

The contrast between Western wealth and Indian poverty, a reversal of the conditions which first brought Europe and India together, is the most potent weapon in the political propagandist's armoury. It is useless to point out that famines have been chronic in India from time immemorial, or to contrast the political and social chaos of the early nineteenth century with the peace and security of British rule. The fact remains that almost every European seen in India lives on a higher economic plane than the Indian of the same class. The grinding poverty which afflicts so large a proportion of the Indian masses does not appear to touch European. It is assumed, therefore, not without reason, that the wealth extracted from India gives him this material advantage which, were it not for Great Britain's political supremacy, could be enjoyed by Indians. Hence, it is argued, the short cut to the revival of India's economic prosperity lies in the abrogation of that supremacy and the attainment of Indian *Swaraj*, or self-rule. That is an argument which makes an irresistible appeal to the great majority of Indians in whom a political consciousness has been awakened; and this is a class whose influence and numbers have increased so rapidly that the crux of the controversies has become more the speed at which political reforms should be made rather than the specific character of the reforms themselves. Sectional differences, religious and racial antagonisms and rival political interests, however much they may complicate the problem, are secondary in importance to the economic forces which dominate the whole situation.

## IMPERIAL PREFERENCE

"The United States has no desire to enter upon a trade war with the British Empire," writes Dr. Shaw, Editor of the *REVIEW OF REVIEWS OF AMERICA*, "but if thrown upon the defensive it could reduce the Beaverbrook scheme to rather pitiable dimensions. England, in short, cannot afford to give up the immense shipping and commercial interests it has established throughout the world for the sake of a mere theory." The British Empire, he continues, has "a sentimental existence, but it is neither a political nor an economic entity. This is no time to presume upon exclusive favours for British manufacturers on the part of the people of India, for example. Great Britain is worthy of a high prosperity, but will not find it along the path of imperial illusions. Her business with the United States, Germany and Argentina should not be sacrificed for a hopeless project."

In this connection, Dr. Lanka Sundaram's article in the *SPECTATOR* is of particular interest. He recalls the fact that the Colonial Conference of 1907 thoroughly disapproved Imperial Preference, and that the India Office issued a memorandum vigorously opposing the application of the Imperial Preference Scheme to India. Dr. Sundaram says: "If only the India Office could re-discover this excellent memorandum and produce another Sir James Mackay, the Indian situation would certainly improve and the Round Table Conference would be saved."

## LAW AND ORDER

Mr. P. A. Wadia, M.A., discusses the significance of the civil disobedience movement, in the pages of the *BOMBAY LAW JOURNAL*. He says that the struggle now going on in India is a struggle between the representatives of vested interests in the field of politics, and those who are challenging the morality of allegiance to them in the name of those very principles of general welfare and happiness that the vested interests claim a monopoly of protecting as guardians and trustees. "It is a war between the brute physical force represented by the British Government and the moral force of a minority which resists the established laws as the instrument and embodiment of the interests of the rulers; it is a war between the mechanised soul-less force of an administrative bureaucracy that does not and cannot look beyond the letter of the law and the spiritual resources of those who are bent on breaking the letter of the law, not with the help of arms but with such moral strength as conviction can inspire. This power that springs from conviction is all the mightier just because it often originates in the very depth of the body, in terms of which the law that has no soul behind it, and the machinery which the soul-less law uses, reckon their victories."

It is indeed true that such disobedience of laws as we witness to-day in salt raids and picketings is subversive of peace and order. There is no doubt it leads to insecurity, to a certain extent. But the peace that we purchase by acquiescence, says Mr. Wadia, is purchased at too high a price:

"The peace and order that exist to-day in India are not the opportunities for the blossoming of life—they are opportunities for the mere effective utilisation of the economic resources of the country in the interests of the nation that rules. Those legalists who take their toll of such peace and order, and those whose vested interests will

not permit them to look beyond themselves in their judgment on men and institutions might well offer thanks-offerings at this altar of peace and order, but there are others who believe that peace and order are only the instruments and conditions that make the fullness of life possible, and that where these instruments cease to perform the function of promoting such fullness of life, they cannot command the moral allegiance with which they are normally associated. We may with the threat of the prison and the use of the baton secure an outward conformity to law, but we shall never secure the free self-surrender of the individual to the law which alone can justify the existence of the state and constitute the final sanction of authority."

For, the law which in normal circumstances is the expression of the corporate wisdom of the race becomes under such circumstances the expression of "the selfish will of the rulers, and dwarfs the moral stature of the citizens."

"Obedience to the law may, therefore, cease to be a social obligation on the individual born within the ambits of the law. The Government that represents in a tangible form the organisation of society for the purposes of a good life has a primary claim on the loyalty of the individuals born within the society. But when the organisation, instead of being a means to life becomes sacrosanct and claims allegiance as an end in itself, it becomes a clog and a dead-weight on human progress. The breach of the salt laws that we are witnessing to-day is not going to bring in the millennium; it may not secure the objective of *Swarajya* at which it aims; it may in its consequences react on the life of the country in ways not directly contemplated by its promoters. It is to be regarded as a symbolic expression of the fact that there are hundreds and thousands of individuals who are prepared to declare that the Government of India, as it exists to-day, has ceased to command their moral allegiance."

### DRAVIDIAN CULTURE

Writing in the ANNALS OF THE BHANUARKAR ORIENTAL RESEARCH INSTITUTE, Dr. R. Shama Sastry says that the adherents of the Vedic sacrificial cult had declined in influence by the time of the establishment of the Mauryan empire and that the Dravidians both in the north and the south were divided into six religious groups, such as *Saura*, *Sakta*, *Saiva*, *Linga*, *Vaishnava* and *Ganapata*; and the Brahmins espoused the cause of the Dravidians and changed their sacrificial cult to idolatry or interpreted it so as to be in harmony with idolatry. This was the beginning of the era of the Puranas, the Agamas and the Tantras. While the Puranas were devoted to the praise of idolatry, the Agamas and the Tantras were written to explain the forms of worship. Sankaracharya in the 9th century found it hard to persuade the zealots to give up at least some obscene customs in each of the six Dravidian cults; such as were known as *Vamacharas*. The epoch of this voluntary adoption by the Brahmins of these new cults may be said to be between the 4th century B.C. and the 8th century A.D. The Brahmins discontinued the observance of costly Vedic sacrifices and retained only cheap Grihya rites; and some gave up both the *Samta* and Grihya rites and adopted the simple *Vaishnava* or *Saiva* customs, paying homage to Dravidian religious teachers and saints. The chief characteristic of Saivism or of Vaishnavism is the formula of gift which seems to have been an important means for the spread of these religions: it is the gift of food, personal safety, medicine and knowledge and was probably borrowed from the Jains and the Buddhas. When a call back to the Vedas was sounded in some localities, the sacrificial cult was taken up again along with Saivism or Vaishnavism or both as among the Smartha sect. This was an age of confusion and compromise; and the Brahmins were forced to accept all ancient scriptures as

good and find harmony among conflicting doctrines. This is called *Samanvayavada*, or theory of reconciliation of contradictory texts and doctrines; and it gave sanctity to all hoary texts and ancient customs and made them obligatory in spite of explicit contradictions. Besides *Siva* and *Vishnu*, saints are also worshipped. Ancestral Vedic worship is quite different from the worship of saints. The spread of these religions was encouraged by the growth in the material prosperity of the temples to which feeding-houses, hospitals and schools were attached. By propounding a theory of right course of action, the doing of such works as are approved of, and abstention from those which are condemned by society, the followers of Saivism, Vaishnavism and other Agamic cults, as well as the followers of the ancient Vedic sacrificial cult seem to have thought it easy to maintain the discipline of each and every member of their religious communities or castes. There is no doubt that the appearance of rigid castes in India is coeval with the rise of the Agamic cults.



HEAD OFFICE—ESPLANADE ROAD, FORT, BOMBAY.

K. Oct. 31.

### THE ROUND TABLE CONFERENCE

The personnel of the Round Table Conference, (apart from its limitation arising from the absence of Mr. Gandhi and the Congressmen) presents some conspicuous figures. Mr. Iswar Dutt, writing in the *TRIVENT* has a good word to say of the merits of most of them, but the most impressive, he says, is the Liberal team.

"The interests of the country ought to be safe in their hands. It is to them principally that we turn at this critical juncture, for arguing India's case, for pressing India's claims, and for winning India's object. Theirs is a heavy task, an onerous responsibility. They are aware of the rocks ahead and alive to the difficulties at home. The deplorable abstention of the Congress has but weakened their hands, the attitude of the bureaucrats here and the die-hards there has added to their embarrassments, and the reactionism of the communalists has filled their hearts with despair. They are in an unenviable position. Yet they are taking courage in their hands and forging ahead. They are embarking upon a glorious yet perilous mission. It is but just that in these circumstances the country should with one voice wish them well, so that they might carry on the fight the more resolutely."

If as the Secretary of state said the Indian case could be won by argument, then the Liberals are most eminently fitted. Their great leader Gokhale was said to have had, besides knowledge and eloquence of a high order, "a spirit of practical compromise in politics, a distrust of abstract logic as a solvent of political problems, and a natural instinct for what was practical, and aversion for extremes."

"Almost every Liberal leader of note has these traits in a liberal measure. The Liberal delegates will play a dominating part in the proceedings of the Round Table Conference. If they and other friends succeed, theirs is the glory. But if they fail, their very disillusionment

is the nation's gain, and the Empire's loss. They are almost the last band of Indian politicians who have still an abiding faith in the British connection and British sense of justice and fairplay. Their number is fast diminishing and their faith is being now put to an acid test. Britain can ill-afford to lose their friendship too." The writer hopes that the Indian delegates will pull together and return to India with a scheme "so liberal as to challenge the scrutiny of the Congressmen."

"They dare not come back empty-handed. That the British Indian delegates to the R. T. C. would all consider themselves, not as Hindus, Muslims, Parsis, Sikhs, Depressed Classes and Indian Christians, but as Indians first and Indians last, and also, not as Liberals, Justicites, and others but as Nationalists, is the wish of their countrymen."

### TELUGU LITERATURE

Dr. Lanka Sundaram, M.A., Ph. D. gives in the pages of the last issue of *INDIAN ART AND LETTERS* a succinct account of recent achievements in Telugu literature. When one remembers that this most musical of Eastern languages is spoken by no less than twenty three and a half millions of people, one realises its importance to the history and fortunes of South India.

The origins of the Telugu language are obscure and are of a purely antiquarian interest.

But this much is certain, that the Telugus, in remote ages past, were a Dravidian people speaking a non-Aryan language and possessing a non-Aryan culture. In historic times they were so thoroughly Aryanized in religion, language, and literature that they may be treated as Aryans, even though the Dravidian influence is to be seen in their composition and letters. In fact, the Institutes of Manu, ascribed to the second and the third centuries A.D., classified them to be of a mixed Aryan composition.

The original Andhras were Buddhist in religion, and as such there is a considerable amount of the *prakrit* element in their literature. The substance of Telugu literature is preponderantly religious, and the religious instinct is one of the proudest traits of the Andhras.

Nannaya's translation of the first three cantos of the *Mahabharata* dating to A.D. 1020 is the first work whose historicity has been clearly established. But Nannaya's composition is of the highest order, and being a classic of the first magnitude, it sets us thinking about the evolution of the language prior to this achievement. The most widely accepted explanation of this difficult problem is that there was originally a literature called the *desi*, indigenous and having a closer affinity with Dravidian than with Aryan literature. Pre-Nannaya literature must have been of the *desi* type. Nannaya is one of the earliest representatives of the present *margi* type of literature, and we can reasonably believe that Telugu in its present form is not likely to be traced further back than the middle of the tenth century A.D.

Telugu literature falls into four demarcated periods; the period of translations, the period of prabandhas, the period of stagnation and the modern period. Dr. Sundaram takes up each period in turn and reviews its output. In the modern period Telugu literature came into living contact with the vitalizing influences of Western literature and arts. Modern Telugu literature is at once critical, creative and traditional.

The critical side of the Telugu literature of the present day includes literary controversies, literary research, and literary criticism. Unlike the languages of the West, spoken Telugu is miles apart from the written Telugu, and at the present moment the controversy between the protagonists of the "pandit language" and the *gramya* or the spoken language has not yet been settled satisfactorily. But these two tendencies are making their influence felt in equal measure.

### BANKING IN INDIA

In the course of an article in the October Number of *THE EMPIRE REVIEW*, Albert S. J. Baster says that the entry of English joint stock banks into India is 'a new development about which differing opinions are held.

"The recent political disturbances there certainly suggest that there may be difficult times for the Anglo-Indian banks in the future and there is apparently a regrettable tendency for Nationalist feeling to be roused over important banking questions, with unfortunate results. The Reserve Bank Bill of 1927, for instance, was wrecked on quite irrelevant Nationalist issues, and some of the evidence before the Mitra Committee now sitting shows similarly unfortunate signs of racial animosity. This is a pity, because it is quite plain that India cannot at present do without

foreign banks, and a country as poor as she actually is in capital ought to improve such facilities as there are for importing it, rather than quibble over the channels through which it comes. India's chronic needs in this respect are bound to be keenly felt, whatever happens in the political sphere, and it is quite clear that the English banks in India have a part to play which is yet capable of indefinite expansion.

There is, then, says the writer, much to be expected from this "rationalization" movement amongst the banks of the Empire, although it is clear that progress will not be unhampered or free from difficulties. "There is little doubt that the large joint stock banks are waiting for further stimulus from trading and manufacturing interests before making any proposals. With an expansion of Empire trade, this is sure of ultimate justification, and approval will not then be withheld from the movement."

### The New India Assurance Co., Ltd.

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	Rs.
Subscribed Capital	... 3,56,05,275
Paid-up Capital	... 71,21,055
Total Premium Income 1928-29.	76,81,412
Total Funds	... 1,40,32,571
Security exceeds	... 5,42,62,806

"THE NEW INDIA" is admittedly the largest General Insurance Company in India. From the Capital point of view, it may claim to be one of the largest Insurance Companies in the world.—*Indian Insurance—June 1929.*

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E.-April 31.



### THE SIMON REPORT

The recommendations and report of the Simon Commission have been discussed *ad nauseam* in the Indian press. The British press has been judiciously supplied with a great deal of pro-Simon literature; while Sir John Simon himself went on a lecturing expedition to the U.S.A. But the criticisms of Sir Sankaran Nair who consented to co-operate with the Simon Commission and was appointed Chairman of the Indian Central Committee must be of particular interest. Writing in the last number of the *CONTEMPORARY REVIEW*, Sir Sankaran observes:—

It cannot be too strongly insisted upon that the Simon Commission did not arrive at their conclusions after consultation with the Indian Committees. On the other hand, officials were examined to prove Indian incompetence and the necessity of English recruitment for various services including the Civil Service and the Police. Rebutting evidence which was available was not taken. Official and communal evidence to prove Indian inability to cope with communal difficulties and Englishmen's competence to deal with them were received without any attempt to procure rebutting evidence.

This one-sided evidence naturally told upon the Commission and the result is embodied in the recommendations so stoutly rejected by the whole country. Yet the Commission complain of the attitude of India towards their work—an attitude, they say, of criticism and rejection without a real knowledge of the arguments put forward.

The questions dealt with by Sir John Simon's Commission had been discussed in India from every point of view for the last ten years, and it is ludicrous to ask the Indian politicians to go through the Commission's report for the facts and arguments gathered under conditions and circumstances above set forth. Not one of them is put in a new light. For many it was enough that those recommendations were very much worse than the recommendations of such an admittedly reactionary body as the Indian Central Committee. The Indian report was not reviewed, no grounds were given for accepting the other; it was quietly ignored for obvious reasons.

Sir Sankaran then reviews the Commission's recommendations on some of the important questions like Provincial Autonomy, the Civil Service, the Army and Navy and says how totally inadequate and balding they are and how woefully oblivious to the real needs of the situation.

The Commission have not realised the significance of their boycott. India spurned thereby the proffered co-operation between master and servant; ruler and subject. They have not understood the significance of the civil disobedience movement. It is that the Indian political leaders will not delegate their responsibility for framing the future constitution to Englishmen. The destiny of India is in Indian hands, not in the hands of Englishmen. Failure to realise this may lead to a conflagration which will involve untold misery to India, England, and the world. India has to face it some time or other and therefore says: the sooner the better.

### MUHAMMAD

Prof. Hari Prasad Shastri, in the course of an interesting article in the *ISLAMIC REVIEW* for October, has a fine appreciation of Muhammad's life and character.

"We see the real Muhammad in his fortieth year, when through the sheer force of his high moral principles and great introspective powers he realized God within himself, and felt the great call of giving the divine truth of the Unity of God and sovereignty of ethics to mankind. A humanity plunged in the mud of materialism, thinking the physical pleasures to be the only thing worth loving, blind to the beauties of faith and divine consciousness represented as the unity of God or Life, needed a new messenger from God; and Arabia furnished one. It was one of the most outstanding events in the history of the world when this Arabian youth realized in a cave the great truth that nothing but Allah was worthy of our reverence. Here was created a force that was to give a death-blow to the Roman Empire founded on slavery and personal extravagance, and to introduce a great civilization into the dark Europe. Muhammad called his movement "Islam" meaning "peace", and he fully meant it to be a peace-giving institution: peace to the troubled soul of man, and peace to the world sunk in ignorance of God."

The Holy Prophet did not indulge in self-superiority. He was never tired of emphasizing his equality with other men. Muslims and non-Muslims were equal in his eyes. His hospitality was open alike to Muslims and non-Muslims.

## OUR AGE

The Victorians, we complain, talked highly of their age. The Georgians are by no means wanting in self-complacency. "I am glad that I live to-day and not at any time in the past," writes Mr. J. B. S. Haldane in the *NATION*. And why?

"In the 4,000 years before about 1800 A. D. civilisation had spread over a gradually widening area, but its quality had not greatly improved. A century ago in England children were hanged for theft, and the men of the ruling class habitually drank themselves under the table.

Neither of these evils existed in U. of the Chaldees 4,000 years earlier. In the last century we have doubled our average expectation of life, quadrupled our average real wage, and vastly improved our education and morals. This has been made possible, in the main, by the application of science.

We have got to learn to think scientifically, not only about inanimate things, but about ourselves and one another. It is possible to do so. A single mind can acquire a fair knowledge of the whole field of science, and find plenty of time to spare for ordinary human affairs.

Not many people take the trouble to do so. But without a knowledge of science one cannot understand current events. That is why modern literature and art are mostly so unreal.

We live in a dangerous age, but an extraordinarily interesting one. History is being made on a vaster scale than ever before. For humanity as a whole I am only hopeful. For England I am only moderately hopeful, though I believe that if we are willing to adapt ourselves to new conditions of life we may yet be as great a nation as ever.

But even if I am killed in the destruction of London during the next war or the British revolution, I hope that I shall find time to think as I die, 'I am glad that I lived when and where I did. It was a good show.'

## SOIL EROSION IN THE U. P.

The heavy drainage done by unrestricted erosion of the soil and the consequent destruction of enormous quantities of soil are particularly marked in the United Provinces, according to a writer in *THE INDIAN JOURNAL OF ECONOMICS*. Erosion removes not only the plant food which is easily restorable, but the whole soil which cannot be restored; and its evil effects vary according to the general slope of the ground. If the general surface is not excessively undulated, water moves slowly and carries off with it the fine soil material from every part of the field. This is called sheet erosion and becomes obvious only after constant observation of the run off during periods of heavy monsoon rain-fall. But if the ground is riddled with natural depressions, water runs off in natural gullies or nullahs, forming a complicated net work of ravines which often start at the edge of cultivation and join with other systems, eventually falling into the river. In addition to surface conditions the character of the soil and also that of the sub-soil have a profound effect upon the tendency to erode. The province of Agra, where the alluvium is generally more open and sandier in texture, is very much conducive to destructive erosion; while the vegetable soils of Lucknow are practically free from erosion. The cumulative effect of centuries is reflected in the upper lands having been laid bare and barren, while the lowlands have become stiff and heavy by the continual addition of new soil. High lands have greatly lost their power of retaining moisture and the low-lying fields have received no corresponding benefit owing to the thick deposition of silts on flats where it was not needed. Another result is the lowering of sub soil water level so that wells have dried up and the labour of lifting water for irrigation purposes is increased. Water-logging is increased and attention should be directed to the reclamation of eroded land,

## FUNDAMENTALS OF HINDUISM

Hinduism is such a comprehensive term and its tenets are so varied and all embracing that great difficulty has always been experienced in defining it. It could, however, be described. And the Editor of *PRABODHINI BHARATA* attempts to present a précis of what may be termed the essentials of Hinduism. These, in fact, give the religion its distinctive character.

"Hinduism believes in the infinite expressions of the Divine. It, therefore, allows everyone to realise God in any of His aspects. Freedom of worship is thus completely ensured. It believes in the various modes of worship also. All faiths that lead to God are valid. It has thus an unlimited scope for assimilating all new forms that may be discovered in future. But it insists on a certain view of life. It is that everyone must learn to look upon the phenomenal world as unreal and the Absolute as the only true reality. This view of life naturally discountenances action or intellectualism, however fine and elevating, as the highest condition of life. It considers mystic awareness in which the body and mind are dead as the culminating state of life,—this in fact is the real life according to it. In order that this state may be realised, it prescribes certain purificatory disciplines for all under one form or another. If such be its fundamental features in the spiritual aspect, intellectually, it has synthesised all the different spiritual ends and means in the philosophy of *Vedanta*, and has made it the mental symbol of the entire Hindu religion and spiritual aspirations and activities. Along with this it has taught its votaries to conceive all religious ideals and experiences in the spirit of *Jaana*, philosophically and psychologically, seeing fundamental unity in all the processes of spiritual realisation. And it has made the self the foundation of religious experience, thereby adding to the dignity of the individual."

## BRITAIN AND INDIA

Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, writing in the *SPECTATOR*, describes the general feeling in India about the issue of the Round Table Conference as one of pessimism. The fact is

that a loss of faith in the intentions of England is the outstanding feature of Indian political life. It is necessary that the fact should be stated bluntly, so that the approach to the solution of the problem may not be covered by a jungle of wrong ideas and confused thinking. There is a section of opinion in England represented by certain retired administrators of a by-gone period which refuses to recognize that India has changed, or that it is no longer prepared to acquiesce in the claim of the Secretary of State or the Government of India to play the part of an earthly Providence.

Dr. Sapru is not a believer in Gandhi's philosophy of life and "his eleven points are like the proverbial curate's egg"—even the Nehrus are sceptical about them. But the point is they are still occupying the field, and they are filling the minds of men and impelling them to action.

It would be a mistake to ignore or to treat cavalierly the present Indian psychology or to sacrifice considerations of practical statesmanship at the altar of constitutional purism or mere logic. I can only enter one warning without going into details. Whether the Constitution of India is to be of the federal or unitary type, it would, in my opinion, be courting disaster to transfer power and responsibility in the Provinces, and to leave the Centre as it is only because it is held that the Central Government should not be weakened. I am myself a believer in a strong Central Government, but to establish a Central Legislature and to require a small irresponsible Executive to face such a Legislature from day to day is not to provide for a strong Central Government, but to make that Government a weak Government, and, what is worse, to give it an odious appearance in the eyes of the public. I refrain from developing the point, as it must be thrashed out at the Conference itself.

## INDIA IN PERIODICALS

INDIA AND SELF-GOVERNMENT. By the Rt. Hon. Marquess of Zetland. ["*Empire Review*," Oct. 1930.]

A LINGUA FRANCA FOR INDIA. By Sir Hari Singh Gour, M.A. ["*Indian Affairs*," Sept. 1930.]

THE INDIAN PRINCES AND THE REFORMERS. By the Chief Sahib of Bhor. ["*The Asiatic Review*," Oct. 1930.]

IN THE CAUSE OF SOCIAL PURITY IN BOMBAY. By H. W. Bryant. ["*The Young Men of India*," Nov. 1930.]

## MR. BRAILSFORD'S IMPRESSIONS

Mr. H. N. Brailsford who is now in India wrote in the course of his first despatch to the British and American press:—

"I saw what no one is likely to see again—Bombay obeyed two Governments. To the British Government with all its apparatus of legality and power there still were loyal the European population, the Indian Sepoys who wear its uniform, a few of the merchant princes and the older generation of the Muslim minority. The rest of Bombay's population has transferred its allegiance to one of the British Government's too numerous prisoners. Mahatma Gandhi sits in prison, where he writes each week a discourse on some doctrine of his difficult ascetic gospel, which somehow finds its way out past the warders, and appears in every Indian newspaper. In his name Congress ruled this city. Its lightest word was obeyed. It could fill the street when it pleased, and as often as it pleased, with crowds that shouted its watch-words. It could, with a nod close the shutters of every shop in the bazaar; without its consent no mill could open its doors. Only with its permit on a scrap of coloured paper dare a driver urge his bullocks and his bales past its sentries, who stood on guard in uniform night and day, in every lane and alley of the business quarter."

He then describes the effect of picketing by women. The picketers have gone in hundreds to prison but always there are more to take their place.

"It is in this readiness to suffer that the moral power of this movement resides. Where thousands will go gladly to prison, tens of thousands will give money, and hundreds of thousands will obey. It reminds me, in its temper and outlook, of the militant suffrage movement in England, save that it avoids even the minor acts of violence in which these fore-runners indulged.

A disarmed people, which in this part of India has no military tradition, has instinctively adopt-

ed these tactics. It courts suffering: it faces it, as women will, with a noble, if passive, courage. To some it is a religion, to others no more than a tactic. One thinks of the women as the natural exponents of its gospel. Out of the seclusion of centuries they have stepped at the call of patriotism, and nothing in this astonishing movement is so surprising as their joyful devotion. If they have not yet won "Swaraj" for India, they have completed the emancipation of their own sex. The veils and vetoes are gone in Bombay at least, so completely that it is difficult to believe that they ever existed."

The test of the power of the Congress came on the third day of his visit.

"The merchants who import cotton piecegoods had ceased for six months to buy foreign cloth, but they had in stock quantities worth five crores of rupees (over £3,500,000), suited only to the Indian market, they could not be re-exported, and they were deteriorating in the warehouses. The merchants met, and in a somewhat apologetic resolution, declared that they would sell these stocks, and thereafter buy no more. The Congress refused to compromise and as the event showed, it did not overestimate its strength. Hundreds of its women volunteers marched down to the wholesale market. They would picket every shop and office. Some of them declared that they would go on hunger strike until the merchants withdrew their resolution. A meeting was held at which some of the leading Nationalist orators spoke. And then, even before the pickets had taken up their stations, the struggle was over. The clerks and porters refused to open the warehouse shutters, or to handle one bale of the cloth. Congress had won. In this part of India at least its word is law, even though it means ruin to merchants, and unemployment to workers. The sixteen mills which it closed because their owners are also importers of British cloth, are still closed to day, and their 32,000 workers have either gone home to their villages or are living in the sweltering slums on the mercies of Pathan usurers."

## Utterances of the Day

### THE MAHARAJA OF BIKANER'S SPEECH

At a luncheon at the British Indian Union in honour of the Indian Delegates to the Imperial Conference a representative gathering of 150 was present. The Maharaja of Bikaner was the principal guest, whose toast was proposed by Lord Reading who presided. His Highness, replying to the toast, referred to H. E. Lord Irwin as the rallying point of all who wish to serve India and the Commonwealth, and declared that India's demand for self-government was national and inevitable. He observed:—

"If, sometimes, the political evolution of India seems to lean to the extreme the explanation is not a change of political faith but the eluding of the faith by passivism. This cannot be banished by involving the hope that maketh the heart sick, but only by a determination to translate these ideals into realities.

The imperative need of the day, therefore, is for courage, and sympathetic and imaginative understanding, not for distrust and timid emotion. To me and my colleagues at the approaching Round Table Conference (from British India as well as from the territories of Ruling Princes) has been committed the great responsibility of welding these forces into the constitution which will place India firmly on the road to full political stature and an equal place within the British Commonwealth of Nations. We shall approach this task with the fullest sense of responsibility in the spirit of service and the spirit of humility, but in confidence that we can achieve success if we work in union and understanding.

You will ask, as indeed I am asked wherever I go, 'What will be the ambition of India when she assumes these powers and all onerous responsibilities entail?' \* \* \*

There are those, who are not unjustly described as extremists, aiming at Complete Independence of India and the establishment of a Socialist Republic or some other form of Government,

which has never been clearly defined. From them we are as wide as poles asunder. Then there is the great body of opinion, loyal at heart to the Crown, yet resolute in the determination to win for India, as soon as may be feasible, full Responsible Government and equality of dignity and status in the British Commonwealth of Nations, but which pursues the path of ordered progress and believes that India can fulfil her destiny under theegis of the King Emperor. The policy of the Princes and the States at the Conference will be determined by their representatives now assembling in London and will necessarily be influenced by the circumstances that arise, but, speaking for myself, I shall indeed be surprised if the States don't lay emphasis on the two essential conditions which I had occasion previously to outline both in India and since my arrival here.

They are;

Firstly, that India retains the British connection as an equal partner in British Commonwealth of Nations, and

Secondly, that an equitable agreement is reached between all parties concerned to govern the relations of the two Indians ensuring for the States their due position in the future constitution as co-equal partners with British India, guaranteeing their Treaties and internal Sovereignty and safeguarding their interests, including those of their subjects on terms just and honourable alike to the States and British India.

Subject to a recognition of those essential conditions I am confident that the Princes and States will readily support all legitimate proposals emanating from their friends in British India.

Further, I feel that I can safely add that we shall cheerfully devote all our energies and influence, in co-operation with the representatives of His Majesty's Government and the Imperial Parliament to securing for India that control of her own affairs and that fulness of stature in the Empire which I, in common with many others, sincerely believe to be in the best interests of Great Britain and my mother land,

## STATES' DELEGATION

The Indian States delegation, under the presidency of the Gaekwar of Baroda met Mr. Wedgwood Benn, at St. James's Palace on November 7. Various points of procedure were discussed and a committee consisting of the Maharaja of Bikaner, the Maharaja of Alwar, Sir Akbar Hydari, Sir Mirza Ismail and Colonel Haasar was appointed for the purpose of conferring with Mr. Benn and representatives of other delegations with regard to the Round Table Conference agenda and procedure.

## OFFICIATING DEWAN OF TRAVANCORE

Mr. V. S. Subramania Iyer, Dewan, having been granted leave for two months, Mr. A. Venkatarama Iyer, High Court Judge, has been appointed officiating Dewan. He took charge of his office on the 2nd Nov. Mr. Venkatarama Iyer has served the State for three decades, having been first appointed Government Pleader when he was a leading member of the High Court Bar. He was promoted as District Judge and later elevated to the High Court where he was Chief Justice for a period of about one year.

## UNTOUCHABLES IN INDIAN STATES

In reply to a memorial on behalf of certain Depressed Classes in the State of Kashmir and Jammn, His Highness has issued an order that, if in practice any bar exists anywhere in the State against these classes using public taps, wells, tanks, etc., it should be removed forthwith, special efforts being made where necessary to influence the other castes to agree to this. These people do not suffer from any legal disability. But in order to remove their educational backwardness, the amount of scholarships provided for them has been raised this year by 100 per cent. His Highness has further laid down that there should be no bar against the employment of these people in the Public Services.

## HYDERABAD STATE INDUSTRIES

Having realised the importance of indigenous industries, including agriculture, for the prosperity of the State and its people, the Hyderabad Government have been devoting more and more attention to the development on up-to-date scientific lines of the various industrial resources of the Nizam's Dominions. In his latest budget, Sir Akbar Hydari has announced that the programme of the Agricultural Department is a heavy one which will involve a recurring expenditure of Rs. 4.65 lakhs and non-recurring expenditure of Rs. 6 lakhs. For the present he has provided Rs. 5 lakhs extra, which is the full extent of the Department's increased demand for the Fasli year which began with October 7.

## KASHMIR CIVIL SERVICE

His Highness the Maharaja of Jammu and Kashmir has been pleased to enlarge the scope and functions of the Scholarship Selection Board which was constituted several years ago to select candidates from qualified hereditary State subjects for Indian and Foreign training. The Board will now be known as the Civil Service Recruiting and Scholarship Selection Board, and it will consist of the following members:—Major-General Rai Bahadur Jasak Singh Ji. Bahadur, B.A., C.I.E. (Army and Public Works Minister). Mr. G. E. C. Wakefield, C.I.E., O. B. E. (Foreign and Political Minister). Mr. P. K. Watal, M.A., F. R. E. S., F. S. S. (Finance and Development Minister). Thakur Kartar Singh Ji. (State Secretary to His Highness the Maharajah Bahadur). The Board will now have a wholetime Secretary and a regular office.

His Highness has also introduced a Life Insurance scheme for the benefit of all non-officials as well as officials. The scheme is optional and is on the lines of the Indian Post Office scheme for the benefit of Government servants. This is part of a general move forward in the directions of education, better health, etc.

## Indians Outside India

### INDIANS IN BURMA

At a meeting of leading citizens of Madras at the Tamil Nadu office on 2nd November to consider the position of Indian labour in Burma, with particular reference to the recent riots between Indian and Burmese labourers in Rangoon the following resolutions were passed :

"That a Committee consisting of all the members present at the meeting and others who have communicated their consent to serve be appointed for the purpose of protecting the interests of Indian labourers in Burma and taking steps to prevent further emigration of Indian labour into that country.

"That an appeal be issued by the committee and public attention drawn to the necessity for the suspension of emigration of Indian labour to Burma."

It was also resolved that the following resolution be entrusted to the leaders for the Madras Legislative Council with a request to move it at the forthcoming session of the Council.

"That this Council recommends to the Governor-in-Council that having regard to the deplorable condition of Indian labourers in Burma and the growing anti-Indian feeling in that country steps should be immediately taken by the Government to prevent by means of leaflets, further emigration of Indian labour to Burma and to issue instructions to the Collectors and Commissioners and Assistant Commissioners of Labour to explain to the labouring population the conditions prevalent in Burma."

"That this council recommends to the Governor-in-council to represent to the Government of India the regret and dissatisfaction of this council at the indifferent attitude assumed by the Government of Burma in the matter of compensating and repatriating Indian sufferers in the recent riots, and requests the Government of India to take such steps as to ensure safety to the lives and property of Indians."

### INDIANS IN EAST AFRICA

Pundit Hirdayonoth Kunzru, who has been deputed by the Imperial Indian Citizenship Association, Bombay, to appear before the Joint Parliamentary Committee soiled for England by the *S. S. Texere*, on Saturday the 1st November.

Shortly before his departure, Pundit Kunzru, in an interview with THE INDIAN DAILY MAIL, fervently appealed to the leaders of Indian public opinion to rouse themselves with a view to counteracting the pressure that had been brought to bear upon His Majesty's Government and to give a thought to the future of their countrymen abroad, notwithstanding their own struggles and difficulties in their mother land.

"The initial declaration of policy made by His Majesty's Government with regard to the recommendations of the Hilton-Young Commission in June last is characterised by courage and justice, but it is being opposed tooth and nail not merely by settlers in Kenya, but also by the Whites in Tanganyika, North and South Rhodesia and the Union of South Africa."

This is one of the matters which would require much greater consideration than it has received in the past, and it is to be hoped that the Government of India would improve its importance on his Majesty's Government.

### REVISION OF CAPE TOWN AGREEMENT

At the South African Nationalist Congress, last month at Vryheid, reference was made to the Government's proposed measures to impose further restrictions on Asiatics in the Union.

Dr. Malan, Minister of the Interior, is reported to have said that the best thing was to get the Indians out of the country. It was with this view that the Cape Town Agreement had been made with the Government of India, subject to revision after the agreement had been in operation for five years. The time was near when this question of revision of the agreement would be considered and the whole thing carefully gone into.

## IMPERIAL PREFERENCE

Dr. Laaka Sundaram writes in THE MANCHESTER GUARDIAN:—The Federation of Chambers of Commerce has already declared that any scheme of Imperial Preference imposed upon India would be thoroughly repudiated by responsible commercial interests unless such a scheme is adumbrated with the willing co-operation of a self-governing India. Indeed, the Federation has issued a timely warning that the scheme should be dropped for the present as far as India is concerned. The tension of feeling in India being what it is, and the economic boycott becoming more and more intensive, this warning of the Federation is not without significance.

It will be recalled that the Colonial Conference of 1907 had thoroughly discussed this question. The attitude assumed by the India Office at that time would, if adopted at the present moment, save the Indian situation.

Since 1907, and particularly after the Great War, the economic situation in India has undergone considerable changes. Tariffs for protective purposes have been recently instituted. But the predominant fact remains that Indian tariffs are as a whole for revenue purposes only, that India is an exporting country with a large favourable balance of trade, and that she is a debtor country. In all these cases Great Britain has a definite interest of her own.

1. In order that Indian economic prosperity may be increased and that she may be in a position to redeem her debts to Great Britain she needs extensive export markets for primary produce and an adequate supply of cheap imports; as a debtor country she needs the freest possible export markets and as a poor country she requires cheap imports. Indian export trade to the Dominions is not at all considerable. On the other hand, her export trade to foreign countries is of first class importance, and naturally enough their goodwill is

worth cultivating. Any deviation from the present policy would surely result in reprisals being directed against her, with the consequent result that she would not be in a position to meet her bills, particularly those held by Great Britain, through the earnings of her export trade balance. As such it is to the interest of Great Britain that the Indian export markets are not stifled. On the other hand, the repercussions of a scheme of Imperial Preference upon the Indian internal market would be equally disastrous. With the demand for repudiation of Indian public debt occupying popular imagination, the future of British Indian relations is certainly gloomy. If an Imperial Preference scheme is imposed upon an unwilling India, as she is at the present moment, the situation would shift from bad to worse.

## AIR SERVICE WITH AMERICA

It is announced that very soon it will be possible to convey goods from America to India in two weeks instead of five. The Imperial Airways have secured the co-operation of two important shipping lines, the White Star and the Cunard. Air lines and express delivery companies in Canada and the United States will collect goods over a wide area and deliver them to the American port, whence they will be brought by fast liners to Southampton, sent up to London in the boat train, and there taken over by Imperial Airways transport for despatch by the Indian Air Mail. The whole journey from America to Karachi will be completed in 11 days.

## INDIA AND BRITISH GOODS

Sir Atul Chatterjee, High Commissioner in London, in a speech to the League of Nations Union at Lewisham on October 1st, declared that India consumed more British goods than any other country in the world. He explained the Government of India's opium policy, which was to cut down consumption to a minimum and said that consumption had already been reduced considerably except in isolated cases.



## AGRICULTURAL RESEARCH

In his address to the Mysore Representative Assembly, Dewan Bahadur M. N. Krishna Rao, Officiating Dewan of Mysore made a careful survey of the administration and of the problems that the various departments are faced with. The value of agricultural research is being increasingly realised in India, he said, and the need for continuous attention to research bearing on the manifold problems relating to agriculture was specially emphasised, as we all know, by the Royal Commission on Agriculture. Our Agricultural Department was one of the pioneers in India in paying systematic attention to the progressive development of agriculture by the application of science to the solution of its various problems and it has already a large amount of scientific work of practical value to its credit. The association of our Agricultural Department with the Imperial Council of Agricultural Research would be to the mutual advantage of both and it has accordingly been proposed that Mysore should become a Constituent State of the Council with all the privileges of a British Indian Province including representation on the Governing Body and on the Advisory Board of the Council.

## WORK OF AGRICULTURAL COUNCIL

Sir T. Vijayaraghavacharya who has been elected one of the Vice-Presidents of the General Assembly of the International Institute of Agriculture, the only office falling to any part of the British Empire, read a paper in the East India Association on "Rural India and Political Reform." He described the Imperial Council of Agricultural Research as an instance of the radical change resulting from the last reforms. As modified to suit Indian conditions the Council was the only possible way in which Provincial Agricultural Departments can be co-ordinated and provision made for research, which individual Provinces cannot undertake.

Referring to the co-operation of Universities Sir T. Vijayaraghavacharya says the Council found extra-ordinarily good sources of recruitment for scientific appointments among research students. There was hardly a scheme so far sanctioned in which one or more workers have not been recruited from the Universities. The Council started under some suspicion but the manner in which it dealt with the difficult problems of agriculture has helped to inspire confidence.

## MACHINERY FOR AGRICULTURE

Mr. R. S. McNico, the United States of America Consul in Karachi, makes the following remarks in a recent report:

From time immemorial the Indian farmer has been accustomed to raise water for his field by the old Persian wheel operated by a pair of bullocks. In recent years in the Punjab and in Sind there has been a tendency to replace the old method by the use of pumps operated by small internal combustion engines. The kerosene oil engine is perhaps best adapted for this purpose. Kerosene oil is widely distributed for lighting purposes, and is thus readily available from every cross-road merchant. An agricultural expert states that a pair of bullocks operating a Persian wheel cannot work more than six hours a day, and on a lift of 20 or 25 feet can scarcely irrigate half an acre in that time. It thus requires two pairs of bullocks to irrigate an acre in 12 hours. With a 3 horse power engine and a 2-inch pump, costing from 600 to 800 rupees, working on the same head, three acres can be irrigated in 12 hours at a running cost of 1 rupee an acre. It can be seen, therefore, that a pumping plant has about three times the efficiency of a Persian wheel and the cost is not higher than that of a Persian wheel and two pairs of bullocks.

## DEPRESSION IN AGRICULTURE

The Economic Committee of the League of Nations has agreed to the Indian delegate's proposal for a scientific enquiry into the causes of the present agricultural and industrial depression.

## THE TREATMENT OF BLISTERS

Blisters only appear where there is friction and moisture, says a physician in the TIMES OF INDIA.

If our hands did not sweat when we rowed a boat we should never get blistering. In the same way a walk in the rain with wet shoes and stockings generally results in a blistered heel.

The best treatment is to puncture the blister with a needle which has been sterilised by holding it in a flame. See that the place is clean and paint it with a little iodine.

Squeeze out the fluid and then apply methylated spirit to harden the skin.

The object in sterilising the needle and the blister is to prevent organisms from getting inside and so producing a poisoned wound.

\* \* \*

Ammonia, soda and strong alkalis may be used on cotton and linen, but destroy wool and silk, on which only borax or sodium perchlorate should be used, and then quickly.

\* \* \*

Acids destroy cotton and linen, but are less harmful to wool and silk.

\* \* \*

Use benzine, and methylated spirits away from a flame, and all the garments well in the open air.

If a fabric is valuable, either try the treatment from start to finish on an out-of-the-way portion, or else send the garment to the cleaner.

## AN INDIAN F. R. C. S.

Captain Kiranlal Sen, of Chittagong, has passed the F. R. C. S. examination of Edinburgh University with distinction.

Captain Sen is a distinguished scholar of the Calcutta Medical College and obtained a commission in the I. M. S. during the Great War, serving on the Salonica front. Later, he practised as a physician and surgeon in Chittagong for two years. Last year he got the Diploma in Ophthalmic Surgery from the London University.

## DIET AND THE TEETH

It has been proved that the health and good condition of the teeth depend to a great extent on the diet. If attention is paid to food given to young children, and that attention is continued throughout life, firm, sound teeth can be encouraged and maintained. For this reason, says a medical writer in a contemporary, it is not wise to give children too much soft food. Oatmeal biscuits, for instance, are better for the teeth than too much porridge. As soon as a baby's first teeth are about to appear he should be given a crisp crust to chew. A crust or rusk can certainly be given first thing every day. A good, hard, sound and perfectly clean bone may also be given a baby to gnaw. Children should always be taught to eat crusts and biscuits, and wholemeal bread is far better for their teeth than white bread. New bread should certainly be avoided. Apples are excellent for the teeth, "and an apple a day" is splendid rule to follow, both for children and adults. Plenty of fruit should be eaten. After apples, oranges are among the best for this purpose. A diet which is rich in milk, butter, cheese, eggs, and fish and animal fats improves the condition of the teeth, and cod-liver oil is very beneficial. Of course, regular cleaning with brushes twice a day, is also necessary.

## TEST FOR EYES

After the age of forty-five the majority of people's eyes change. Even those with perfectly healthy eyes are apt to develop long sight.

That is to say, they see distant objects quite clearly, but find difficulty in reading the newspaper at the normal distance from their eyes.

The best plan is to give your eyes a rough test yourself. Hold a newspaper up and measure which is the most comfortable distance for reading between it and your eyes.

If it is more than nine inches, then you are long sighted and should consult an oculist for suitable glasses.

### MR. W. HAFFKINE'S WORK IN INDIA

The noted Jewish bacteriologist, Mr. Waldemar Haffkine, who for many years carried on research work in India has died. Mr. Haffkine was born at Odessa in 1860, and after studying at the university there was engaged in research work at the local Zoological Museum for five years. This proved to be the beginning of a notable career of exhaustive research.

Mr. Haffkine's work in India commenced in 1893 and from that year to 1915 he was engaged in bacteriological research. He resigned his post in the latter year.

He concentrated on combating bubonic plague and deciding on prophylactic treatment, made cultures for the inoculation of persons not already attacked by the disease. His methods were strikingly successful, especially in the case of Belgaum, a town of 40,700 inhabitants.

The Plague Commission reported strongly in favour of Haffkine's treatment, stating that the inoculation was harmless; that when given in the incubation stage it had in many cases the power of averting the disease, and it afforded in all cases a strong protection against attacks by plague. Haffkine did similar valuable work in regard to cholera and other diseases.

In 1896 he founded the Government Research Laboratory (now known as the Haffkine Institute) at Bombay. He was decorated for his work in India and also received the C.I.E. in 1897. He won several prizes for his work, including an award by the Paris Academy of Science.

### HUMANITY'S TIME TABLE

How life and death figure in humanity's time table has been worked out from statistics gathered by the American Research Foundation. The hour at which a baby will arrive is more likely to be 1 A.M., than any other time, it is stated death comes most frequently at 3-30. A.M.

### DR. VORONOFF AND REJUVENATION

That Americans grow old ten years earlier than Europeans, and lose their grip on affairs at the average age of 55 years, is the opinion of Dr. Serge Voronoff, the rejuvenation specialist.

The normal human life, he is convinced, should be about 120 or 125 years, but this span has been greatly reduced by the pressure of modern life, says Dr. Voronoff, particularly in the United States, where life is far more intense than in Europe.

Dr. Voronoff states that it is only the scarcity of suitable monkeys that retards the rapid popularisation of his gland-grafting rejuvenation operation, and a movement for the establishment of monkey farms has recently been launched, which will soon make the operation very easy.

He claims to have now improved his method so that it is now more effective. Under the new method patients' glands are not removed. Supplementary glands are merely grafted on, and there is so little danger that it can be performed with only a local anæsthetic.

### SIR C. V. RAMAN

Sometime ago Scandinavian newspapers mentioned Sir Chandrasekara Venkata Raman's name with two European and two American Scientists as a likely recipient of Nobel Prize for Physics for this year. It is now confirmed that the Prize has been awarded to Sir C. V. Raman. We are also glad to learn that H. M. the King has approved the award of Hughes Medal by the Royal Society to Sir C. V. Raman for studies on the abnormal scattering of light.

### INDIAN INSTITUTE OF SCIENCE

The Viceroy has appointed a Committee to review and report on the working and progress of the Indian Institute of Science, Bangalore. The Committee consists of Lt. Colonel Seymour Sewell, Director, Zoological Survey of India (Chairman), Dewan Bahadur K. Ramnani Menon, Vice-Chancellor, Madras University, and Mr. Richardson, Chief Electrical Engineer, Kolar Goldfields.

## SIR WILLIAM WATSON

The most distinguished figures in English letters, arts and politics have appended their names to an appeal on behalf of Sir William Watson, who is lying ill and in need at Bath. The signatories pay a glowing tribute to Sir William's literary qualities and say that he has remained loyal to the high purpose with which he set out and has splendidly fulfilled them.

In the course of the appeal the signatories say that as a lord of language he is in the Miltonic tradition. The world is too often neglectful of its chief authentic singers until the shroud covers them.

The belief is expressed that the appeal will meet with immediate and generous response in England and in the Dominions and in America.

Sir William Watson suffers from bronchial trouble and is mostly confined to bed.

## SPOONERISMS

Dr. W. A. Spooner, said to be the author of "Spoonerisms" is dead. A Spoonerism is a mixture of parts of words, into a new phrase, which gives a ludicrous sound. Among such Spoonerisms may be mentioned the following:—

- (1) Three cheers for the queer old dean—meaning thereby Three cheers for the dear old Queen.
- (2) A well-boiled cyclo (A well-oiled bicycle).
- (3) Two bags and a bug (Two bags and a rug).
- (4) Kinkering Coogs (Conquering Kings).
- (5) A half-warmed fish (A half-formed wish).

## NOBEL PRIZE FOR LITERATURE

The Nobel Prize for Literature for 1930, valued at £6,500 has been awarded to the American novelist, Mr. Sinclair Lewis.

Mr. Lewis has written ten novels, the most noted of which are "Main Street" (published in 1920) and "Babbitt" (1922). He was formerly a reporter and before taking up novel-writing he became successively Assistant Editor and Editor and later literary adviser to a New York firm of publishers.

## THE PRESS AND THE POLICE

At a meeting of Bombay journalists, on the 9th Nov. Mr. K. Natarajso presiding, the letter of the Commissioner of Police to the Bombay newspapers was discussed, and the following resolution was passed:—

"This meeting of Bombay journalists enters its emphatic protest against the amazing warning addressed by the Commissioner of Police to newspapers in Bombay against publishing statements, resolutions and other news of the activities and programme of bodies declared unlawful by the Government.

Journalism is as much honourable and responsible a profession as Law and Medicine, and the Commissioner's warning is on the same footing as a warning to lawyers and doctors would be not to defend or treat persons connected with bodies declared unlawful inasmuch as that would also be tantamount to helping their activities.

It may be recalled that His Excellency the Viceroy explicitly stated that the Press Ordinance did not apply to the publication of news relating to matters covered by it. The Commissioner's warning, therefore, goes much beyond the Viceroy's Ordinance, and is a serious encroachment on the liberty of the Press which, in the public interest, is bound in duty to put the public in possession of all the facts necessary to form a correct judgment on the trend of events in the country.

The warning of the Commissioner is hasty, ill-considered and uncalled for and an affront to journalism, and this meeting trusts that the warning will be promptly withdrawn, and that, in all matters connected with the Press, the long-standing practice of the Government themselves dealing with the Press will, on no account, be departed from."

## SIR ROSS BARKER'S TRIBUTE TO INDIAN STUDENTS

In the course of his convocation address to the Agra University Sir Ross Barker (Chairman of the Public Services Commission) gave expression to his admiration for the grit and character of the average Indian student. He said that he was a profound believer in the qualities of the Indian under-graduate of the present day, both mental and moral. I have in the last few years seen many hundreds of Indian under-graduates and graduates, and I have been greatly impressed by their capacities. Of course in any large number of men there are the good and the bad. Among the bulk, however, the industry, grit and perseverance shown in acquiring knowledge, often amidst great difficulties and obstacles, which the student of the West has seldom to encounter, have won my unfeigned admiration. And this is not all. During those years, in the office which I hold, it has been necessary on many occasions to inflict on the students, who come before us, the keenest disappointments and sometimes to give effect to decisions which may seem harsh. The conduct of examinations is a difficult matter, and I know that occasions arise when an examination does not seem quite fair, or a candidate feels doubtful whether full credit has been given to him for his answers. No one knows better than I do how bitter some of these accidents may be, and how disastrous is the effect they may have on the future career of a student. Nothing has delighted me more than the temper in which Indian students endure adversity. I cannot remember that during all these years an Indian in the moment of severe disappointment has said or written anything which was rude, bad tempered or intemperate. They have been invariably good humoured and courteous, and whether we have done right or wrong they have been willing to credit us with the desire to do our best. There is no better test of a man's character than the way in which he stands dis-

appointment and in this respect the Indian student stands very high.

I regard this matter of the quality of the Indian student as of vital importance to the future welfare of India, because it is only Indians of the highest character, moral and intellectual, who will be equal to the greater responsibilities which constitutional changes must cast upon Indians at no distant date. India must look to the universities for its future statesmen, and everything depends on the power of the universities to constitute themselves nurseries of statesmen who will lead India to a happy and prosperous future.

## UNIVERSITY TRAINING CORPS

With reference to the representations made by the Inter-University Board from time to time regarding the expansion of the University Training Corps at the various University Centres and the establishment of units where they do not exist at present, the Army Department, Government of India, has informed the Inter-University Board that additional funds available during the current year will enable the following measures to be carried out in connection with the University Training Corps:—

(1) Formation of the 13th Andhra Battalion (University Training Corps), consisting of two companies and (2) the expansion of the 3rd United Provinces Battalion, University Training Corps, by two platoons. It is not decided as yet where these additional platoons will be located.

It is understood that these proposals were the subject of a recent interview at Simla between the Army Secretary and Mr. Seshadri, Secretary, Inter-University Board.

## A BEQUEST TO NAGPUR UNIVERSITY

It is understood that the late Rao Bahadur D. Lakshminarayan, Member of the Council of State and a business man of Kamptee, has bequeathed Rs. 30,00,000 to the Nagpur University for industrial education.

## RECENT ARRESTS

## PUNDIT JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

Pundit Jawaharlal Nehru who was re-arrested at Allahabad on October 19 under section 124-A in connection with the speech delivered by him soon after his release was again sentenced to two years' rigorous imprisonment. It will be remembered, in the course of this speech, he had declared that the Congress stood for the independence of India and would fight to the bitter end till it was won. He urged the people of India not to pay taxes. While the delegates debated at the Round Table Conference they in India, he said, should fight for reality and the conquest of power.

## MR. C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

Mr. C. Rajagopalachari, leader of the Satyagraha movement in Southern India who was released from jail recently, was served with a notice by the police on October 23 to show cause why he should not give security for Rs. 500 to keep the peace for one year on the ground that the speeches he delivered, following his release from jail, inciting people to court imprisonment and advocating boycott of the forthcoming census, were likely to lead to breaches of the peace.

He appeared before the Second Presidency Magistrate, Madras, the next day but refused to cross-examine Crown witnesses. In the course of a statement, he repudiated the suggestion that anything he had said in his speeches was calculated to incite breach of the peace. The Magistrate ordered him to furnish the necessary security, failing which he should be remanded to jail for one year.

Mr. Rajagopalachari refused to furnish the security and was taken to jail.

He has nominated Mr. Satyasmurthi to act as the President of the Tamil Nadu Congress Committee.

## MR. AND MRS. SEN GUPTA

Mr. Sen Gupta, Acting Congress President and ex-Mayor of Calcutta Corporation was sentenced on 3rd November to one year's simple imprisonment for sedition, to six months, under the Intimidation Ordinance and to six months under the Criminal Law Amendment Act, the sentences to run concurrently.

Mrs. Sen Gupta was sentenced the next day under Section 17-A, Criminal Law Amendment Act to four months' simple imprisonment.

## PANDIT G. MALAVIYA

Pandit Govind Malaviya was sentenced the same day under Section 124-A to eighteen months' rigorous imprisonment and a fine of Rs. 500, in default, six months more.

## SIR D. F. MULLA

Sir Dinshaw Fardunji Mulla has been appointed a Member of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council.

Born in April 1868, Sir Dinshaw took his education at the Elphinstone College, Bombay, from which he passed his M.A. examination in 1888. Ten years later he passed his solicitor's examination and in 1908 the Advocate's examination. During the interval he was a partner in the firm of Messrs. Mulla and Mulla, solicitors. Between 1919 and 1921 he was President of the Tribunal of Appeal, which was created for the trial of land acquisition cases in connection with the Bombay Improvement Trust.

In 1922 he was appointed to act as Advocate-General, Bombay High Court, but within ten days of his appointment he was given a higher appointment of acting Judge of the High Court. Later on he was twice appointed to act as Advocate-General.

In 1928 he was temporarily appointed Law Member of H. E. the Viceroy's Executive Council. There he was responsible for the Transfer of Property Bill and the Sale of Goods Bill.

His elevation to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council is in consequence of the vacancy caused by the death of Sir Binode Mitter.

## GANDHIJI'S LETTER FROM JAIL

- Gandhiji's one thought in jail is the charka to which he refers in every one of his letters.

- Here are extracts from three of them that lately reached the Ashram :

• "The wheel and thinking about it make the time fly, and at the end of the day, I get good sleep, which, to me means more than food."

• "I am daily making slight improvements in the wheel and it gives me less and less trouble. The greater the mastery over the wheel the greater is the pleasure of spinning and the less the fatigue."

• "I am making daily progress and do not know what fatigue on that wheel is. It runs with perfect smoothness—the carding gives real music—I want to reach a high standard both in spinning and carding—I have new confidence that I should do better—For me, it is God's work. If He wills it, He will give me the strength and the ability."

## THE LATE COL. CRAWFORD

Colonel J. D. Crawford, General Secretary of the European Association, died of kidney trouble from which he had long suffered. He was ill when he left India last Spring. He recovered somewhat on his arrival in England and resumed active work, but he had a relapse and had been very ill for some months and died at his brother's residence at Sutton Coldfield.

Sir Hubert Carr, interviewed by Renter, expressed grief at his death, which all members of the European Association in London felt as an irreparable loss.

## MR. ABBAS TYABJI'S RELEASE

Mr. Abbas Tyabji, who led Mr. Gandhi's first batch of "volunteers" after Mr. Gandhi's arrest and who was arrested with his "volunteers" while proceeding to Dharasana, was released on the 12th Nov. from the Sabarmati Jail on the expiry of his term of imprisonment.

Interviewed, he said he would again enter jail within three weeks.

## THE KING OF AFGHANISTAN

The anniversary of the accession to the throne of Nadir Shah of Afghanistan was celebrated from 16th to 18th October by Afghan subjects resident in Bombay. The Afghan Consul gave a dinner party at which prominent citizens were invited and speeches were made congratulating the new ruler of Afghanistan and wishing his regime success.

In the course of a short speech, the Afghan Consul traced the career of Nadir Shah in Afghanistan until as a Field-Marshal he left for France and later returned with the hope of restoring peace and order in Afghanistan. The only asset he then had was the attachment of his people and his undaunted courage and faith in the destiny of his country. When Nadir Shah took over the reins of Government, the Government treasuries were empty, but now good government had been restored and Afghanistan was advancing on the road to progress.

The most important reform that His Majesty had carried out during his one year's reign was the granting of parliamentary rights to his subjects, which few countries had obtained without bloodshed and revolution. The King of Afghanistan was now concentrating his energies on the welfare and progress of his people, but curious reports about Afghanistan were from time to time being published in the Indian press. The Consul said that some of the leading papers of India inserted in their columns news about the internal affairs of Afghanistan obtained from unauthentic sources. These sometimes caused uneasiness in the Afghan market. He appealed to the Indian press to treat such news with caution and restraint.

EUGENE V. DEBS

## MR. GARVIN'S PRESCRIPTION

On the eve of the Round Table Conference Mr. J. L. Garvin, in a three column article in the OBSERVER puts forward his "plan for saving India."

"On all things we must be sympathetic; on many things we must be hardy, even daring in concession; on some things we must be firm as a rock."

Mr. Garvin urges the framing of a federal system for a United States of all India in which a potent Executive, irremovable as in the United States for at least four years, should be paramount.

British India, however important, cannot function by itself. He advocates the creation of a new Federal Council with a due proportion of nominees of the Indian States, of the provincial legislatures and to a limited degree of the Crown, while the Army stays chiefly in the interest of powerful minorities.

Muslims should have one-third of the total representation of British India therein.

## RESPONSIBLE PARTNERSHIP

Sir Mirza Ismail, in an article in the SPECTATOR, emphasising the reality of the power of Indian nationalism, refers to the effect of recent events on the masses, and declares that at last the term nation has become applicable to India with real significance.

Referring to the cry for independence Sir Mirza Ismail considers that this is natural for men who feel within them the power which they are not allowed to exercise. He forecasts sobering down with the attainment of high responsibility. He says willing responsible partnership within the Empire is necessary to India's own future. He concludes by saying that now for the first time if the two peoples are rightly guided East and West will meet united.

## NATIONALISM IN THE EAST

The current issue of the WORLD UNITY MAGAZINE contains an extract from Mr. Hans Kohn's book, "A History of nationalism in the East." The author points out:—

"The European historical phases of the past two centuries—nationalism, the dominance of the middle classes, and the rise of the fourth estate—will appear in the East in a new and characteristic form. Voices are already multiplying in the East which utter warnings against the superficial assimilation of European historical tendencies and systems. They urge recollection of the traditions of the ancient native civilisation. Their appeal comes home to the masses and is better understood by them than the apostles of alien systems. But these voices are not only heard in Asia; they penetrate as far as Europe, where a similar painful transformation has begun since the World War, where the future is equally uncertain and chaos as menacing a prospect. The World War left the three fellowships of common destiny mutually threatening and opposed, in consequence of the economic and political convulsions that it produced; and yet the above considerations suggest that it may mean the beginnings of a common human consciousness embracing for the first time remote, forgotten and little evolved peoples."

## THE LEAGUE AND SLAVE PROBLEM

At the League Assembly on September 30th Lord Cecil made a vigorous attack on the dilatory methods of the League in dealing with the slavery problem.

He declared that there were still about five million slaves in the world. He complained that the proposal of the British Delegation to convene an international conference had been rejected by the Committee and deeply regretted that the League itself did not take more energetic steps to deal with the situation. The report of the sixth committee on slavery was adopted but the British Delegation abstained from voting.



## HOBBS AND SUTCLIFFE

The veteran English cricketers, Hobbs and Sutcliffe whose visit to India had been looked forward to by cricket enthusiasts arrived in Bombay on Friday the 31st Oct. by the mail boat "Rampura."

It will be remembered that these two stalwarts of English cricket have been invited to India for a cricket tour by the Maharaja Kumar of Vizianagram.

In this connection Mr. Hobbs said that the Maharajah Kumar conferred a great benefit on the cricketers of India and their visit should give a great fillip to cricket in India. Referring to the recent test matches, Hobbs said that England was well and truly beaten. In fact, he was inclined to be pessimistic about the future of England's national game. He deplored the fact that there were no outstanding players coming to the fore.

Asked about his decision not to play further Tests, he affirmed that he was retiring from the Test matches, though he could play county matches as he said he was "too old, and room should be found for the younger men."

He hoped that the people of India would not expect huge scores from his bat, as the tour was primarily for instruction purposes. So long as he could demonstrate, a few of his scoring strokes to the public, he would be satisfied.

Herbert Sutcliffe said that he too had been looking forward for a long time to the trip, and he hoped that it would be beneficial to the local cricketers.

Mr. Sutcliffe added that Prince Duleepsinhji is about the best player in England this year. It is a treat to watch him and his rate of scoring. He has a finisher's and vigour not very much in evidence among other cricketers of to day and, when he is in the game he is never dull. He is a delightful batsman and will prove a very great one."

## RANJI AND DULEEP SINGH

When a newspaper reporter in Bombay asked Mr. Sutcliffe as to who in his opinion was a better player, namely the Jam Sahab of Nawagar or Prince Duleepsinhji, he replied: "When you say he is budding and he has very great potentialities, which will take him to the very forefront, a comparison between him and his uncle is, I am afraid not quite adequate. Personally, when I saw the famous Ranji, he was in his declining days, which prevents me from pronouncing my opinion on so great a cricketer. Prince Duleepsinhji is very good as he is to-day and I most sincerely believe that he is still going to improve."

## AUSTRALIAN CRICKETERS

The Associated Press learns that Ranjitsinhji, who is extremely interested in Australian Cricket, has every hope of inducing the Board of Control to send a representative side to tour India and Ceylon in two years' time.

"Raeji" approached Macartney, Bardsley and Mailey, all of whom have greatly taken to the idea and are offering to play themselves.

## SHAHI THE INDIAN SWIMMER

The Indian swimmer Shahi swam continuously for 69 hours at Worthing Baths, setting up a new world's swimming endurance record.

The previous best was 68 hours 11 minutes established by the Maltese Gizzo at the beginning of the month.

## THE AGA KHAN'S GOLF

The Aga Khan, while playing golf at Aix-les-Bains, has done a hole in one, and one report of this exploit adds that he is greatly pleased because he has worked very hard at his golf and regards this as a happy reward for his diligent practising. Most people will be inclined to regard it as another proof of old propositions about "to him that hath shall be given" and "it never rains but it pours."

## ALL-WORLD GANDHI FELLOWSHIP

Under the guidance of Mr. Kedar Nath Das Gupta, an executive of the Threefold Movement—Fellowship of Faiths, League of Neighbors, and Union of East and West—an All-World Gandhi Fellowship has been organized with offices in New York City. The Fellowship is a non-denominational society whose object is "to cultivate in individual and collective life the doctrines of *Ahimsa* (non-violence) and *Satyagraha* (soul-force) for the promotion of the peace and happiness of the world." Membership involves no financial responsibility beyond the payment of \$1.00 as an initiation fee and a voluntary yearly contribution of any amount the donor cares to make.

## SIR P. THAKURDAS ON THE SITUATION

Presiding over the ninth annual general meeting of the East India Cotton Association in Bombay Sir Parshottamdas Thakurdas said that the outlook for the new cotton crop was dismal and he blamed the Government for not doing anything to help the cultivator.

He then criticised the exchange and currency policy of the Government and said that the protection given to the Lancashire piecegoods, with a small protection to the Indian industry, proved to be too much for India's patience. Sir Parshottamdas also disapproved of the methods adopted by the Government in dealing with the Civil Disobedience movement in the country.

## Mrs. SHAH NAWAZ ON INDIAN WOMEN

Mrs. Shah Nawaz, daughter of Sir M. Shafi and one of the delegates to the Round Table Conference, contributed her share to the discussion on feminism in an interview, prominently published in the DAILY HERALD, wherein she asserted that the position of Indian women was in some respects better than that of Western women and declared that whatever happened as regards India's attainment of her aspirations, the women of new India were ready to take their share in the country's work.

## NOBEL PRIZES

Nobel Prizes are awarded from the Nobel Foundation, a Fund established under the will of Alfred B. Nobel the inventor of dynamite, who, in his will, directed that the interest of the bulk of his huge fortune should be "apportioned as follows: One portion to the person who shall have made the most important discovery or invention in the domain of physics; one share to the person who shall have made the most important chemical discovery or improvement; one share to the person who shall have made the most important discovery in the domain of physiology or medicine; one share to the person who shall have produced to the field of literature the most distinguished work of an idealist tendency; and, finally one share to the person who shall have most or best promoted the fraternity of nations and the abolition or diminution of standing armies and the formation and increase of peace and congresses. The prizes for physics and chemistry shall be awarded by the Swedish academy of science in Stockholm; the one for physiology or medicine by the Carolinska medical institute; the prize for literature by the academy in Stockholm and that for peace by a committee of five persons to be elected by the Norwegian Storting. I declare it to be my express desire that, in the awarding of prizes, no consideration whatever be paid to the nationality of the candidates."

The distribution of prizes was begun on December 10, 1901, the anniversary of Nobel's death. The amount of each prize varies with the income from the Fund. But it is generally about £6,500. The only individual who has received prizes for more than one section is a woman, Mme. Marie Curie, who has received the prize both in physics and Chemistry. One of the distinguished persons who received the prize for physics, is Professor Albert Einstein. So far two Indians have been awarded Nobel Prize and they are Dr. Tagore and Sir C. V. Raman.

Oct. 22. The new constitution and electoral law for Egypt reduces the strength of the Chamber from 235 to 150.

Oct. 23. Section 144 is served on Mr. Sen Gupta in Cawnpore.

Oct. 24. Mr. Mahadev Desai is released from Jail.

Oct. 25. Sir P. Chetwode succeeds Sir William Birdwood on the Viceroy's Council.

Oct. 26. Pandit Govind Kant Malaviya is arrested on sedition charge.

—Mr. Sen Gupta is arrested.

Oct. 27. Pandit Kunzru appeals for public support to the cause of Indians in East Africa.

Oct. 28. Six volunteers are arrested in Calcutta for picketing the Customs House.

Oct. 29. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru is sentenced to two years' R. I. and Rs. 600 fine.

Oct. 30. Mrs. Sen Gupta is arrested in Delhi.

Oct. 31. Prof. B. G. Kothari is sentenced to two months' S. I. in Nagpur.

Nov. 1. Mr. Brailsford urges general amnesty to make Round Table Conference a success.

Nov. 2. Mr. Sen Gupta is sentenced to one year's S. I.

Nov. 3. Mr. Jagat Narain Lal, Secretary of the Hindu Mahasabha is sentenced to 9 months' R. I.

Nov. 4. Wholesale increases in Australian Tariffs take effect.

Nov. 5. Women of Allahabad defy Magistrate's order and lead a procession.

Nov. 6. The Governor of Bombay in reply to Mr. Husseinbhai Lalji's letter regarding the treatment of women volunteers, defends police action.

Nov. 7. Dr. Balcrakar is appointed the fifteenth President of the Bombay Congress War Council.

Nov. 8. Political Prisoners in Benares jail resort to hunger strike.

Nov. 9. The Punjab University Senate protests against D. A. V. College police raid.

Nov. 10. Britain recognises the Brazilian Government.

Nov. 11. Mrs. Kale, C. P. "War Council" President is arrested and convicted for 4 months' S. I.

Nov. 12. Mr. Abbas Tyabji is released.

—H. M. the King opens the Round Table Conference in London.

Nov. 13. Sir M. Fakrudin and Sir Ganesh Dutt have been re-appointed as Bihar Ministers.



SIR C. V. RAMAN

Nov. 14. Nobel prize for Physics is awarded to Sir C. V. Raman.

Nov. 15. Hindu-Muslim agreement has been reached in London on the Sind & N. W. Frontier Questions.

Nov. 16. The Imperial Conference concludes its sitting.

# THE INDIAN REVIEW

A MONTHLY PERIODICAL DEVOTED TO THE DISCUSSION OF ALL TOPICS OF INTEREST.

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## THE YEAR THAT HAS ENDED

By Mr. GEORGE SLOCOMBE.

THE year which has just ended has witnessed remarkable events in the history of India. No visitor who had the rare opportunities of friendly and intimate contact with the Indian people which were permitted to me, could fail to note as I noted the strange and profound changes taking place in the national consciousness of India, and in her attitude to some of the greatest problems of her own life as well as of her relations, present and future, with the British people. The political evolution, through the first stage of which India is now passing, will have important consequences for all the Eastern peoples. The year which is about to begin will undoubtedly see this evolution carried several stages farther.

It seems impossible to me that the time should be far distant when India becomes a great political democracy, self-governing and mistress of her own destiny. I refuse to believe, however, that when the time comes the British people will deny their assent to this necessary and, I believe, inevitable development. I believe that a self-governing India will be not more remote, but even nearer than now to the political life of England, and that the leaders of India, who have learned the lessons of political freedom and parliamentary government in the heart of a Western democracy, will not renounce their cultural association with the English people when those lessons are applied in India. The moment calls for courage and imagination in England, and for patience in India.

# ONE DAY

BY

MR. GOVINDA KRISHNA CHETTUR, M.A.,

*Principal, Government College, Mangalore.*

One day I shall walk in at your front door,  
And call you by your dear name as of old—  
Though I had thought to do so never more—  
And tremulous in that all familiar home,  
Wait for your coming, silently, untold.  
And you will come, O surely you will come,  
With tripping feet, and song, eyes wild adream :  
But seeing me a-sudden standing there,  
Within the shadow of Love's setting beam,  
Will you remembering how we two were wise,  
Once on a time, and loved beyond compare,  
Leap to my arms with cry of glad surprise ?—  
Or yet, will you remembering, shrink away,  
More wise with wisdom of a later day ?—

# WHAT IS GOVERNMENT?

By Mr. THOMAS JESSE JONES,

*Educational Director, Phelps—Stokes Fund, New York.*

THE policies of governments are evidently still in the process of formulation. The evolution of the essentials of government is a process of reconciling them with the essentials of civilization, whether they are analysed into four essentials or into any number that conforms with the researches and experiences of the analyst. In Britain the evolution is called "muddling through"; in the United States it has been described as "edging through"; in Germany it is said to be a laborious process of deliberate conformity to thought, sometimes real, sometimes artificial; in France it is reported as the flight of philosophic feelings modified by generations more or less scientific. Of all these approaches, sound policies seem to have resulted more frequently from "muddling" and "edging" than from the other processes. At bottom it appears that "muddling" and "edging" are a fairly lucky combinations of experience and facts, even though the facts have been assembled by haphazard methods, nor far removed from "chance acquaintance with truth." Possibly the most interesting and significant quality of the so-called Anglo-Saxon type is the refusal to take theories of government or theories of anything too seriously. This is happily illustrated by the good-humored definition of democracy which the late Dr. Wallace Battrick once gave: "Democracy," said he, "is that conception of society which believes that one man is as good as another, 'if he is.' This may be called good humor, but it is also good science and sound sociology. Conceptions of government have always had a tendency to crystallize into permanent forms. High-sounding theories, attractive shibboleths, and plausible catch-phrases have caused endless friction and misunderstandings.

In the words of a keen and sympathetic student of national and international affairs: "What is

required now is organizing intelligence, synthetic thinking on a terrestrial scale, a plan of common relationship to the means of life prepared not in terms of a parish or of a nation, but of the globe." Through the terrific trials of the greatest war in human history, the League of Nations was launched; the World Court has been initiated; the Locarno Agreements were made possible; the paraphernalia of war are coming under control; and the absolutisms of Empire and Alliances are being replaced by the understanding and mutual faiths of the Commonwealth of Nations and the co-operation of civilized nations. Such realizations of Utopia depend ultimately upon a genuine awareness of the essentials of civilization by every responsible citizen and by every nation.

## The Round Table Conference

Rt. HON. LORD OLIVIER, K.C.M.G.

DEAR MR. NATESAN,

I am sorry that I have not been able to send you, as invited, a contribution to your Special Number of the Indian Review. But it has seemed to me impossible to say anything that during the last few months, would have been either opportune or advantageous in view of the inconceivable and intransigent attitude of the Congress Party, which is the only obstacle to a hopeful view of the Indian constitutional problem. I attended the opening of the Round Table Conference last Wednesday: which was impressive, and should have been an occasion for hopeful confidence; but which seemed regrettably incomplete and imperfectly balanced. I feel sure, however, that the Conference will arrive at a reasonable, and what should be an acceptable, Report and the progress will be made towards ensuring a solid contribution towards the unification of a policy satisfactory to all applicants to Indian Self-Government. I think, and I have long thought, this tactical leadership of the Congress Party deplorable. The loss of C. R. Das was from that point of view an immense misfortune. May the New Year be a happier epoch for Indian Nationalism!

Believe me,

Yours sincerely,



15th Nov. 1930.

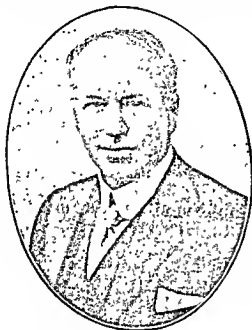
# Some Memories of Lord Birkenhead

BY

SIR ROSS BARKER,

*Chairman, Public Services Commission.*

THE last decade of the nineteenth century produced from among the under graduates of Oxford and more particularly from among the



SIR ROSS BARKER

prominent members of the Oxford Union Society an unusual number of men who have since become famous. To mention only those who became Presidents of the Union there were the Earl of Crawford and Balcarres at one time a favourite nominee for the Viceroyalty of India, Lord Warkworth the heir to the Dukedom of Northumberland, whose brilliant promise as Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, was cut short by premature death, Milaire Belloc Earl Besuchamp then the orthodox exponent of

Conservatism and now a leader of the Liberal party, Lord Bradbny, whose fame as a financier at the Treasury brought him a peerage long before the normal age for retirement, Sir Archibald Boyd Carpenter (as brilliant an orator as his father the Bishop of Ripon) who has divided his life between politics and war, Professor Phillimore the Greek scholar, F. W. Hirst the economist, the Earl of Donoughmore and John Buchan, and lastly Sir John Simon and F. E. Smith.

Of this galaxy of talent three came from Wadham, F. W. Hirst and Sir John Simon and F. E. Smith, and the college was made still more illustrious by the possession of that great athlete C. B. Fry. Sir John Simon and F. E. Smith travelled along the road to fame almost hand in hand and it would be difficult to find a case in which two men so essentially dissimilar have had such similar careers. Each was a scholar of Wadham, each a President of the Oxford Union, each became a King's Counsel in the same year, each entered Parliament in the same year, each obtained a colossal practice at the bar, each became solicitor-general and attorney-general, each became a Major in His Majesty's forces during the War, each became a cabinet minister and each became deeply involved in the affairs of India. If the parallel is not quite complete and Sir John Simon has never been Lord Chancellor it is not for want of the opportunity, an opportunity which may possibly recur.

It is doubtful whether observers of that day would have ranked F. E. Smith as the most brilliant of the stars in that constellation. As an orator at the Union he modelled himself perhaps a little too obviously on Joseph Chamberlain. He

was incomparably the finest debater in the cut and thrust of debate, in his gift of sarcasm and in the sledge hammer blows he levelled at his adversaries. Critics, however, were disposed to regard his glitter as rather metallic and his thought as rather superficial. Many preferred Hilaire Belloc who gave vent to philosophic generalities with an amazing eloquence and a slightly Gallic accent which added to its charm or Sir John Simon even then the essential type of the best of liberalism, well informed, humane and endowed with a fund of knowledge coupled with a vein of idealism. F. E. Smith differed from the rest rather in the breadth of his interests. He was equally at home in the Union, in a town and gown rag, in the hunting field, in the ball room at Blenheim or at a game of football and one of the writer's first recollections is of his dragging a leg damaged at the latter game across the court yard of the Union premises. As he told us later, his undergraduate career left him laden with debts and provided by way of compensation with a First class in the Law school and a little later the Vinerian scholarship, the most coveted legal distinction in the University. These distinctions did not serve to relieve him of an unfounded suspicion which endured till he became Lord Chancellor that he had no profound acquaintance with law. A little book he wrote on International law at this date, in order, it is said to procure funds for his marriage scarcely added to his legal reputation. He had no great liking for examinations but they represented a fence which had to be jumped on the road to success. He made up his mind to pass them with a minimum of difficulty and as he said on one occasion "There is nothing about the way to pass examinations which I do not know."

He became a Fellow of Merton and to all appearance had settled down to the life of an Oxford don. He was not called to the Bar till he was twenty seven years of age and at that age only

twenty years separated him from the Woolsack. His first successes were in his own neighbourhood of Birkenhead and Liverpool. They were rapid and phenomenal. The late Lord Mersey when on circuit was asked by a friend what was the purpose of certain gigantic buildings then under erection in Liverpool. He replied that he did not know but he thought they must be new chambers for "F.E."

After two unsuccessful attempts F. E. Smith was returned to Parliament in 1906, in that momentous election which witnessed the complete defeat of the Conservative party and their exclusion from office for nearly twenty years. The defeat seemed to close the avenue of political advancement to the new member. During the next eight years F. E. Smith won almost equal fame, in the House of Commons as the most adroit speaker at a firmly entrenched Liberal ministry, in the Law Courts as the first advocate of his day, and in Ulster as Gallop Smith a protagonist in the struggle against Home Rule for Ireland. His activities in the latter direction assumed no military aspect that shortly before the Great War not a few stern unbending liberals were advising Mr. Asquith to put F. E. in the tower for fomenting armed rebellion against the crown. With the Great War came another metamorphosis and two Majors of the King's Own Oxfordshire Hussars, F. E. Smith and his great ally Winston Churchill joined the expeditionary force in France. "F.E." served with the Indian Corps. The life of the camp was exactly to his taste and his good fellowship won him great popularity. No doubt he would have become a great soldier had not the formation of the first Coalition Government brought him back to England to take office for the first time as Solicitor-General in 1915. The Attorney-Generalship followed in the same year and within four years he was Lord Chancellor. As Attorney-General he was reputed to take his duties rather



lightly but he was invaluable to the Government. He was an acid debater with whom opponents feared to cross swords and he had the rare gift of measuring exactly the variable and mercurial humours of the House of Commons. One instance may be mentioned. A dull bill was being debated in the House. An amendment was moved involving a point of great legal intricacy. The amendment won unsuspected support; the Government spokesman received a very unfavourable reception and the most devoted adherents of Government rebelled against it. The House was in one of its obstinate moods, things were looking bad and a cry went up for F. E. As was not unusual he was not to be found in the precincts of the House but eventually he was discovered at his club and hurried down to the House. He went to the permanent official, whose duty it was to explain matters and the official began "As you know, the law on this subject is as follows." F. E. replied, "My dear fellow, you ought to know by this time that I do not know any law." With this the official shoved a paper into his hand which gave a brief explanation of the point. F. E. sat down on the Treasury bench barely glancing at the paper and in two minutes he rose to face a thoroughly hostile House. In less than two minutes more the House was in complete good humour. He made a good joke and the House laughed. The House does not like law and he skated skilfully round the legal point. He passed from the law to the broad humanities of the question involved. The House agreed, the crisis was over and F. E. returned to his club. He had no previous knowledge of the matter and his skill in mastering with extraordinary rapidity a very complicated point and then in handling a recalcitrant House was quite amazing.

That staid and eminently polite body the House of Lords regarded his elevation to that Chamber with undisguised alarm which was shared by the

general public. The Lords do not give a ready welcome to Gallipolis and it does not like debaters whose favourite method of dealing with adversaries is to flay them alive, until the audience are unable to survey with equanimity the tortures of the victim. The Law Lords, over whom he was to preside, while they appreciated his virtues as a cross examiner, were dubious about his merits as a lawyer. Within a very few months he had won the profound admiration of the House, laymen and lawyers alike. To use an expressive phrase they were feeding out of his hand. Many of his judgments as Lord Chancellor were memorable and perhaps two may be mentioned. Ever since the reign of Queen Elizabeth a succession of lawyers in a large number of cases had held that bequests for masses for the dead were illegal. It was one of those propositions which no lawyer had ventured to doubt probably for two centuries or more. Some litigant was bold enough to carry the question to the House of Lords. Lord Birkenhead in a judgment of vast learning extending over more than a hundred pages in the law reports decided that they were legal and what is more surprising carried his colleagues with him. In another case involving a point in the law of hostages, which was certainly not his subject, Lord Birkenhead gave so wonderful a judgment that his colleagues the Law Lords, led by the veteran Lord Haldane, who had no reason to love him, adopted the unusual course of congratulating him on his pronouncement. It was not only as a law lord that he excelled. He presided over the deliberations of the House with great dignity. The representative of Government in the House of Lords is more or less a maid of all work defending the action of all departments of Government and dealing with matters with which he is quite unfamiliar. Lord Birkenhead was never at a loss. He discussed all subjects with an equal mastery and he would make a speech of three quarters of

an hour without a note on a subject he had tackled for the first time that afternoon. In comprehensiveness, lucidity and wisdom it would far surpass the speeches of those who had devoted years to the subject.

A less attractive aspect of his activities was to be found in his debating methods. Of all the men of the day he had an unrivalled gift for invective. In an even unemotional voice he would heap scorn and contumely on his adversary; his tongue was like a lash, and, if he ever failed to exterminate his adversary, it was because the savagery of his methods evoked pity rather than contempt for the unfortunate object of his oratory. He spared neither great nor small and among a host of others Lord Buckmaster, Lord Parmoor, Lord Dunsford, Earl Bathurst, Lord Arnold and in the Commons Mr. Joseph King linger in the memory as sufferers at one time or another from this terrible chastisement. If truth must be told his methods of controversy were not entirely fair. He used to select the weakest point in the case he was advocating and assert with emphasis that it was not weak at all and that the correctness of his view was incontrovertible. No one but a blockhead could possibly disagree with him and that was the end of it. In his more unfortunate moments and especially in later years after he had quitted office he occasionally lapsed into personalities which were offensive to good taste, as when he twitted a colleague with an inadequate practice at the bar. These outbreaks were not due to any lack of good nature on his part or to any unkindness of disposition. The fact was that he was gifted by nature with a terrible tongue and it was as necessary for him to use it as it is for a great artist to paint or a great violinist to play the violin. He could not put a bridle on himself. In addition to this he had to a remarkable degree the lawyer's gift of believing himself right in every cause he advocated and of thinking that those who disagreed with him were fools or

knaves. Last year in a letter to the TIMES he admitted he was wrong on a certain point connected with the Maybrick case. The evidence was too strong for him but the admission pointed to a decline in his fighting powers.

In truth a man who was so well able to make friends and keep them had little reason to shrink from making enemies. Men who had conceived a violent antipathy to him, while they knew only of his public career, men, who were quite unlike him in type, became his devoted admirers as soon as they came within the range of his personality. He was a good mixer finding himself readily at home among all classes of men and there was scarcely any department of the national life with which he did not come into relations. He was a prince of good fellows and to hear him deliver an after dinner speech in a rollicking mood was an education in conviviality. But he was much more than a good fellow. He was a large hearted, generous man in whom nothing small or mean found a place. He was the best of friends to his friends and neither their misfortunes nor their errors nor even personal injuries to himself were able to break the bond or to dissolve ties going back to a distant history marked by the progressive success of Lord Birkenhead and the increasing ill-success of his friend. His loyalties to institutions with which he was connected were almost passionate and ranked in order of date. He had a strange affection for the House of Lords. When the battle was almost lost he resisted effectively, the admission of women to the chamber. Visitors to India who were invited to pay him an official visit were puzzled to find that the only Indian topic which really seemed to perplex him was the devolution of a Hindu peerage and on this subject he used eagerly to ask for advice. Taking precedence over this was his loyalty to Gray's Inn. He was its Beecher and its Treasurer and he was never so happy as when he was dispensing its hospitalities

# The Composition of the Federal Assembly

BY PROF. HARICHARAN MUKERJEE,

(*Madras College.*)

ACCORDING to the recommendations of the Simon Commission the Legislative Assembly is to be enlarged and is to be christened the Federal Assembly. In its composition it will embody the federal principle as it will not consist of members directly returned by the constituencies but indirectly by electoral colleges viz., the provincial councils of the different provinces. According to the Commissioners this arrangement will result in much good. Firstly, it will have the door open for the inclusion of the Indian States when they in the fullness of time will think it worth their while to enter the federation. Secondly, it will facilitate the establishment of intimate relationship between the electors and their representatives i.e., the provincial councillors and the members of the Assembly, a thing which is quite out of the question under the present circumstances when on account of the unwieldiness of the constituencies spread over vast areas there can be no contact between the voters and their representatives. Thirdly, it is claimed that this arrangement will make it possible for Mr. Layton's scheme of a Provincial Fund to work when the different contingents from the provinces will maintain their collective individuality from the rest and will be able to voice forth provincial grievances. The distinguished authors can not claim any originality for propounding this scheme, credit being due to the authors of the Nehru Report (chapter VII, para 8) who developed it in all its details but recommended it for the Council of State to be called the Senate and not for the Legislative Assembly. But being applied to the latter for which it was never intended the scheme will be open to serious objections. In the federal legislatures all over the world we can detect two different principles at work viz., the federal principle and the national principle. Accordingly one

of the houses of the legislature, invariably the upper, embodies the federal principle the members being returned by the constituent states on a uniform basis to allay the suspicions of the lesser states that they won't have an equal voice as their bigger neighbours in the determination of the national policy or the management of national affairs. The lower house embodies the popular or the national principle the entire body of the citizens of the states sending their representatives directly to it. This is done to counteract the centrifugal tendency in the states and to hasten the process of their unification by engendering a common sense of citizenship. This is so in the United States of America, Switzerland, the Commonwealth of Australia and with certain modifications also in the Union of South Africa. But nowhere do we find that the lower house embodies the federal principle as has been here suggested in the Simon Report. Under this proposed scheme both the houses will, to a certain extent, represent the federal principle (the Council of State containing a large nominated element like the Canadian Senate) direct popular representation finding no place at all in the federal legislature. It seems probable that the Commissioners were driven to this necessity from their eagerness to introduce the federal principle by leaving the door open for the admission of the states coupled with their anxiety to retain the Council of State as at present constituted on account of the valuable services it had rendered in the past. The proposed scheme will detract from the sovereignty of the people by depriving them of a coveted privilege, viz., of electing their own chosen representatives to the central legislature. In America in the years immediately succeeding the formation of the federation the President was first elected by the Congress and then by the state legislatures. But

the people did not like this usurpation of their right and took it in their own hands. Moreover the more elections there are, the better it will be for us for they are the best educators. In some of the states of America notably in Massachusetts and New York the ordinary elector is called upon to go to the polls as many as 10 or 12 times in the course of one single year (Bryce's American Commonwealth, Vol. II, Chap. LXI) and for this reason the American elector is unquestionably the most intelligent voter in the world. Moreover in the present state of the country it will be nothing short of a disaster to make the provincial councillor the member also of an electoral college for sending representatives both to the Federal Assembly as well as the Council of State. In the absence of an intelligent electorate holding him strictly accountable for everything that he will do or say, or imposing on him their mandate the provincial legislator is likely to forget his representative character. The provision also that the latter may be a member of the Federal Assembly is not likely to make for success for, in his case there may be a clash of duties and allegiance over and above the practical inconvenience sometimes resulting from both the legislatures, the central and the provincial being concurrently in session.

The second advantage which is claimed on behalf of this system is also illusory. The relationship existing at present between the ordinary elector and his representative in the provincial council is no more intimate than that which exists between the former and the Assembly member though the latter necessarily represents a wider electorate than the provincial councillor. Ordinarily speaking it makes very little difference whether one member represents two hundred thousand persons in the provincial council or two millions in the Assembly. The state of things existing at home betrayed Sir John into this error. Nowhere in India do we find the member

after election, nursing his constituency, taking an active part in its social and political life or maintaining contact with it through correspondence, etc. The only effective check which is imposed on him and keeps him informed of the needs of his constituents is an influential and ever-vigilant press ready to call a member to account when he will forget his duties to them. So it is evident from this that the proposed scheme will have no countervailing advantage.

The only alternative lies in taking courage in both hands and following the precedent of the great federations of the world and introduce the national principle in the Assembly and the federal principle in the Council of State by doing away with nominations and the official block altogether. The latter (the Council of State) will solely consist of the representatives of the different provinces and the States (when these will enter the federation) on a uniform basis the smaller ones amongst the latter jointly sending a certain number of members. The Federal Assembly will be composed of the representatives of the provinces of British India and of the States too on the basis of population subject to a minimum. All the provinces and States (when the time is ripe) will be divided into a number of single-member districts but none of these latter will cross a provincial or a major state boundary. This arrangement will also serve admirably well for the functioning of Mr. Layton's scheme for there will be always provincial contingents of members competent to speak on provincial needs and voting for the taxes which will go to the Provincial Fund, though not elected by the provincial legislatures.

But insistence upon legislative security as is being guaranteed by the Council of State under its present constitution and distrust of the popular chamber scarcely fit in with the introduction of the federal principle which is the very essence of democracy. The choice is to be made once for all and the risk taken. But will British statesmanship rise to the occasion and show the rare courage that is now demanded of it?

# INDIAN SOCIETY IN 2030

BY MR. V. B. METTA

WHAT will Indian Society be like in 2030? Will it remain what it is to-day, or will it change fundamentally?

It will change fundamentally.

India is no more unchanging than any other country, Eastern or Western. The Vedic Indians were very different from the Puranic Indians. The former were healthy children to whom the forces of nature appeared as living beings with beautiful bodily forms of their own. They became ecstatic over Ushas, and admired the strength and benevolence of purpose of Surya. But the Puranic Indians had become fanciful and so they wove round their deities legends which were not always complimentary to those deities. The pre-Buddhist Indians believed in individual worship and the sanctity of the caste system. But Buddhist Indians did away with caste and evolved the ideal of congregational worship. The art of the Ajanta Caves is the art of a people who have seen too much of life: and so it tells you in a side whisper that life is a mere bubble not worth caring about. But the art of the Moghul period is the art of a people who love life and who are resolved to make the most of it. Kalidasa loves art, nature, women, and everything else that is beautiful in life. But the Indian poets of the sixteenth century and the first half of the nineteenth century—both Hindu and Moslem—seem to see nothing but the hollowness of life and seek peace in God.

Just as the Indian outlook on life has changed in the past, so it will change in the future. Western influence is spreading all over the East and is modifying the whole conception of life of the Easterners. India has changed a great deal under British rule. You have only to look at the pictures of Bombay or Calcutta or Madras of the beginning or middle of this last century to realise this. A hundred years ago hardly any Indian dreamt of

putting on the Western dress. To-day thousands of them do so.

Changes due to Western influence on Indian society have however been comparatively superficial up till now. But in the century to come they will become fundamental and modify the whole Indian outlook on life.

In spite of Mr. Gandhi's efforts to prevent Industrialism from taking root on Indian soil, it will take root. There are forces of life which we do not understand and over which we have no control. And when Industrialism has taken firm root here it will create individualism. And with individualism the caste system will break down. For, the individual will dine with and marry anyone he likes. Civil marriages will become fairly common, since Indians will marry anyone they like, regardless of his or her caste or creed. The religious distinctions which are unnecessarily accentuated in India to-day will then disappear. The influence of a new religion like Bahá'ism will perhaps enable all Indians to realize the essential unity of all old religions.

With the coming of individualism the joint-family system will disappear. The elders in Indian families who have been taking themselves a little too seriously up till now will not give themselves an easy air then. At present they do not always realize that the younger members of their families have their points of view, which, though different from theirs, might be just as good as and sometimes better than their own. And the younger members will not invest the elder members of their families with the halo of infallibility which they do now. It is not at all improbable that there will be a B.Y.T. (Bright Young Things) period in India. Young Indians of either sex will tell their elders frankly that their conservatism is not wisdom, that their physical incapacity to enjoy themselves does not necessarily make them

virtuous, etc. Perhaps some of the older Indians will take to imitating the younger folk like their confreres of the West. And it will not be bad for them. It will make them a little less serious: or to put it less euphemistically, less dull.

But the B.Y.T. period will not last long. The Indian temperament and the basis of the Indian philosophy of life preclude the idea of the B.Y.T.'s remaining the top-dogs for ever. Indians are always nearer the realities of life and nature than northern European races and so they cannot be romantic for any length of time. They do not wish, like Westerners, to realize the ideal which their fancy or imagination has created. They wish to idealise the real. The B.Y.T. period will be a symbol of the passing of the Old and the coming of the New Period in Indian social history.

At present, different Indian communities exaggerate the differences which separate them from one another. And the dresses which they put on are symbols of this love of exaggerating trifles. But in the India of 2030 the different communities will see all the points that they have in common with one another and so they will put on the same kind of dress. The Indian dress of the future will be a combination of the Eastern and Western dress of to day. Hindustani will become

the *lingua franca* of India, and will be taught in schools all over the country. Indians will use the Roman script for all public and secular purposes, reserving Devanagari and Perso-Arabic script for religious purposes.

The ideals of Indian art and literature will change a great deal. Until about fifty years ago Indian poetry was mostly religious. But since then it has been becoming more and more secular. And it will become still more secular in years to come. It will deal with everyday life, nature, art, and everything else that appeals to the senses of man. Story-writers will leave the realms of the romantic and fantastic and depict human beings as they are with their admixture of good and evil, high and low, noble and ignoble qualities. Artists will also depict everyday life in a naturalistic way. Of course there will be artists who will want to go back to the ideals of the past and paint in the Ajanta or the Moghul style. But they will not be many. The 'Time Current' will be too strong to allow many more of such types to come up to the surface.

Indians have been called a sad people. Perhaps in the next century, with the change in their mode of thinking, feeling, and living they will become less sad.

## THE MONSTER

BY MILLIE GRAHAM POLAK

A man stands on a small raised platform, gazing at the crowd that idly gathers round him. With blazing eyes and a deep yet musical voice, he commences to address them. His first words are scarcely heard, for the little crowd is not yet interested, and no one pays much attention to the speaker. Most of those assembled, if they thought at all, would explain, if asked why they were there, that they might just as well be there as elsewhere.

The voice rises higher and higher, and a deep intensity of feeling is displayed by the speaker in

all his words and gestures. The crowd grows, attracted by the magnetism of the central figure that is being poured forth, until those on the outskirts are standing on tiptoe or trying to push nearer to the centre, each one asking the other, "What is it? What's he talking about?" But no one answers, for the crowd itself scarcely seems to know. All they have heard is that someone has wronged someone, somewhere, but who, or in what way, or where, none can say.

Soon, however, the crowd's indifference has changed. A wave of strong emotion sweeps

over it, and a tense feeling of resentment and anger and bitterness takes hold of it. Still no one knows what he is resenting or why he is angry. He only knows that he is. An almost imperceptible swaying of the multitude takes place, as the speaker's voice rises and falls. Even those who cannot hear seem to become part of the swaying multitude. Queer wisps of vapour, without a nucleus, appear over the crowd, as the emotion grows and spreads. Soon these vapourous wisps converge towards a centre. A big cloud is formed and a thread-like substance appears within it. The cloud hovers over the assembly, swells and diminishes; rises and falls, and rises again; grows opaque, then again becomes unsubstantial, then opaque once more. It grows in density, until a strange form, neither human nor animal, neither terrestrial nor celestial, yet composed of all these elements, can be clearly seen within it. Blindly it seems to be held in place by the assembly, keeping to the centre of the crowd, but gathering its life-force from every throbbing member of the multitude. Streams of quivering light, flecked with the colour of passion, play constantly around it, and lightning-like shafts of fiery hue beat in upon it, intensifying it, feeding it, until its earlier diaphanous appearance is entirely gone. It has grown to monstrous proportions and now glows with a hot red light, obscuring the glory of the day.

But the speaker is exhausted. His voice grows tired, the body slacks, and he is silent. For a few moments he stands looking in a somewhat dazed fashion at the crowd that his voice has called together. In some semi-conscious way he expects them to disperse, for having spent himself he no longer desires their presence, nor has he any further need of them. He seeks a way out through the crowd, his only desire to be alone and rest.

But the crowd does not move. It seems to be bound together by some strong but subtle tie,

and waits, panting and pulsating, for it knows not what. Then, from the figure of the cloud, streams of fire come pouring back upon the people. The figure appears to be trying to direct them, urging them on to action. A passion of anger seems to fill it. It sways to and fro, to and fro. Each man feels it, feels the urge that is put upon him. Destroy! destroy! only in destruction can this feeling be appeased. Dull, amouldering hate looks from the eyes of the crowd, as each member of it begins to push and demand, "Out of my way" of his neighbour. No paths, however, can be found for the crowd is too closely packed, too closely linked together by its own terrible force, to find peaceful separation possible now. A blow is struck, another; curses and wild calls let loose hysteria in the crowd. Blow follows blow; cruel and yet more cruel grows the fight. Blood flows, and the crowd, yelling, cursing, jostling, and fighting, aways hither and thither. But no longer now come sparks of fire from the cloud-figure. It has grown dull and thin, the central thread can no longer be seen. The figure shrinks and is seen no more; the cloud breaks up and entirely disappears.

The crowd, too, has grown weary, the fire of its anger all spent. The fight dies down and ceases. The people look with bewilderment upon the havoc they have wrought. Each man looks in a shame-faced puzzled way into the face of his neighbour. "What was it all about?" he seems to be asking, as he acts wearily to work to help the injured or collect the dead. "What was it all about?"

No answer comes to his question for no one knows the answer that the crowd, from its own uncontrolled emotion, had created for itself a master, and with anger and hate had endowed it with life and power. Until that life and power were spent again through human agency, the master claimed his creators to do his will. Some among them blamed the speaker for setting fire to the passions of men, and then leaving them to suffer. But these people were wrong. The speaker could not have called into being the figure that had mastered the crowd. The crowd had created its own Frankenstein.

# Some Historic Boycotts

BY MR. J. S. PONNIAH,

*Lecturer, Madras Christian College.*

FEW perhaps are aware of the wealth of romance that lies in the much-used slogan, boycott, at the present time. The word owes its origin to the name of one, Captain Charles Cunningham Boycott, no English agent in charge of the collection of the rents on the Irish estates of his landlord, the Earl of Erne. He was the first of his comrades to be put out of all social intercourse, assaulted and finally assassinated, under circumstances narrated below. The unfortunate victim has however the consolation of having given to all the European Laoghae a new word which has become so very popular.

Organised boycott—the system of combining to have no relations, social and commercial, or in legal parlance “exclusive dealing is always associated with a political struggle. It is not a mere economic weapon. It is like a double edged sword, capable of cutting both ways. At least three times in her history Great Britain had to face this dangerous movement. The fortunes varied in the different cases according to the varying circumstances; but in no case was it without enormous consequences.

## THE AMERICAN COLONIES

Under the intolerable “colonial system” of the 18th century born of the Mercantilist Doctrine, the American Colonies were subjected to all sorts of iniquitous restrictions on their manufactures and trade. But the occasion for a conflict with the mother country came with the passing of the Stamp Act in 1765, to raise revenue from the colonists. A year later, Townshend imposed duties on Tea, Glass, Wine, Oil, Paper etc. The Colonies were determined to resist this taxation. A Stamp Act Congress met at Philadelphia attended by two delegates from each of the nine Colonies and passed resolutions urging the repeal

of the Act and the Townshend Duties. Riots also occurred at many places.

But more potent than the riot and the resolutions was the boycott of British goods, organised by the merchants. An American historian writes thus: “In March 1765, New York, Massachusetts, Rhode Island and Pennsylvania merchants agreed not to import British goods, to countermand orders, and refused to sell British goods on commission until the Stamp Act was repealed. Hundreds of people organised into associations as “Sons of Liberty” refused to wear or use British articles and agreed to encourage domestic manufactures”. Even George III remarked that the enemies went about clothed in homespun. The effect was immense. Imports decreased tenfold. Adam Smith wrote: “The movement struck the people of Great Britain with more terror than they ever felt for the Spanish Armada or the French invasion.” The “shopkeepers of England” brought pressure upon Parliament and had the Stamp Act and the Townshend Duties repealed to the great joy of the colonists.

But in the meanwhile the inevitable storm broke out and the war of Independence was declared. The war was, however, won by the armies on fiercely contested battlefields and not by the merchants at their counters. But their “non-importation agreements” renewed year after year won for the colonists economic independence. The Colonies had no raw materials, no skill, no capital and little credit facilities to start with. But before the war ended, a large number of industries had been built up. Sheep raising was systematically extended and wool for manufactures was thus obtained. “Boston gave assistance to the textile enterprise at the Manufactory House. Private societies in New York and Philadelphia encour-



aged linen manufactures.. Prizes were offered for products of home industries such as woollen and cotton cloth, stocking, leather, shoes, whisky, iron ware and paper hangings" (Jennings.).

#### THE CONTINENTAL SYSTEM

But by far the biggest boycott, perhaps that the world has ever seen, was launched by Napoleon by his Berlin Decree dated, November 21, 1806. He called it the sword that will pierce the heart of England and bring her down to her knees within six months. In a sense the Continental System of Napoleon was much more than a boycott. It was a regular naval warfare with boycott as the main plank. For the Decree ordered the seizure of all British goods and ships that entered any of the ports of his Empire and those of his allies. Popular imagination was awed by this sudden thunderbolt of Bonaparte. England retaliated by her Order in Council (Jan. 7, 1807) to the effect that "all trade in articles produced by countries other than England and the ships and goods carried by those countries were unlawful and therefore liable to seizure." Thus even neutral ships were threatened in the open seas. Napoleon denounced the Order as a "barbarous code" and issued the Milan Decree whereby all ships that touched any British port could be seized by France and her Allies. This was not a mere "schoolboy declamation"; for Napoleon was at this time master of all ports between Memel and Ragusa.

The effect on England was the great commercial crisis of 1810. The writer in the Cambridge Modern History remarks, "the Bank of England Notes fell sharply. The loss in exchange averaged 30 per cent. The price of wheat went up to 116 sh. England was on the verge of a famine." France took to manufacturing. Napoleon ordered his scientists to devise a substitute for sugar whose importation had been prohibited. The scientists succeeded in a short time in inventing beet root sugar. Immediately 80,000 acres were thrown up for the cultivation of beet and 6

Technical Schools were opened for research. Another marvellous success achieved was the invention of a substitute for indigo from wood. Italy also received the stimulus and supplied several of the articles that had been prohibited by the Decree. "Genius, even in its vagaries" wrote a contemporary, "produces marvellous results." Not without reason was therefore Napoleon expecting every day the collapse of the Little Island.

But the expected never happened. The system was doomed to failure, because the boycott was one-sided. Napoleon had not prohibited the export of goods especially corn to England from any of his vast dominions. The enemy could not therefore be starved out. Again the Allies were never wholehearted in their support for Napoleon. The Northern states, Germany, Sweden and Russia carried on a large amount of illicit trade with Britain which Napoleon with his inadequate naval resources could not suppress. Further England diverted her trade more and more to the South American Colonies and the East. This more than compensated for the loss of the European market. But above all it was on the despotism of Bonaparte that the fortunes of the boycott depended; when that fell everything else fell.

#### THE IRISH STORY

Much interest centres round the Irish boycott, the most recent example of success obtained by a nation-wide movement. The land system of Ireland was so harsh that the capitalist English Landlords could evict without compensation the miserable Irish tenants if they failed to pay the exorbitant rack-rents which they demanded. Time and again Irish patriots in Parliament moved in vain for a mitigation of this evil. The redress came however only with the organisation of the "Land League" under Parnell. A systematic boycott of British goods and the English landlords was carried out. "It was by the use of boycott," writes Mr. Stephen Gwynn in his "History of

Ireland," "combined with a refusal to pay rents that those reforms were brought about for which Butt as a Home Ruler and Sherman Crawford as a Unionist had vainly argued in Parliament."

#### INDIA'S POSITION

Whatever be the ultimate results of the present struggle of India the boycott movement, one of the most powerful by-products of the Civil Disobedience campaign will go down into history as the most memorable of events and will take a place among the historic boycotts. Perhaps no other country is in such an enormous position of vantage. India's foreign trade is worth over 600 crores of rupees, and the boycott of British goods alone would mean a tremendous loss of the export trade of Britain. But at the present time it is neither widespread nor even effective. The masses of the consumers and the entire business community should take to it voluntarily. Much more important than that, India must develop her own manufactures, lest she suffers a loss in her export trade or experiences want and destitution for

many of the commodities for which she is now dependent on the foreign countries. Hence the immediate effect of the boycott is bound to fall far short of the expectations of its promoters. Much less is it capable of winning political independence.

But the economic value of the boycott is going to be of immense significance to this country. For this alone is capable of supplying the most powerful motive to the promotion of industries. It can achieve what tariffs and bounties have not achieved. The slow but the steady industrialisation of India would certainly receive the greatest stimulus from this nationalist movement.

Its political value is not going to be a whit less for the future. As Sir Padamji Ginawalla, declared the other day, Indian trade is the most potent instrument for bargaining of political power. With its enormous foreign trade a Nationalist Indian Government can secure valuable privileges from the British Ministry for the economic and political progress of India.

## AN EXILE'S LAMENT

BY DR. H. W. B. MORENO

OH, to be back in Ind, my native land,  
To scan the green-leaved mount upon the plain,  
The rush of living waters from the rain,  
Leaping o'er rocks, or sluggish down the sand;  
To hear the ring dove's coo or parrot hand  
Scream shrill upon the mango grove again;  
To gaze upon the waving golden grain,  
Or by the north-west irrigated strand,  
To see the stars shoot clear across the sky,  
While on the ground gleam tongues of smoke wreathed fire.  
As gathered round the awarthy faces pry,  
To catch the tale of some lost Chief or Sire;  
There would I speak of love and conquest high,  
From many a record, which no ear can tire.

# ON FOODS

By Mr. UPTON SINCLAIR

[In response to a request for a contribution to this REVIEW, Mr. Upton Sinclair, the well-known American writer has allowed us the use of the following interesting discourse on Foods, which forms the subject matter of a chapter of one of his publications. Mr. Sinclair's observations on this subject of universal interest are so practical and suggestive that we have no doubt they will be read with interest by all.—ED., I.R.]

A few years ago there died an old gentleman who had devoted some twenty years of his life to teaching people to chew their food.



Mr. UPTON SINCLAIR

Horace Fletcher was his name, and his ideas became a fad, and some people carried them to comical extremes. But Fletcher made a real discovery; what he called "the food filter." This is the automatic action of the swallowing apparatus, whereby nature selects the food which has been sufficiently prepared for digestion. If you chew a mouthful of food without ever performing the act of swallowing, you will find that the food gradually disappears. What happens is that all of it which has been reduced to a thin paste will slip unnoticed down your throat, and you may go on putting more food into your mouth, and chewing, and can eat a whole meal without ever performing the act of swallowing. Fletcher claimed that this is the proper way to eat, and

that you can train yourself to follow this method. I have tried his idea and adopted it. One of my diet rules, to which there is no exception, is that if I have not the time to chew my food properly, I have not the time to eat; I skip that meal.

The habit of bolting food is a source of disease. To be sure, the carnivorous animals bolt their food, but they are tougher than we are, and do not carry the burden of a large brain and a complex nervous system. If you swallow your meals half chewed, and wash them down with liquids, you may get away with it for a while, but some day you will pay for it with dyspepsia and nervous troubles. And the same thing applies to your habit of jumping up from meals and rushing away to work, whether it be work of the muscles, or of brain and nerves. Proper digestion requires the presence of a quantity of blood in the walls of the stomach and digestive tract. It requires attention of your subconscious mind, and this means rest of muscles and brain centres. If you cannot rest for an hour after meals, omit that meal, or make it a light one, of fruit juices, which are almost immediately absorbed by the stomach, and of salads, which do not ferment. You may rest assured that it will not hurt you to skip a meal, and make up for it when you have time to be quiet. I have been many times in my life under very intense and long continued nervous strain; for example, during the Colorado coal strike, I led a public demonstration which kept me in a state of excitement all the day and a good part of the night several weeks. During this period I ate almost nothing; a baked apple and a cup of custard would be as near as I would go to a meal, and as a result I came through the

ate-sized meals at the conventional hours of lunch and dinner. I can arrange my own time, so after meal times I get my reading done. Sometimes, when I am tired, I feel sleepy after meals, but I have learned not to yield to this impulse. I do not know how to explain this; I have observed that animals sleep after eating, and it appears to be a natural thing to do; but I know that if I go to sleep after a meal, nature makes clear to me that I have made a mistake, and I do not repeat it. I never eat at night, and always go to bed on an empty stomach, so I am always hungry when I open my eyes in the morning. I never know what it is not to be hungry at meal times, and my habits are so regular that I could set my watch by my stomach.

Another common habit which is harmful is eating between meals. I have known people who are accustomed to nibble at food nearly all the time. Shelley records that he tried it as an experiment, thinking it might be a convenient way to get digestion done—but he found that it did not work. The stomach is apparently meant to work in pulses; to do a job of digesting, and then to rest and accumulate the juices for another job. It will accustom itself to a certain regime, and will work accordingly, but if, when it has half digested a load of food, you pile more food in on top, you make as much trouble as you would make in your kitchen if you required your cook to prepare another meal before she has cleaned up after the last one. Three times a day is enough for any adult to eat. Children require to eat oftener, because their bodies are more active, and they not merely have to keep up weight, but to add to it. The simplest way to arrange matters with children is to give them three good meals at the hours when adults eat, and then to give them a couple of pieces of fruit between breakfast and lunch, and again between lunch and supper. I have never seen a child who would not be satisfied with this, when once the habit was established.

I have already spoken of the cooking and serving of food. I consider that the "gastronomic art," as it is pompously called, is ninety-nine per cent. plain rubbish. To be sure, if foods are appetizingly prepared, and look good and smell good and taste good, they will cause the gastric juices to flow abundantly, as the Russian scientist Pavlov has demonstrated by practical experiment with the stomach-pump. But I know without any stomach-pump that the best thing to make my gastric juices flow is hard work and a spare diet. When I come home from five sets of tennis, and have a cold shower and a rub-down, my gastric juices will flow for a piece of cold beefsteak and a cold sweet potato, quite as well as for anything that is served by a leisure class "chef." Needless to say, I want food to be fresh, and I want it to be clean, but I have other things to do with my time and money than to pamper my appetites and encourage food whims.

If you have a grandmother, or ever had one, you know what grandmothers tell you about "hot nourishing food"; but I have tried the experiment, and satisfied myself that there is absolutely no difference in nourishing qualities between hot food and cold food. If you chew your food sufficiently, it will all be ninety-eight and six-tenths degree food when it gets to your stomach, and that is the way your stomach wants it. Of course, if you have been out in a blizzard, and are chilled, and want to restore the body temperature, a hot drink will be one of the quickest ways, and if the emergency is extreme, you may even add a stimulant. On the other hand, if you are suffering from heat, it is sensible to cool your body by a cold drink. But you should use as much judgment with yourself as you would with a horse, which you do not permit to drink a lot of cold water when he is heated up, and is going into his stall to stand still.

opponent of Malthus in this controversy was Godwin. Though we know to-day that the central theme of Malthus is generally accepted and that justification for it has been found in more recent history, it was difficult for people in those days to appreciate the truth between the controversies of Malthus and Godwin and their respective followers. Francis Place who had begun life in very humble circumstances but who gradually worked himself up to an independent life took part in this controversy and exercised a good influence as a social reformer. Place felt that the positions of both Godwin and Malthus were extreme; that there was an element of truth in each. From the experience of his own early life and of contemporary events, he came to the conclusion that human institutions can be controlled by the concerted will of men and that they had a good deal to do with the existence of either poverty or prosperity. It was this conviction that led him to work for social reform in many directions, one of which was the advocacy of birth control. "Illustrations and Proofs" written by Place is the product of a man whose early life was spent in making

a living and whose literary training was made up in an unsystematic manner in the latter part of his life. The work is in consequence heavy and dull and did not attract great attention at the time. More than his book however the influence of Place was due to the practical propaganda which he carried on including the foundation of the international birth control movement. Some of his pamphlets attracted attention in America and in course of time, the American disciples of Place succeeded in influencing thought in England.

From the point of view of the modern birth control movement, and the systematic study of the population problem, it may be said that the work of Francis Place has hitherto remained in complete obscurity though it deserved a much better place. Students of economics and sociology will find the work of Professor Himes very useful because in addition to the labours involved in editing an almost forgotten volume, he has given a very lucid introduction and illuminating notes on various points which are obviously the product of laborious research on this highly interesting subject.

## THE STREET PHILOSOPHER

BY

MISS PADMINI SATTIANADHAN

A striking feature in the Bazaars of India, is the idler, whom I would like to call the street philosopher. He is seen in almost every little wayside shop, either smoking his strong beedi, or chewing beetle nut. Sometimes he is a young man dressed in passably clean white clothes, and sometimes he is an old man clad in bedraggled dusty garments. But, whether young or old, he is generally there sitting in those tiny booths, upon a wooden stool, or on the floor, just doing nothing in particular; except spitting at periodical intervals into the already dirty street.

What a characteristic, familiar sight are these bazaar streets to those who know India. Almost every town has these crowded narrow roads, hedged in on either side by shops of every description. While walking along a country road, one is entranced by the green fields and the slender swaying palms all around, and the purple, blue-grey hills reposing in all their peaceful majesty in the far-away distance, and then, quite suddenly, one becomes aware of the existence of a congested mass of humanity, and a number of houses huddled together, with men, women, children, dogs,

cattle and poultry all mixed together in happy confusion everywhere. We have stepped in quite suddenly from the luxuriant green country, into a dusty town, or perhaps village.

The first impression that one receives on entering one of these bazaar streets, is one of disgust; but somehow I think it has become too much the habit, on the one hand to go into raptures over the magnificent beauty of India's scenery, and on the other somewhat to despise its masses of humanity. To the foreigner especially the average poor Indian is an object of contempt. And yet, are not the poorer classes of India one of her most loveable features? Are not these crowded streets, with their animals and men all moving freely together, with their dust and peculiar odours, with their Mohammedans, Hindos, and Christians all mixed up, with their beggars and merchants and urbins and old men all in close proximity to each other, and their busy men and idlers all approving each other in silent co-operation, possessions which we Indians ought not to be ashamed of? For they show to the whole world the inner spirit of India, which does not consist in the achievement of material prospects, as it is in Europe to-day; but a spirit of calmness and serenity and acceptance of Fate. The idler, therefore, does not hesitate to be idle. Why should he worry? God has given him a few hours to spare, and so he enjoys those hours in silent contemplation of everything around him.

What does he think about? What is his philosophy? For surely he must philosophise about something during all those hours of silent meditation. Or, does he just think of nothing in particular? Perhaps his philosophy consists in the admirable theory of not thinking at all. What would he do if we suddenly offered him "An anna for his thoughts"? He would probably make up something at once and claim his Anna and we should have to be satisfied with his answer. Well,

well, such is India among the poorer classes. A delightful place, spontaneous, impulsive, perfectly natural and silently humorous.

How different is a Bazaar street in India to the clean, paved streets in England, with their glass-windowed shops on either side. What spotless well-managed business concerns they are, compared to our badly-managed, dusty, carelessly kept little stalls! "Tick, tick, tick, tick" the sounds of thousands of busy hurrying feet reverberate on the pavements of London:—men and women intent on business, anxious to progress in their worldly ambitions, and out here, people lolling about with open mouths, and a happy unconcern. Verily, "East is east, and West is west."

But, will it not be a happier time when the two meet a little more closely; when we learn some more of the practical worth of England, and imitate the spirit of efficiency and responsibility from them; and they in their turn, begin to realise that life is not after all a mere beetle rush to reach the final goal of material happiness; but that a few breathing spaces of inaction and unconcern can do no harm; when in fact, India willingly borrows a few business men from England, and England a few street philosophers from India.

As I write this article, I see two or three shops in front of me, down below, in the street. Some people are talking and gesticulating in them; but the philosopher is there all right, silent and listening intently to the conversation. Should he be given some work to do, or should he be left alone? Time must solve this question. Perhaps, a hundred years hence, all the street philosophers will have disappeared; but with them will vanish a part of the spirit of India, the spirit of happy unconcern, serenity and peace of mind under all existing circumstances, the social acceptance of what God has given us.

# India and the Cape in the 18th Century

By MR. S. A. ROCHLIN,

*Cape Town, South Africa.*

**I**N that field of South African historical research devoted to Asian contact with this country very little work has been performed in evaluating the real relationship between the meeting of Eastern and Western cultures and peoples in this land. More so is this to be seen in the region of books penned by eminent Asiatic personalities, some of whom passed the Cape on their way to Europe, and who, too, left an account, either in print or in manuscript, of their impressions of this part of the world. Hardly anything is known of these literary works, and it would be well if some scholar were to tackle this aspect of Africa and through this means increase India's prestige in the southern hemisphere.

At any rate, we have the case of one well-known eighteenth century gentleman who wrote something about the Cape, and, concerning whom nothing has been told us either by Theal or Mendelsohn, South Africa's greatest bibliographers. This gentleman's manuscript is in the Persian language. His name is Itisam-ud-din. Sometime in the 1780's he issued this manuscript under the title of "Shigurf Namahi Velaet" or "Excellent Intelligence Concerning Europe."

This Itisam-ud-din, apparently, was an educated man. He was a native of Bengal—the first of his countrymen to cross the Indian and Atlantic oceans on their way to England—and was well connected with the Indian intelligentsia of his generation. He was also employed by the contemporary English authorities in India to conduct negotiations on their behalf with the Mahraja, and entered the service of General Carnac in 1765. The greatest point in his career was in the years 1765-7 when he accompanied Captain Swinton to Europe in order to present a personal letter of a great Mogul Prince to King George III. And it was on this mission that he rounded the Cape and this is how he interestingly describes his sojourn here in 1765, in all probability, he being the first of his race to do so:—

For two weeks we lay at anchor at Cape Town. \* \*

The Cape itself is a promontory of the country of the Black. The country round the Cape is under the Domination of the Dutch, who have built near the sea a beautiful city, and there planted different varieties of European and Indian trees, such as the vine, apple, nashpate, quince, pear, banana, mango, and plantain. The inhabitants plant cyprus and box trees in their gardens and along the walks, and are great horticulturists. Before the Dutch settled at the cape, it was a wilderness, and the Hottentots and Bushmen of the country were like the caste of Tumblers in India; they carried their houses along with them; and men, women and children, to the number of seven or eight thousand, with horses, sheep, and cattle were in the habit of coming to the Cape from another country, and having remained there for three or four years, afterwards moved off in another direction. The clothing of the Hottentots is undressed skins, and their diet raw and half-raw meat, also milk, mutton and wild fruits. They are of a good stature and corpulent, and are so swift and active in the chase, that they catch with ease wild boars and deer. They dig deep pits in the elephant's haunts and when these animals come from the jungles and hills to graze, they make a great noise with musketry, and drive them in the direction of the pit, into which they fall, and in a few days they die for want of food and water, and the Hottentots dispose of the ivory tusks to merchants.

The Dutch purchase men, women and children in Beegal. I visited some of these slaves, and although they had forgotten the Hindoo and Bengalee languages, yet we were able to converse by signs. They used to fish for me.

But Itisam-ud-din was not the only Indian of importance to write something about the Cape of Good Hope. About a half century later, to be exact in 1803, we find one Mirza Abu Taleb Khan issuing in Calcutta his "Maasir-ut-Talibi fi Hilad-i-Iranji." It is, in so far as this country is concerned, a most interesting account of contemporary life here; in fact, Mirza Abu Taleb Khan had a more enjoyable time at the Cape than was the case of Itisam-ud-din. It was translated from the Persian into English in the year 1810 by Charles Stewart under this title: "Abu Taleb Khan, Mirza: Travels in Asia, Africa and Europe in the Years 1799-1802." It was reprinted in 1814 when the London QUARTERLY REVIEW, declared that Mirza Abu Taleb Khan's work was "not only a curious but a very agreeable present to the Western world."

All this serves to reveal the dictum that from an early age Indians took an interest in the affairs of a growing South Africa. Of course, this fact is well emphasised in modern day relations between South Africa and India, becoming more important as the years roll on.

# Birds in English Poetry

BY MR. H. S. RAO, M.A.

“**B**UT for poetry” says Matthew Arnold, in one of the most illuminating discourses of his “*Essays in Criticism*,” “the idea is everything; the rest is a world of illusion, of divine illusion. Poetry attaches itself to the idea: the idea is the fact.” Another poet wrote of poetry that it is “emotion recollected in tranquillity.” In speaking of poems that have been written about birds in English literature, it is important for us in this country to remember the conception of poetry given by Arnold. It is difficult for us to know the habits of English birds and to that extent catch the spirit that animates many of the most beautiful lyrics in English poetry. But poetry does not concern itself solely with fact. It is not the scientist who can catch the ‘breath and finer spirit of all knowledge,’ but the poet, who weaves his experiences of life into a many-coloured web of loveliness. When we read of the nightingale, ‘the light-winged Dryad of the trees,’ singing in some “melodious plot of beechen green and shadowa numberless,” it is not so much the picture of the nightingale that haunts us, the atmosphere of perfect joy and ecstasy that wears out of the life of the poet and the innumerable poetic suggestions of the music of the nightingale which transport us into a wonderful world of

a nightingale, because it sings of the nightingale of legend and classical mythology, and more than that of the emotions of sorrow and joy that alternate in human life and which are suggested by the song of the nightingale.

There are, however, many poems in English, real bird-poems that give us not only a description of the bird, its characteristic habits and its place in the landscape, but also make us by a kind of subtle poetic realism, feel the real bird in the verses. The real bird is the basis of the poem and the feelings evoked by it are incidental to its description. One such poem occurs in Palgrave’s “*Golden Treasury*” the lovely lyric ascribed to Bornfield, where we have a beautiful imitation of the nightingale’s note.



have, nevertheless, the highest flight of fancy,—the poet's ecstasy of delight in the realisation of perfect beauty. The bird is a frequent source of illustration of a mood of nature or a human emotion and it is remarkable how the poet almost uncannily concentrates a mood of nature in one or two exquisite lines of description. For instance, in the Winter song in 'Love's Labour's Lost,' unsurpassed for its realistic representation of the winter scenes, we see how the mood of nature is described in a few vivid lines and how the bird plays a very vital part in the suggestion of that mood:

When icicles hang by the wall,  
And Dick the shepherd blows his nail,  
And Tom bears logs into the hall,  
And milk comes frozen home in pail,  
When blood is nipt, and ways be foul,  
Then nightly sings the starting owl  
Tewhoo!

Tewhoo, tewhoo, a merry note, etc.

You know no poem which interprets the winter scene so beautifully. This lyric must of course be taken with the other lyric in the same scene which represents the mood of nature in spring and the joyous refrain of the song of cuckoo heard

When daisies pied and violets blue,  
And lady-smocks all silver white,  
And cuckoo birds of yellow hue,  
Do paint the meadows with delight.

To deal in greater detail the bird-poem in Elizabethan literature is beyond the scope of this article. All these bird-poems, in one way or other are singularly rich in musical charm and are the product of an age when music and poetry were united as they never have been in English poetry since. Rich in music and lyrical sweetness, it must be admitted, that many of these lyrics lack in what Pater called 'the soul-fact' which is the matter of all imaginative art. Poetry, according to Pater is the representation of such fact as connected with soul. The highest type of nature poetry is that which not merely represents fact, but expresses the poet's experience when he sees 'into the life of things,' and adds to those experiences what Wordsworth calls

The gleam,  
The light that never was on sea or land,  
The consecration, and the poet's dream.

Nature poetry of this kind never wastes words in uninspired description. A line or two bring before our eyes not merely the picture of a landscape, but its innumerable suggestions that haunt us over afterwards,

The visions of the past,  
Sustain the heart in feeling.

The poet first subjects his mind to the scene or the object in nature, and then he withdraws into his deeper self to understand its meaning. Lines in Wordsworth such as,

Wall flower accents  
From out the crumbling ruins of fallen pride.

bring out more vividly than any set description of fact, the absorbing emotions of the human heart, when contemplating an object in nature. So the bird is the poetry of Wordsworth, Shelley, Meredith and Keats, is not merely described but transfigured before the 'inward eye, which is the bias of solitude.' The greatest bird-poems in English poetry are those written by these poets. The poems in praise of birds written by Wordsworth, Shelley and Keats are a class by themselves as they have much in common, besides helping us to compare the very different genius, character and method of the three poets. Wordsworth's "Ethereal minstrel, pilgrim of the sky," though it has many faults, is nevertheless a beautiful poem, singing as it does, of the 'still and music of humanity' which is never completely absent from Wordsworth's poetry. The skylark is transfigured into a 'pilgrim of the sky' that pours upon the world a flood of harmony and the bird becomes a

Type of the wise, who soar, but never roam;  
True to the kindred points of Heaven and Home.

There is not much spiritual insight in the poem; the next poem deals with the cuckoo for which Wordsworth had a great affection. The cuckoo is transfigured again 'sinking inward into himself from thought to thought.' In every aspect of nature, in every bird and flower, Wordsworth finds

picture of the lark we get in his "Lark Ascending" is unsurpassed for its livingness. The lines that describe the rapturous music of the lark are the most beautiful, to my mind, in English bird-poetry of recent times:

He rises and begins to round,  
He drops the silver chain of sound,  
Of many links without a break,  
In chirrup, whistle, slur and shake,  
All interwoven and spreading wide,  
Like water dimples down a tide,  
Where ripple ripple overcurls,  
And eddy into eddy whirls.

Meredith's poetry is remarkable for its concentrated force and in the haunting effect of the repetitions which subtly convey the sights and sounds of nature. The "Lark Ascending" is the concentrated essence of the loveliness of the song of the bird,

An ecstasy to music turned.

The lark is spiritualised, as the skylark is in Shelley's Ode and Meredith concentrates not merely on the song of the bird, but speaks of its innumerable associations with human life,

The starry voice ascending spreads,  
Awakening, as it waxes thin,  
The best in us to him akin.

The song of the bird is a glorious hymn of love,

Singing till his heaven fills,  
'Tis love of earth that he instills,  
And ever winging up and up,  
Our valley is his golden cup.  
And he the wine which overflows  
To lift us with him as he goes.

Again contrasting the passions of men with the rapturous melody of the lark, he says,

We want the key of his wild note  
Of truthful in a truthful throat.  
The song seraphically free  
Of taint of personality.

And then he speaks of men,

Whose lives by many a battle dint  
Defaced and grinding wheels on flint,  
Yield substance, though they sing not, sweet,  
For song our highest heaven to greet,

because, as he beautifully says, their joy of life is as deep and full as the lark's,

Because their love of earth is deep.

There are many other poems of Meredith that glow with this ecstasy of thought and feeling—

many poems, full of picturesque imagery and wealth of suggestion, that interpret the music of the birds. "The thrush in February" is a sweet lyric ringing with the music of the thrush heard on a clear, beautiful evening in February,

Then Earth her sweet unscented breathes,  
As orb of lustre quits the height;  
And like blue iris-flags, in wreaths  
The sky takes darkness, long ere quite.

The loveliness of the song of the thrush, its exalting note and utter joyousness, is spread over the whole poem. The song is a symbol of glorious promise that leads men on 'from bestial to the higher breed'; it sums up Meredith's deliberate philosophy of life, his faith in the human race and immortality,

That life begets with fair increase  
Beyond the flesh, if life be true.

The poet's wonderful optimism is at the basis of his faith which he sums up in these lines of concentrated power and beauty,

Love born of knowledge, love that gains  
Vitality as Earth it mates  
The meaning of the Painsures, Pains,  
The life, the Death, illumines;  
For love we earth, then serves us all;  
Her mystic secret than is ours.

No lover of Meredith will ever forget his "Love in Valley," that wonderful treasurehouse of poetic images which live in the memory of the reader with the haunting power of an exquisite dream. How can we forget the picture of the bird, brought out in such power and beauty, as in these lines,

Lovely are the curves of the white owl sweeping  
Wavy in the dusk lit by one large star  
Lone on the fir-branch, his rattie note favored,  
Brooding over the gloom, spies the brown ave-jar,

or the picture of the doves that

Through the long noon coo, cooing through the  
coo?

The "Young Princess" rings with the melody of the nightingale,

When the South sang like a nightingale  
Above a bower in May.

The delicious strains of the 'bird of passion' pervade the whole atmosphere of the poem:

Sang loud, sang low the rapturous bird  
Till the yellow hour was nigh.

To have captured the melody of the nightingale, the thrush and the lark, that the verse sings itself as we read, and to have done all this with exquisite power and beauty, which are inseparable from all great art, is the highest achievement of Meredith as a poet.

I must close this short article with a brief reference to the bird-poetry of Tennyson. Tennyson is the greatest master in English poetry of 'nature pictures.' Nature and human passion are always woven together, as readers of "The Miller's daughter", "In Memoriam" and the "May Queen" will have noted. Tennyson was fond of birds and flowers. In his nature poetry we have a series of intimate pictures of various birds.

This building rook'll caw from the windy tall elm-  
And the tufted plover pipe along the fallow lea,  
And the swallow'll come again with summer o'er  
wave.

Every line is a complete picture of the bird. The most beautiful bird-song in Tennyson is the lyric in the "Prioresse" which is remarkably lovely in its movement,

O! Swallow, swallow, flying, flying south.

As Stopford Brooke has said, "Its wing-beating and swift-glancing verse is like the flight of the bird that has suggested it, so harmoniously is the assonance arranged." Tennyson's immortal elegy, "In Memoriam" contains many nature descriptions. In one which begins

By night we lingered in the lawn,

We have a glorious description of summer twilight "itself drawn in the very mood of such a twilight,"

I do not know of any other song in English poetry that sums up the nobler aspect of passion and imagination and breathing that delicate suggestion of the haunting melody of the nightingale than this song.

How sensitive Tennyson was to the music of the birds can be seen from these lines in his "Geraint and Enid" where he gives two comparisons of the effect on Geraint of Enid's voice and which are the noblest instances we can give of that sweet delicacy in Tennyson's treatment of birds in his poetry,

And while he waited to the castle court,  
The voice of Enid, Yniol's daughter, rang  
Like thro' the open casement of the hall,  
Singing; and as the sweet voice of a bird  
Heard by the lander in a lonely isle  
Moves him to think what kind of bird it is  
That sings so delicately clear and makes  
Conjecture of the plumage and the form;  
So the sweet voice of Enid moved Geraint;  
And made him like a man abroad at morn  
When the first lute liquid note beloved of men,  
Comes flying over many a windy wave  
To Britain and to April suddenly  
Breaks from a coppice gemmed with green and red,  
And he suspends his converse with his friend,  
To think or say, 'There is the nightingale.'

"This coppice gemmed with green and red" irresistibly reminds one of Browning's exquisite spring lyric, "Home thoughts from abroad" where the very mention of the chaffinch sets one's heart throbbing with the ecstasy of a spring morning. The description of the thrush in the same poem is one of the most intimate and haunting of all bird-pictures. Browning brings to hear on his description a new understanding and a new affection for the bird. It is poetry of this sort that makes

# JUDGE DWARKANATH

BY MR. V. NARAYANAN, M.A., M.L.

THE first Indian Judge of the Calcutta High Court was Babu Sambhoonath Pandit who was appointed as Judge when the Judge-designate Babu Romaprosad Roy died before he could assume office. Babu Sambhoonath was Judge from the constitution of the High Court till his death, in June 1867. And on Babu Sambhoonath's death, Babu Dwarkanath Mitter was offered the vacant place, although he was then only 33 years of age.

Dwarkanath was born in the village of Anganasi in the Hooghly district of Bengal in 1833. He had his early education in his village school; and in his seventh year, he was sent as a pupil to the Hooghly Branch School; and he was promoted to the second class of the Collegiate School when he was only thirteen years old. He had a brilliant career at the College and won Government scholarships in every examination. He held the Junior Scholarship in the years 1847 to 1849 and the Senior Scholarship till 1850. He also obtained special scholarships. At the public examination at the end of the collegiate course, he stood first among the successful candidates from all the Colleges in Bengal. Babu Dwarkanath did not confine himself, however, merely to success at the examinations. He had a passion for the English language and for Mathematics. At college he won the Gold Medal for the best English essay in 1853; many Europeans of his day used to admire his English and pronounce it to be superior to that of most Englishmen. His passion for Mathematics led to his friendship with Babu Sreenath Dass; Babu Sreenath was a brilliant mathematician; even when he was a student at College, he was appointed to act as a teacher of Mathematics in a temporary vacancy; and after his course was over, he became the professor of Mathematics at the Sanskrit College at Calcutta. But his friendship with Babu

Dwarkanath induced him to take to the legal profession. For, notwithstanding Babu Dwarkanath's love for Mathematics, his heart was set on becoming a lawyer. His father was a law agent practising in the Hooghly courts and Dwarkanath's passion for law was therefore inherited from his father.

After his Collegiate course was over, Babu Dwarkanath was not immediately able to join the law course and appear for the law examination. His father died about that time and the whole burden of maintaining the family shifted to young Dwarkanath's shoulders. So, he was forced by circumstances to accept the place of a clerk on Rs. 120 a month in the office of the Junior Magistrate of Police at Calcutta. But he did not long remain at the clerical desk. As soon as circumstances could allow, he began not only to prepare for the Law examination himself but induced his friends Babu Usookool Chandra Mookerjee and Babu Sreenath Dass to do so. All of them obtained their Diplomas in 1856. Babu Dwarkanath was enrolled as a Vakil of the Sudder Dewany Adalat on the 30th March, 1856 and his two friends shortly afterwards. Babu Usookool became a Judge of the High Court; Babu Sreenath lived to a ripe old age retiring from the Bar in 1906 after fifty years of practice. He was known as "the Nestor of the Vakil Bar" and he used to talk frequently about Babu Dwarkanath, the friend of his youth and speak highly of his abilities and of the warmth of his friendship. The few details that the present generation know about Babu Dwarkanath are mostly due to the kindly references that Babu Sreenath used to make of his companions at the Bar.

Babu Dwarkanath worked in the chambers of Babu Romaprosad Roy; opportunities do not always attend on the young juniors at the Bar; but

in Babu Dwarkanath's case, an early opportunity occurred within six months of his joining the Bar. His leader Babu Romaprosad Roy was engaged arguing another case; and the Judge insisted on Dwarkanath getting along with the case in his leader's absence. This was young Dwarkanath's opportunity. The ability with which he handled that case, established his reputation as a brilliant lawyer and successful advocate; and from that day, his position at the Bar was secure. An European contemporary of his referred to those early days at the Bar of Babu Dwarkanath in these words:

While engaged in the forensic arena, whether with me or against me, I well remember how his real, his conspicuous ability and honest pleading challenged the admiration of all and especially my own admiration. Those years of advocacy were his initiation to the position which he at last attained.

With the death of his leader Babu Romaprosad Roy and with the elevation of Babu Sambhoonath Pandit to the High Court Bench, Babu Dwarkanath Mitter became the accredited leader of the Vakil Bar at Calcutta. The pages of the *Weekly Reporter* and the *Bengal Law Reports* bear ample testimony to his extensive practice and to the great part he played in the shaping of the Hindu Law and of the Law of Land Tenures in Bengal. In what is known as "the Great Rent Case" he successfully argued on behalf of the ryots, pitted as he was against a combination of the best talents of the European Bar backed by the landed aristocracy. It is interesting to note that as an advocate he was fearless and independent and that his able conduct of the cases entrusted to him contributed largely to the building up of the excellent reputation of the Vakil Bar at Calcutta in those days. Babu Dwarkanath was a hearty supporter of the poor man's cause and we are told that in many cases, he refused fat fees from the richer litigents and appeared for practically no fees for the poor opponents who had just cases. In "The Great Rent Case," he not only appeared before the trial court and the Divisional Bench, but argu-

ed before a Full Bench of all the fifteen Judges of the High Court continually for seven days. The Chief Justice Sir Barnes Peacock was struck by his remarkable skill in the conduct of that case and consequently Babu Dwarkanath was offered the place of the Government Pleader which fell vacant shortly afterwards. The Government Pleadership, as it proved, was only stepping stone to the High Court Bench.

As a Judge, Babu Dwarkanath was as fearless and independent as he was as a lawyer. His judgment in "the Malda Case" is a fearless exposition of the evils of personal government and of the vagaries of the departmental officials. His fearless characterisation of the conduct of one William Tayler as "a fraud" led to a strong agitation among the Europeans at Calcutta. Soon after the judgment, Mr. Tayler applied for a review of judgment suggesting that the fraud was by his agent and his defence was also unauthorised. Both the Chief Justice and Mr. Justice Mitter refused the review, the Chief Justice on the ground that there was nothing in his judgment which needed to be reviewed; Mr. Justice Mitter on the ground that the proper course was for Mr. Tayler to take action if so advised against his agent and that on the evidence in the case, he could not come to any other conclusion nor pass strictures on the agent who was not represented.

Thereupon two letters were published by Mr. Tayler in the *Englishman* of Calcutta attacking Justice Dwarkanath, on the 7th and 12th April 1869; the Chief Justice read them on the evening of the 12th April and "considered it necessary to vindicate the honour and character of my honourable colleague and the dignity of the Court." He consulted Babu Dwarkanath early next morning and as Mr. Tayler had arranged to sail for England that morning, he immediately had him arrested and brought before the High Court to answer a charge of contempt of Court.

The full report of the judgment of the Chief Justice in these contempt proceedings was, along with the report of the contempt case against the Editor of the *Englishman* which followed, unearthed in 1917 in the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* case. As the judgment of the Chief Justice in these cases show in what high regard Mr. Justice Dwarkanath was held by him and by the other Judges of the High Court a few passages may be cited therefrom:

If the character of any other of the Judges had been similarly assailed, I should have thought it necessary to adopt a similar course. But it appeared to me to be especially necessary in the present case when the attack had been made upon a native gentleman, the only one of his countrymen who had a seat on the Bench of the High Court.

Judges, although they agree as to the judgment which ought to be given in a particular case, do not always agree in the reasons for arriving at that conclusion, or one Judge may have an additional reason upon which the other has expressed no opinion. There is no reason why a native gentleman, who by his abilities has raised himself to the Bench of the High Court, is to be maligned and slandered because he has the independence to express an opinion of his own or even to differ from the Chief Justice. What would become of the independence of Judges if this were to be allowed?

\* \* \* \* \*

I knew him before he was raised to the Bench. I have sat with him frequently as a colleague; and I believe that I have had as good an opportunity as any one, of forming a just estimate of his character. Though now speaking in his presence, I may be permitted to say that he is a man of ability and learning; very unassuming, yet high-minded, independent and always ready to maintain his opinion so long as he conceives it to be right and equally ready to abandon it if convinced that it is wrong. He is a man to whom I am sure it would give pain to injure the reputation or to wound unnecessarily the feelings of any one. He is the second native gentleman who by his own abilities has raised himself to the high position of a Judge of the High Court.

Mr. Tayler admitted contempt and apologised; and the Chief Justice sentenced him to imprisonment for a month or till further orders and to the payment of a fine of Rs. 500. \* \* Mr. Justice Mitter's conduct throughout this case was highly praiseworthy and added to his reputation as a fearless and independent Judge. The Chief Justice remarked:

I am free to admit that I alone am responsible for all that has been done in this matter, though my honorable colleague does not desire to be relieved from any part of the responsibility.

One hears the voice of Dwarkanath echo these words of the Chief Justice:

And now I wish to declare publicly and emphatically that the Judges are not and cannot be, influenced in the discharge of their duty by any attack made upon them by the press. Nothing that has been said by the press upon this subject, and nothing that can be said, no fear of the threatened storm, can ever divert me or my honourable colleagues from pursuing the plain straightforward course which our consciences dictate. No unfair criticism can disturb my equanimity nor in the slightest degree affect my happiness. They are based on the consciousness that the honest and conscientious discharge of my duty has ever been the ruling principle of my life. That is a foundation too strong to be undermined by critics, who attempt to criticise that which they do not understand, or to be shaken by storms which it is in their power to raise.

Babu Dwarkanath Mitter's judgments show that he was an able exponent of the Hindu laws laid down in the *Smritis* and in the *Dayabhaga*. He was not a believer in Social reform by judicial legislation. His judgments are an able exposition of the doctrine of spiritual benefit on which the *Dayabhaga* scheme of inheritance is founded and have been approved of by the *Privy Council*. He it was who laid down that a minor Hindu can adopt if he had attained the age of discretion. He said:

Every act done by a minor is not necessarily null and void. Those acts only which are prejudicial to his interests can be questioned and avoided by him after he reaches his majority. But so such prejudicial character can be predicated of adoption in the case of a childless Hindu and as under the Hindu *shastras* a minor who has arrived at the age of discretion is not only competent but bound to perform the religious ceremonies prescribed for his salvation, we cannot hold the adoption made in this case to be invalid merely because the adoptive father was, in the eye of the law, a minor.

Mr. Justice Mitter helped also in the growth of the other branches of the Indian Law, which was then in the formative stage. He laid down, for example, the principle that a person should not be adjudged guilty on the uncorroborated testimony of an accomplice; and in doing so, differed from his colleagues on the Bench. In the case of *Gidhari Lal Ray*, his judgment on the many intricate points of law were fully adopted and endorsed by the *Privy Council*.

Justice Mitter's judgments in other branches of the law were held in as great regard as were his

judgments on Hindu Law. Particularly in Criminal law, we find him taking a strict and proper attitude on the admissibility of evidence against the accused. In an early case, reported in 3. Bengal Law Reports, the question arose whether in revision a Judge can interfere with the verdict of 'not guilty' pronounced by a Jury. It was held by one Judge that the High Court could interfere in revision because 'trial by Jury' was in its infant stage in India and required the supervision of the Judges if failure of Justice is to be avoided. The answer to this is found in the judgment of the Chief Justice with which Justice Mitter concurred: "If the country is not ripe for trial by Jury, it would be better to amend the Code of Criminal Procedure, than to have trial by Jury shorn of the safeguards which it provides. But when it is being tried experimentally, and the Legislature has declared that a verdict of acquittal is not to be set aside upon appeal, or reversed upon revision, we ought not to put such a construction upon the express words of the Legislature as to deprive that mode of trial of one of its most important and essential principles." As an example of Justice Mitter's grasp of the essential ingredients of an offence the case of the *Queen vs. Doyal Bauri* can be cited. In that case, the accused Bauri was convicted of "attempting to cause mischief by fire, knowing that he would thereby destroy a building used as a human dwelling." Mr. Justice Glover on appeal was for affirming the conviction. He thought that the possession of an instrument to commit mischief by fire and the going about of the person with it are sufficient to raise a presumption that he intended to commit the act and had already begun to move towards execution. But Mr. Justice Mitter differed from this view and rightly. He held that the mere possession of an instrument to commit mischief by fire was by no means sufficient to warrant a conviction for "attempting to cause mischief by fire, to a

building" as the overt act "towards the commission of the offence" required by law did not exist. The judgment in this case shows also that unlike the generality of Civilian Judges, Mr. Mitter acted on the wholesome maxim of Criminal law, that it is rather better that ten guilty persons escape than one innocent man be made to suffer; at the same time, his judgments show that he did not suffer from that mentality, which is alleged to be found in some Judges, of reluctance to find a person guilty and sentence him even where his guilt is proven.

Mr. Justice Mitter was anxious that the courts of justice should maintain a high reputation for speedy administration of substantial justice. It has been remarked by the Privy Council that the difficulties of the Indian client begin after getting his decree. One of the difficulties in the way of execution of decrees was the dismissal, without proper reasons, of execution applications for the purpose of showing disposal. This practice seems to have prevailed even in those early days and in a number of judgments Justice Mitter has condemned this practice in strong terms. Thus, in the case 3 Bengal Law Reports, appendix, page 17, he begins the judgment by saying: "This case affords a glaring instance of the gross injustice that is so often done to decree-holders in this country, by the arbitrary manner in which execution cases are generally dealt with by the lower Courts"; and again at page 19: "It may be all very well for judicial officers entrusted with the execution of decrees to sell their monthly returns by striking off every execution case at random on the last day of the month, but there cannot be the least doubt that such proceedings on their part are productive of the greatest hardship and injustice to the decree-holders, whose cases are thus struck off. We do not see any reason why the hearing of execution cases should not be conducted in accordance with the rules laid down in the Code of Civil Pro-

cedure; why, in fact, proper dates for the hearing of those cases should not be fixed, and notice thereof given in due time to all the parties concerned; or why, when an execution case is for some reason or other put off on a particular day, a fresh day should not be fixed for its hearing exactly in the same way as is done in the case of original suits; or why again, applications relating to execution of decrees should be dealt with in the first place, by that most meaningless and mischievous order, "let it be kept on the record," and then struck off on the last day of the month. ....It is high time that this practice should be at once discontinued, or otherwise all the time and labour we employ in passing our decrees, are absolutely thrown away, inasmuch as we shall have afterwards to declare that they are all barred by limitation. It is notorious that the troubles of a suitor in this country only begin when he has obtained a "decree." These stringent remarks of Mr. Justice Mitter went a long way towards bringing about a discontinuance of this objectionable practice. Truly was it said of him:

No Judge inspired us with more confidence for high intellect, for nous had we a higher respect, and there are few indeed, if any, who, we felt more certain, would take the most accurate and at the same time the widest view of every question that was placed before him for decision.

But Mr. Justice Mitter did not remain long on the High Court Bench. His health was always poor. In April 1868, he had an attack of cholera which very nearly proved fatal. In 1872, he had a virulent attack of Deegue and in November 1873 he was discovered to be suffering from cancer of the throat; he could not continue on the Bench and in January 1874 he retired to his native village only to die on the 25th February amidst his relations. In private life, Dwarkanath was a very meek gentleman and his manners were unostentatious. He had genuine feelings of love towards his narrow circle of friends. Although he was raised to a high position early in life, he was singularly free from all pride and vanity. Under an apparently rough exterior, he

concealed a noble and generous heart. He revered his mother and used to hand over to her absolutely all the large income he had at the Bar and his salary as a Judge. His private life was not all happiness. He lost his best friend Harish Chunder Mukerjee in 1868 and his wife in 1871 and although he married again, his days of matrimonial happiness had ended.

Babu Dwarkanath was not only interested in Mathematics but also in Philosophy. He was a warm admirer of Comte, and learnt French late in life in order to study Comte's works in the original. He accumulated a large library of French books. His interest in Mathematics led him to translate Comte's Analytical Geometry into English. He attempted a fusion of the teachings of Comte and of Hinduism; and he kept himself in constant touch with Congreve and other Positivists on the topics of philosophy. His passion for English literature is seen in the fact that on the day before his death, he had his favourite passage from "Queen Mab" read over to him. The last words that he wrote were against this passage and they were, "Live for others". To that motto, he lived up to, in the few but crowded years of life that was given to him.



HEAD OFFICE:—ESPLANADE ROAD FORT, BOMBAY.  
F. Oct. '31.



# EIGENSINN OR OBSTINACY

## A COMEDY IN ONE ACT.

*Translated from the German by*

DR. HAR DUTT SHARMA, M.A., Ph.D.

Roderich Benedix, the author of this German play, was born at Leipzig on January 21, 1811. He began his life as an actor, and stage-director, but at the age of 48, he devoted himself solely to writing. Although he cannot be ranked with the classical German dramatists like Goethe, Schiller, Grillparzer etc., yet his plays show a high stage technique. Among his best known plays are: *Das bemooste Haupt* (The old head), *Doktor Wespe* (Doctor Wespe), *Die Hochzeitreise*, (The honey-moon), *Die Zaerliche Verwandten* (The fond relatives), *Eigensinn* (Obstinacy), *Das Stiftungsfest* (The foundation festival). He also contributed articles on Oratory which are of great practical value. He died at the age of 63.

### DRAMATIS PERSONÆ

Ausdorf — A rich private gentleman.  
Katherine — His wife.  
Emma — Their daughter.

Alfred — Husband of Emma.  
Henry } — Alfred's servants and engaged  
Elisabeth } to each other.

[Room in Alfred's house. In the centre a partly laid table. On the right another table on which stand glasses, flasks, table-cloth and every other thing necessary for the spreading of the dinner. On the left a small hand table and a sofa and on its right a small table with a newspaper.]

### FIRST SCENE.

#### (HENRY AND ELISABETH.)

Henry.—[He is busy laying the table and humming a song.]

Elisabeth.—[From outside] Henry! Henry! Open.

Henry.—[Opens the door.]

Elisabeth.—[Enters with two dishes of cold meat in both hands and puts them on the table.]

Henry.—Come, I shall help you. [Takes from her one dish.]

Alfred.—[Enters from the right, stops at the door and overhears the following conversation.]

Elisabeth.—Mr. and Mrs. Ausdorf are coming to lunch.

Henry.—And they will be delighted to see how happy the young couple is—Hm! a father-in-law, to be sure, I cannot give you—

Elisabeth.—Never mind, nor I.

Henry.—I think we both are quite sufficient for each other. [Looks at everything.] Thank goodness, the table is laid.

Elisabeth.—Yea.

Henry.—What?

Elisabeth.—Nothing—I said yea.

Henry.—That is nothing, you must also say.

Elisabeth.—What?

Henry.—“Thank goodness, the table is laid.”

Elisabeth.—Why?

Henry.—Because it is but proper.

Elisabeth.—How absurd?

Henry.—When one has finished doing a thing, one says—“Well, that is right”, or “God be praised”, or “Thank goodness, the thing is done.”

Elisabeth.—Nonsense!

Henry.—It is no nonsense, no absurdity. It is a pious custom that one always says something similar when one—

Elisabeth.—Ah! Spare me your absurdities!

Henry.—[earnestly] Elisabeth, it is no absurdity; you must not be such a free thinker, [gently] Come, and say with me—Thank goodness, the table is laid.

Elisabeth.—No!

Henry.—For my sake.

Elisabeth.—I will not.

Henry.—[becoming warm] You will not?

Elisabeth.—No!

Henry.—Whenever I ask you for something, I always say: I will not,

Elisabeth.—Yes! Yes! Yes! When I do not want to do a thing, then I will not, even if you ask me ten times!

Henry.—What am I to make of you to-day? I might request you ten times and you will always say: No?

Elisabeth.—Yes, if you demand such an absurd thing.—

Henry.—It is no absurdity; but that is not the question. You should only say it because I wish it.

Elisabeth.—I will not do so.

Henry.—[threatening] Elisabeth!

Elisabeth.—[in the same tone] Henry!

Henry.—Now you must say it.

Elisabeth.—[laughs] I must?

Henry.—[with determination] yes, I demand it.

Elisabeth.—I suppose you are dreaming. Or did you get out on the wrong side of the bed this morning?

Henry.—No joking! I am in earnest. You shall say: Thank goodness, the table is laid.

Elisabeth.—[pertly] Shall I say that?

Henry.—Yes.

Elisabeth.—[placing herself in front of him] I shall? I must?

Henry.—You shall and you must.

Elisabeth.—I will not say it at all.

Henry.—[with suppressed anger] Elisabeth, I request you.

Elisabeth.—I will not.

Henry.—For the last time I request you!

Elisabeth.—I will not, I will not, even if you do your utmost.

Henry.—Well, we shall see to that!

Elisabeth.—We shall see to that.

Henry.—[in front of her, angry] So, you will not yield to my request and refuse obstinately?

Elisabeth.—Yes!

Henry.—You will not leave your obstinacy?

Elisabeth.—No.

Henry.—Then you must! [catches hold of her wrists and pinches.]

Elisabeth.—Au!

Henry.—Say it!

Elisabeth.—No—Au! Au!

Henry.—[repeating to her] Thank goodness, the table is laid.

Elisabeth.—No! No! [disengages herself, strikes him on his hands and breathe upon the pinched parts] you horrid fellow! to pinch me like that—and yet I will not say it!

Henry.—Good. Between us all is over.

Elisabeth.—Be it so.

Henry.—Do you give me up so lightly?

Elisabeth.—If you want to make a fool of yourself.

Henry.—[requesting] But can you not utter a few words?

Elisabeth.—But I will not, I will not, I will not.

Henry.—Well, then go to—

(A bell is rung).

Elisabeth.—We shall settle that by and by [goes towards the left].

Henry.—[follows her, holds her hand at the door and stops]. Elisabeth.—Thank goodness, the table is laid.

Elisabeth.—[stamping her foot]. No! [Exit]

Henry.—Obstinacy, thy name is woman! Request, threat, force, everything in vain! I believe I could have killed her but still she would have never said it.

Alfred.—[enters laughing]. Let her live for the present, Henry, whether she says it or not.

Henry.—[ashamed]. Ah, Sir! You have heard—?

Alfred.—[still laughing and merry]. A part of your quarrel—Yes, yes, the girl is obstinate.

Henry.—Ah, generally she is good-natured—I do not know what she has taken into her head to-day.

Alfred.—Who can ever tell what women take into their head! Well, go away now and get a bottle of Madeira. My father-in-law likes to take a glass at lunch.

Henry.—[aside]. She will have to say it still! [Exit].

Alfred.—I wonder why Emma has not yet dressed! She has already rung. Ah! here is she.

## SECOND SCENE.

[ALFRED AND EMMA]

Emma.—[from the left] My parents are late; I thought that they would come earlier.

Alfred.—[teasing himself before her] Do you miss them?

Emma.—[looking at him with suspicion] The question was inconsiderate—

Alfred.—Yes, Yes, it just escaped me—[laughs and remembers suddenly]. Here I have just—[laughs.]

Emma.—What have you just?—It must be very funny—

Alfred.—Have overheard an extremely comical thing.

Emma.—Overheard? Ay, ay, indeed Sir!

Alfred.—[still laughing] quite by chance. As I came out of my room, I heard an excited con-

versation; I stopped. Henry and Elisabeth had just arranged the table; Henry was quite satisfied with himself and said: Thank goodness, the table is laid. He demanded the same from Elisabeth, for one must say so when the work is finished.

Emma.—How silly!

Alfred.—Elisabeth refused and Henry insisted. They got into a formal quarrel; he wanted to force her, but she remained obstinate, and would not say it.

Emma.—[taking Elisabeth's part] Well, it still remains a question as to who was most obstinate, Henry or Elisabeth?

Alfred.—He only requested her to say so!

Emma.—It was an absurd demand.

Alfred.—But so harmless that the stiff-necked refusal cannot at all be justified.

Emma.—[warmer] quite as little as the obstinate demand! I do not think that Elisabeth was wrong.

Alfred.—[laughing] Let us not quarrel over it. With us it certainly could not happen!

Emma.—[looks at him suspiciously.]

Alfred.—Were I to request you so much for something you would surely do it.

Emma.—[smiling] Hm, hm!

Alfred.—[with certainty] I am convinced you will do it?

Emma.—And if I were not to do it?

Alfred.—If you were not to do it? Such a thing is unthinkable; I can bet for it.

Emma.—Do not bet!

Alfred.—Let us try it at once.

Emma.—[hastily] No, let us not try it.

Alfred.—I request you, dear Emma, just say: Thank goodness, the table is laid.

Emma.—Don't! you are childish!

Alfred.—Please, please, say it.

Emma.—[irresolutely] what a demand!

Alfred.—Please, dear wife, just say: Thank goodness, the table is laid.

Emma.—No, I will not say it.

Alfred.—Please, please!

Emma.—[more resolutely] No, No!

Alfred.—[with surprise] You will not say it?

Emma.—[resolutely] No.

Alfred.—[slowly rising] You could refuse my request?

Emma.—But it is childish to say such a thing!

Alfred.—[stands] Childish or not, that does not matter. It is only the question whether you grant my request.

Emma.—You are wrong to make such a request

Alfred.—That may be; Only you do me wrong by refusing it

Emma.—[stands up, more resolute and excited] I do wrong? This is the first time that you have said such a thing to me!

Alfred.—This is also the first time that you refuse my request.

Emma.—And the first time that you so childishly and inconsiderately request.

Alfred.—Childishly? Inconsiderately? Which words am I hearing? Is it the language of love?

Emma.—Can love demand foolishness?

Alfred.—O! I have not yet demanded, I have only requested!

Emma.—[significantly] So!—And if you were to demand?

Alfred.—Then—[stops short].

Emma.—[more significantly] And if you were to demand?

Alfred.—[hesitating] Then you will certainly not refuse it.

Emma.—[resolutely] Well, then I would refuse!

Alfred.—What?

Emma.—So! You will demand something from me? So, you will humiliate me? To a request I could perhaps even yield, but to a demand, never! [rings the bell.]

Alfred.—Goodness! how violently you behave towards me? Is it the tone in which a wife speaks to her husband?

Emma.—Do husbands make such foolish requests to their wives?

### THIRD SCENE.

[THE SAME, ELISABETH, AFTERWARDS HENRY].

Emma.—[to Elisabeth who enters] I have forgotten my handkerchief.

Elisabeth.—[exit].

Alfred.—Emma, do not carry the matter too far which was a joke.

Emma.—Am I doing it? It is you who are turning a joke into earnest.

Henry.—[brings a bottle of wine and puts it on the hand-table.]

Elisabeth.—[brings the handkerchief to Emma and is about to go.]

Henry.—[asks her passing by, through gestures—Will you say it?]

Elisabeth.—refuses also through gestures with certainty and exit.]

Henry.—[follows her threatening].

Emma.—[turns herself from Alfred and is busy working.]

Alfred.—[stands on the right of the table and takes up the newspaper, turning from Emma. The moment Henry and Elisabeth have disappeared, he looks over the paper at Emma, who does not look towards him. He throws the paper on one side and softly] Have you considered? Will you give up your obstinacy?

Emma.—[throws away her work and violently] What? obstinacy? You know that I cannot stand that word; I am not obstinate; at least in this case. I am not at all so. On the other hand it is you who are so obstinate as to doggedly insist upon this foolishness!

Alfred.—But Emma just think that I have nothing to do with this absurdity. I want you only not to refuse any request of mine.

Emma.—And I request you to put an end to the matter.

Alfred.—But I have requested you first and my request comes first. I had never thought that you could ever say 'No' to me! I cannot bear the idea!

Emma.—So? I shall never say No? Always only: yes, yes, yes! Look, you are just like other men. You do not want a loving wife to be a friend having equal rights with you. You demand that your wife should be your slave.

Alfred.—What an exaggeration!

Emma.—No, no, so begins the subjugation: with the demand of blind obedience. But I will not be made a slave, no, never. I shall defend my right to the last breath; I shall never be threatened and never submit to brute force.

Alfred.—[in a light tone] "And he shall be thy master" says the Scripture.

Emma.—[Catching the word] Do you not see that I was right? You want to be the master, I am to be a slave, you will order, I shall obey. Oh! I acknowledge your mastery as long as it is proper and I shall obey you in all reasonable things, but never if your commands are unreasonable.

Alfred.—[earnestly]. These are not the expressions which one uses towards another whom one esteems.

Emma.—Nor are such things demanded from a wife whom one esteems.

Alfred.—But in joke—

Emma.—Oh! You have turned it into a bitter earnest [weeping]. A short time back you told me: 'Never shall I change,' and already you stand before me as a cold, feelingless

husband who considers his wife as his subordinate!

Alfred.—[With an inward struggle. Do not weep! You know that tears irritate me!]

Emma.—[sobbing] I cannot help it when you force them from me!

Alfred.—[ironically] What a monster have I become already! I force tears from you! Poor, unfortunate woman! that your luck chained you to such an unworthy fellow!

Emma.—That is right; add some irony to your cruelty. Who would have said it to me an hour ago? I rose so joyful, I felt so happy, and now—

Alfred.—[ironically] Only say that there exists no woman more unfortunate than yourself.

Emma.—[weeps and does not speak].

Alfred.—[aside] This provoking weeping! Now, if the parents come, what will they think? [controlling himself] Emma, Emma—, wife—dear child—come, let us be friends again!

Emma.—[takes the handkerchief from her eyes and looks at him questioningly] Friends?

Alfred.—It is silly that we should spoil so fine a morning.

Emma.—Do you see it?

Alfred.—Nobody has a better reason to quarrel than we!

Emma.—[with soft reproach] And yet you were so unkind to me!

Alfred.—Now, see! I meet you half way, I offer you my hand, let us be friends [goes to her and reaches her his hand].

Emma.—[looks affectionately and slowly raises her hand and lets it drop in Alfred's] You naughty fellow, to tease me so!

Alfred.—[requesting] And for the sake of our love will you please speak out those words?

Emma.—[abruptly withdraws her hand] What? Still?

Alfred.—You will not?

Emma.—But Alfred,—

Alfred.—I have met you half way, have offered you my hand; now it is your turn to yield on your side.

Emma.—[struggling with herself] Now, you insist upon it? You will begin the quarrel anew?

Alfred.—[requesting] Finish the quarrel—speak out those words and I am satisfied.

Emma.—[after a short struggle] No! and once more No!

Alfred.—[with suppressed anger] No?

Emma.—[decidedly] No.

Alfred.—[talking himself more and more into a rage] Well, good, very good. You know that you can oblige me, but you will not do it. My desire may be an absurdity, but still it is my desire—you will not fulfil it. It may be an obstinacy of mine to demand such a thing from you, still love should admit, should yield—but you will not do it. The silly words cannot be of any consequence to me, but they were a proof of your love for me if you said them, and I attach much value to this proof. I have requested you, have demanded from you, I have exhausted every argument—but you remain obstinate! And you profess to love me? You who cannot overcome your obstinacy to please your husband? Go, go, and never tell me that you love me [walks in passion].

Emma.—[leaning against the table] You reproach me with obstinacy? And with what right? You yourself admit that it is an absurdity to demand those silly words from me, and yet you insist upon this absurdity? It would degrade me if I were to consciously commit a foolishness, and still you demand in decided tones this degradation? Is it love? You know that your demand hurts me [passing from her first decided tone into a gentler one and at last weeping], that your unreasonable requests pain me—but that does not move you, you will insist. Your cruelty forces out my tears, but they leave you cold—my entire being revolts against your demands, but you must doggedly insist upon your will. Where and on whose side is the obstinacy? Where is the want of love?

#### FOURTH SCENE

[THE SAME. HENRY].

Henry.—[announcing] Mr. and Mrs. Ausdorf [stands behind the table, ready to serve.]

Alfred.—[somewhat uneasily whispers to Emma] Dry your tears. What will they think of you?

Emma.—[drying her eyes.] For my part they may know what has happened; I think myself innocent.

Alfred.—Consider your duties as lady of the house; One must show a friendly appearance to one's guests. [Goes to meet his father-in-law and mother-in-law.]

Emma.—[dries her eyes and likewise goes to meet her parents.]

#### FIFTH SCENE.

[THE SAME AUSDORF, KATHERINE, LATER ELISABETH.]

Ausdorf.—Good morning, children, good morning! Well, how are you?

Alfred.—[giving him the hand] A hearty welcome to you! [takes his hat and stick.]

Emma.—[embraces her mother and gives her hand to father.] Welcome dear mother, dear father.

Katherine.—Ay, my child! I have not seen you long since. You visit us so rarely.

Emma.—Dear mother.

Katherine.—I know, my child, I know; a young wife has more to do than to think of her mother.

Ausdorf.—[friendly and jovial] That is the way of the world, dear wife,—but Emma still sometimes thinks of us! don't you, child?

Emma.—Always, father, always.

Alfred.—[embarrassed, anxiously watching Emma, who avoids his look] Shall we not sit down?

Ausdorf.—No objection, my son. It is a long way to you and I brieg with me tired legs and sound appetite. [sits on the right at the table.]

Alfred.—[makes a sign to his wife to sit down on the chair on left, and himself stands behind the chair on the right near Ausdorf.]

Emma.—[sits intentionally between her parents on the chair on left.]

Elisabeth.—[places a dish on the table and goes back.]

Henry.—[retains her and asks as before by gestures whether she would utter those words.]

Elisabeth.—[slaps his hand, disengages herself and exit.]

Ausdorf.—[filling a wine-glass, comfortably] Ha, ha! wife, you have placed yourself between the young people; that is a capital idea of yours; for, if they sit side by side they are quite lost to their guests. There! touch the glasses, you young people: Many days like the present.

Alfred.—[pours the wine, takes the glass, but hesitates.]

Emma.—[puts down the glass and wipes a tear from her eye.]

Ausdorf.—What is this? You don't join in the toast? Ha! my son, you look embarrassed and the young wife has a tear in her eye?

[laughing] Has a domestic scene taken place?

Alfred.—[motions to Henry. Henry Exit.]

Katherine.—How can you ask so delicate a question? Let the children make up themselves.

Alfred.—A trifle, a joke—not worth speaking of. My good Emma is a bit too touchy.

Emma.—[borsts into tears] That too! I shall be reproached with touchiness also!

Alfred.—In the presence of our parents you should a little—

Katherine.—Calm yourself Emma, such things do happen.

Emma.—I know it is wrong that I can't control myself—I have tried and have struggled with myself, but I am deeply offended.

Katherine.—[taking her side] Ay, ay, my son!

Ausdorf.—Pat, I wife, don't interfere with the matter that concerns the children alone.

Alfred.—[excited] According to Emma's utterances it really seems as if I have offended her in an unheard of manner. You may yourself decide, I shall relate the matter to you.

Ausdorf.—Leave it alone my son. We don't meddle in your domestic quarrels [coontenies to eat and drink.]

Alfred.—I must justify myself just before you.

Ausdorf.—It is not necessary.

Alfred.—You might suppose.

Ausdorf.—[still eating] We suppose nothing.

Katherine.—Be quiet, perhaps it leads to an understanding. [Kindly] Speak out my son.

Alfred.—This morning I overheard our Henry who demanded of Elisabeth that she should say "Thank goodness, the table is laid," and he quarrelled with her violently when she would not say it. I related it laughing to my wife; I said to her coaxing that she would not be so obstinate. I requested her in joke that she would please utter those words. She refused and with so decided an obstinacy, with so remarkable stubbornness that we exchanged a few serious words.

Emma.—[still weeping] Herra, you are also bearing: stubbornness, obstinacy, touchiness, he accuses me of everything. You can bear witness that I was never obstinate.

Ausdorf.—[humorously sighing]—Well, well, child.

Katherine.—[seriously] No, husband, you do Emma wrong; she has never been obstinate. Comfort yourself, child! We do not want to

meddle in your affairs; you will get reconciled by and by.

Emma.—Ah! He still insists upon it that I shall utter those words.

Katherine.—How, my son, do you still insist upon it?

Alfred.—[struggling within] Pray, let us drop the matter.

Ausdorf.—[humorously] Yes, I also request you not to spoil my appetite. You are a fool Emma, and you, my son, you must also pardon the somewhat willfulness, of a young wife. Surely, she will get over it as my old woman. Look at her, she does not know what contradiction is. She fulfils all my desires, and if I had demanded of her, she would have said: Thank goodness, the table is laid." She would do it at once.

Katherine.—[excited] That she would not do!

Ausdorf.—Why?

Katherine.—You would not ask it.

Ausdorf.—If I were to ask it?

Katherine.—Then I shall not do it.

Ausdorf.—[between joke and seriousness] Ah! wife, you don't say so seriously?

Katherine.—Quite so earnest.

Ausdorf.—Would you refuse to fulfil my desire?

Katherine.—[decidedly] Yes.

Alfred.—Pray, let us talk of something else.

Ausdorf.—No, I never heard of such a thing; it must be settled. [requesting]. Dear Katherine, say once "Thank goodness, the table is laid."

Katherine.—Let me alone!

Ausdorf.—Please say it.

Katherine.—No.

Ausdorf.—[humorously, by and by becoming serious, but not violent] I say it everyday aloud and aside with all my heart, when I see the table ready.—Thank goodness, the table is laid. You say it once!

Katherine.—No.

Emma.—Dear mother!

Ausdorf.—Katherine!

Katherine.—[morn decidedly] No!

Ausdorf.—Kitty!

Katherine.—No!

Ausdorf.—Kitty!

Katherine.—I will not do it.

Ausdorf.—[stands up] No, that is past joking. Will you set a bad example to your daughter through your obstinacy?

Alfred.—[stands up] But I request you—

Katherine.—[stands up] Here we have the old experience; men stand by one another when

the suppression of women is concerned. The father takes side against his own daughter!

Ausdorf.—I do not take any one's side, but my own. The difference between my daughter and her husband does not concern me. I have to settle the matter with you and I demand of you to say those words.

Katherine.—How can you demand an absurdity from your wife!

Ausdorf.—Whether an absurdity or no, is not the point. This demand is the touchstone of obedience. Similarly Gesler, whom the Swiss people should have greeted, hung up his hat for nothing else, except to test the obedience.

Katherine.—Right! and because that was a ridiculous, absurd and unworthy demand, the Swiss people rose up against their tyrants.

Emma.—And we submit as little as the Swiss people.

Katherine.—We also can rise up in revolt against our husbands.

Emma.—We are wives and no subjects.

Katherine.—With Turks a wife may be a subject but we live in a Christian State.

Emma.—Men want to introduce the Turkish customs here also; for their behaviour is quite Turkish.

Katherine.—[more and more angrily] But we are no slaves and know how to defend our rights!

Emma.—Blind obedience is the virtue of a slave!

Katherine.—We examine first, whether the commands are good and then we obey.

Emma.—And so absurd a demand fulfil we never, never, never!

Katherine.—Never! Never!! Never!!!

[both women turn away and whisper together.

Ausdorf and Alfred try to speak in the beginning, but not being able to make themselves heard, become silent and are somewhat abashed.]

Ausdorf.—[aside to Alfred] There! we have got it. We have excited the whole sex against ourselves.

Alfred.—[aside] What shall we do?

Ausdorf.—[aside] Dear son, do what you please. The whole matter spoils my lunch. And if I don't take my lunch with proper peace, then I can't enjoy the dinner.

Alfred.—[aside] But still, we can't yield!

Ausdorf.—[aside] My son, it is a quarrel in which nobody gains any thing; I have allowed myself to be led away. I have been slightly angry, but now, my peace returns back. The women are not quite wrong. After all it is real-

ly as obstinate to demand something stubbornly as it is to refuse it stubbornly.

Emma.—[aside to mother] Had I known that the mother would lead us so far, I would have taken it as a joke in the very beginning and would have done according to his will—now, I can't do it any more.

Katherine.—[aside to Emma] On no account should you have submitted to his tyranny for ever!

Emma.—[aside] He shall see that I have a strong will!

Katherine.—[aside] Right. No step of weakness. My husband shall be astonished; he will have to request for a long time before I come round.

Emma.—[aside] Do you stand, by me, dear mother?

Katherine.—[aside] Rest assured.

Ausdorf.—[aside] The cleverest man yields—

Alfred.—[aside] I should like to, but the honour—  
Ausdorf.—[aside] Pooh! mere words. The submission is painful, and we like to call it sense of honour.—Settle the matter again by means of a joke.

Alfred.—[aside] Yes, a joke—I shall put an end to it [quickly exit on the right].

Ausdorf.—[aloud] Listen, children. Your league is too powerful for me. I shall first strengthen myself by means of lunch to continue the battle [sits; quite sincerely] Thank goodness, the table is laid—one has only to begin. [eats].

Emma.—Dear mother, shall we not also—?

Katherine.—Yes, yes, let us not lose our lunch through foolishness [sits].

Alfred.—[comes back with two shawls in his hands, friendly] Dear wife, we shall put an end to our quarrel; I request your hand for peace. I realise that I was the principal cause of our quarrel. In expiation of my sin I present to you one of these shawls. [opens and lays them both before her in his hands].

Emma.—[a little ashamed] Alfred, I don't know—

Alfred.—Choose!

Emma.—At this moment—

Alfred.—Choose, choose, child!

[Emma points towards one as if unwilling, and immediately withdraws her hand].

Alfred.—The one on the right?

Emma.—[nods].

Alfred.—[lays the other on the table and puts the shawl round her] So, it is very becoming to you. [A few steps from her] Now, I have come to meet you three parts of the way— — —?

Emma.—[struggles inwardly for a moment, then speaks suddenly] Thank goodness—[whispers in his ear] the table is laid [hides her face in shame.]

[Henry enters, brings a dish, puts it on a side table and with serviette on his arm stands ready for service.]

Ausdorf.—Well done, children, Well done!

Alfred.—The peace is established.

Emma.—For ever!

Alfred.—Never will anything happen.

Emma.—Never!

Ausdorf.—That is right, let us drink!

[Elisabeth brings a basket of fruits, puts it on side-table. She and Henry sulkily turn their backs to each other. Alfred leads Emma to the table and fills the glasses.]

Katherine.—[already gone to the table and looks at the other shawls; now she taps on the shoulder of Ausdorf] Husband!

Ausdorf.—Hm?

Katherine.—Look here!

Ausdorf.—What?

Katherine.—There is another shawl.

Ausdorf.—Is there?

Katherine.—Shall we not also reconcile?

Ausdorf.—With the shawl? That is too dear for me.

Katherine.—But consider.

Ausdorf.—I hope you will do it for less, wife. So young a man can't bear the ill-humour of his wife and so he brings a sacrifice to reconcile her—when he comes to my years, he also doesn't do it any more!

Katherine.—Fie! how detestable!

Emma.—I hope not.

Alfred.—[interrupting, smiling to Henry] Now, Henry have you settled with Elisabeth?

Henry.—Ah! Sir, she still refuses.

Elisabeth.—[embarrassed] Not Sir,—

Emma.—[laughing] You must submit Elisabeth, you must say those words.

Elisabeth.—You know,—

Emma.—We know everything.

Katherine.—Yes, Yes! You have spoilt our whole morning by it. As punishment you must say it publicly. Out with it then [repeating to her slowly, word by word] Thank goodness, the table is laid.

[All break out into a loud laughter.]

Katherine.—[astonished] well?

Ausdorf.—[laughing] Now, you have after all said it, wife!

Katherine.—[Strikes her face] Well, so the matter is at an end. [presents her hand to Ausdorf]

Alfred.—Now, Elisabeth, it is only you who remain.

Elisabeth.—[struggling inward, abashed] I can't.

Emma.—I shall see to it that in three weeks your marriage takes place.

Elisabeth.—[joyfully] Marriage? Thank goodness!

All.—Well?

Elisabeth.—[who does not realise that she has already said the half of it] Well?

All.—Go on, go on!

Elisabeth.—What?

Henry.—[requesting] Speak out the rest also!

Elisabeth.—[realising] Ah, I see! [looks on all by turns].

All.—[pressing] Go on, go on!

Elisabeth.—[quickly] The table is laid. [hides her face in the apron and runs away]

Henry.—[follows her]

All.—Bravo! Bravo!

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E. April '31.



# WORLD EVENTS

BY PROF. A. J. SAUNDERS, Ph.D.

THE writer of World Events wishes to send to all his readers this month Christmas Greetings and best wishes for health, happiness and prosperity all through the coming year. It is a joy to be living in these days, and to realise that we are in the midst of movements and have a part in events which are making history. Problems that we are considering and decisions that we are called upon to make are going to mould world life and thought for generations to come.

"We are living, we are dwelling,  
In a grand, but awful time;  
In an age on ages telling,  
To be living is sublime."

The year 1930 will go down in history as of more than ordinary interest. It opened with the Naval Limitations Conference; although France and Italy could not see their way to go so far as the other powers, Great Britain, United States and Japan were able to make some progress and did arrive at agreement in limiting their navies. In May there was organised and began work the Bank of International Settlements which is destined to have a big influence on world banking in the future. In September the annual meeting of the League of Nations Assembly was held, when M. Briand of France put forth his plea for the United States of Europe. October saw representatives from all the governments of British countries throughout the world gathered together in London for the Imperial Conference; while in November the Round Table Conference began its sessions, which has for its objective the tremendous task of working out a satisfactory constitution for the future governance of India. All through the year there has been the unhappy situation of the falling world price level which has been like a plague affecting every country; and to make matters still worse the figures revealing unemployment in Germany, Great Britain and the United States have mounted higher than has ever been known before. In these respects the retrospect is a sad picture; but we have great hopes that the bottom of this depression has been reached, and that 1931 will show a recovery.

## RUSSIA

Our writer has referred to Russia recently as a great enigma. This is true that the Russian common people have risen against the slavery which held them as by chains of steel in the old

despotic Czarism, and under the inspiration of Karl Marx whose gospel they have taken literally they are trying to build an advanced socialistic state. It is the greatest experiment of socialism that the world has yet seen; we can say with a degree of truth that Russia is the field on which the principles of extreme socialism are being tested, and as goes Russia probably many other countries will go before this century comes to an end.

The latest move in Russia is the Five Years Plan; it was begun by the Soviet Government on October 1, 1928, and is to continue until September 30, 1933. The Plan aims at a three-fold objective: rapid industrialisation and large-scale production, the complete state socialisation of agriculture, and the elimination of all forms of capitalist organisation throughout the country; this is to be done within five years. All the energies of the Government are to be directed to the successful carrying-out of the programme, and all the national activities and resources are to be utilised for this one and all-important object—the complete socialisation of the Soviet Union, and that as rapidly as possible.

## RACIAL PROBLEMS IN AFRICA

South and Eastern Africa have a growing racial problem ever before them; there are three distinct races competing the white man, the Indian, and the native; amongst the natives there are a number of different tribes. We know something about the serious situation between the white man and the Indian, but there is also a situation arising between the native and the white man. The white man includes the Dutch, the English as well as their descendants and the question is that of "rights," and who shall rule. The policy of the British Government in Eastern Africa, that is in Kenya, is to recognise the native interests as occupying the place of first importance. That principle has been officially announced and is being followed by the British Government.

General Hertzog, Prime Minister of the South African Union, has recently expressed strong opposition to that policy. The British position was arrived at without consulting South Africa; what is troubling General Hertzog is that if "equal rights" and the paramountcy of the native interests are allowed in Kenya and are not granted in South Africa there is almost certain to be trouble in South Africa, because the natives there will

demand similar treatment to that received in Kenya. Insistence on "equal rights," General Hertzog says, would have the grave result of alienating the white settlers from the natives, and creating between them a barrier of hatred which would be far more dangerous than any "colour bar."

#### WILL ITALIAN FASCISM LAST?

That is the question which many people are asking: the Italian political exiles are putting it in a little different form, for they are asking how much longer can it last? What the writer saw in Rome and throughout Italy last year, and the recent success of Fascism in Germany is indicative that it may remain for a long time, even extending to other countries as well. The anniversary of the famous march on Rome is celebrated every year; at that time Signor Mussolini takes the opportunity of reviewing the movement and indulges in some prophecies regarding the future. Mussolini has produced a new spirit in Italy, and whether the political organisation will be effaced after the driving personality of the Duce is removed it is to be hoped that this new spirit will survive and continue. A recent writer has summarised the effects of the movement in Italy as follows:

In place of the chaos, disappointment, and despondency which he found in 1922 he has aroused a sentiment of national unity such as Italy never felt even during the struggles of the Risorgimento. For this new spirit, in so far as it represents the national rather than the narrowly party achievements of the Duce, Italy must long remain gratefully influenced by Fascism.

#### GERMAN ECONOMY

"Honour to whom honour is due" is the attitude of the English press towards the new German budget which they describe as "an heroic budget." Germany has been hit hard by the present world trade depression, for in addition to her huge reparations payments, she has a large unemployment list which she is helping with a Government dole in the face of diminished purchasing at home, and a serious fall in exports abroad. Instead of sitting down and crying over the situation, or rebelling against conditions, as preached by the Fascists, the Chancellor—Dr. Brüning, and the Minister of Finance—Dr. Dietrich have persuaded the German Reichstag to accept a policy of economy all round. It will mean much sacrifice on the part of many, but the majority are willingly accepting the policy, and are facing the future with hope. According to Dr. Oskar Wingen this is the way that the German people are meeting their financial problem;

In the 1930 Budget, economies amounting to 170 million reichsmarks had already been made. In the budget for 1931, expenditure is to be curtailed by roughly 1,000 millions reichsmarks. The salaries of public officials are being reduced by 8 per cent. The emoluments of the Reichs-President, the various Reichs-Ministers and the Reichstag deputies are to be diminished by 20 per cent. A cut of 300 million marks is to be made to the material expenses of the Reich's administration. The Federal States and the communes will receive 300 millions less from the Royal taxes than in the current year, and the consequent diminution of their revenues will force them to a corresponding restriction of expenditure.

Naturally, this programme of retrenchment is not exactly popular. However, in all classes of the population, it is recognised that radical measures must be adopted for the reform of public finance in Germany. Consequently, despite its much-debated provisions, the new financial programme has on all hands, increased confidence in the German Government. Abroad, too, confidence is felt in Germany's capacity to overcome the difficulties of her present situation, especially as her finances are at bottom, thoroughly sound.

#### BRITISH GOVERNMENT CENSURED

The role of Government is very difficult to play in these days of trade depression, as the Governments of Germany, Australia, and the United States are experiencing. No less true is it of the British Government, but Mr. Stanley Baldwin's censure motion was defeated at a recent test of strength. His motion censured the Labour Government for its failure to formulate effective proposals for the extension of Empire trade, and refusal to consider the offers of preference made by the Dominion Ministers, and also for their lack of vision and courage. The motion gave the Government an opportunity to defend itself and Mr. J.H. Thomas, replying, said that,

the principal demand of the Dominions was that Britain should agree to tax foodstuffs while they modified the existing arrangements. They wanted Britain to change her principles while they only changed certain details. The Imperial Conference had consolidated the present Imperial constitutional position and opened the way for consideration of economic problems. He refused to subscribe to the view that only materialist considerations bound the Empire together. They did not exclude any path which would lead to bring happiness and comfort to the people and mean the strengthening of those ties of kinship and friendship which was the greatest and most lasting of all.

The present session has a long agenda containing several highly contentious bills, such as the Trades Disputes Amendment, raising the age of school leaving with maintenance grants, land valuation, and perhaps the new Government of India Bill. If the Labour Government can escape shipwreck with such a load in stormy waters they will achieve a signal victory.

# INDIA'S TRADE WITH CEYLON

BY PROF. S. C. BOSE, M.A.

(*Sir Parashurambhau College, Poona.*)

i

CEYLON is a little island with a small population and a limited amount of trade. The volume of India's trade with Ceylon has never assumed more than moderate dimensions, though it has shown continuous progress for over half a century. The following figures are illustrative of the growth of Indo-Ceylonese trade since 1875:—

(VALUE IN LAKHS OF RUPEES)

	Export to Ceylon.	Import from Ceylon.	Total amount of trade.
1875-76	166	54	220
1880-81	178	55	233
1890-91	268	71	339
1900-01	496	77	573
1905-06	570	67	637
1910-11	820	73	894
1915-16	939	96	1,035
1920-21	1,138	191	1,329
1925-26	1,522	169	1,691

The above figures will show that the growth of our trade with Ceylon has been mainly due to the rising exports from India, the imports therefrom being quite negligible. Thus, during the fifty years from 1875-76 to 1925-26, the export of Indian goods to Ceylon rose by 1,356 lakhs of rupees, showing an average annual increase of 27.12 lakhs; but the import of Ceylonese goods during the same period showed an average annual increase of 2.3 lakhs only.

The imports from Ceylon are therefore quite insignificant. These consist of spices, tea, old gunny bags and seeds, of which spices represent the greatest value.

Of the articles of export from India, rice is, by far, the most important, this single commodity contributing to about half of India's total exports to Ceylon. The other articles of importance are cotton manufactures, other food grains besides rice, coal and cake, fish, manures, oilcakes, spices and tea. In this connection it may be noted that the export of tea to Ceylon is greater than the import we receive therefrom and that of spices is equal in value. The export of tea is only apparent, however; because it is usually re-exported to other countries from Ceylon.

II

The causes of the growth of India's export trade with Ceylon will be evident from an examination of the nature of the foreign trade of Ceylon,

which will also reveal the causes of our insignificant import trade with that Colony.

The most important industry of Ceylon is tea. Since the eighties of the last century, the cultivation of tea has progressed by rapid strides so that Ceylon at present stands second only to India as an exporter of tea. For a long time, this single article has been representing half of the total exports from Ceylon. Another industry which has shown considerable growth is rubber which comes next after tea in her export trade. As both these are agricultural industries, the large output of these two crops for export purposes has very seriously encroached upon the fields growing food-grains. The result has been that with the gradual advancement of the tea and rubber industries, the major portion of the arable land in Ceylon has been devoted to their production. The food-supply has, in consequence, fallen short of the demand. Added to this is the fact that the extension of the tea and rubber plantations led to the immigration of a large number of labourers from outside, especially from the Madras Presidency, who have to depend for their food-supply upon India. Ceylon has therefore found it necessary to import a steadily increasing quantity of food-stuffs which make up more than half of her total imports, mainly from India.

But Ceylon has very little which can meet the demands from India. The bulk of her exports consists of articles of which India herself is a great exporter. The import of Ceylonese goods into our country has therefore been quite nominal.

This is why a constant demand for food-grains has brought about a growing export trade with Ceylon, while there has been very slight progress in our imports from that country as these consist of such goods as have little demand in India.

A very important point to be noted in this connection is that while from our point of view, the exports to Ceylon are quite small in comparison with India's total exports, these occupy the most dominant position in Ceylon's import trade from the latter's point of view. For example, in 1925, these represented a little more than 3.5% of our total exports; but of Ceylon's total imports, the same amounted to about 50%.

III

As already observed, Ceylon has only a small amount of trade. Her exports consist mainly of tea, rubber, copra, coconuts and coconut oil

(these four amounting to 93.75% of the total in 1925), none of which has a chance of finding a market in India. But in her import trade, India's share is about 50 per cent, and it is therefore clear that Indo-Ceylonese trade is important from Ceylon's point of view only. The real importance of India in Ceylon's trade is even greater than is indicated by the mere percentage share. For, our exports consist of food grains which are of vital importance to Ceylon, though from India's point of view it is not so.

The importance of Ceylon in our trade is rather of a negative kind. That is to say, Ceylon plays an unfavourable part in the growth of India's export trade inasmuch as the exports from that country consist of articles which compete seriously with similar Indian products and therefore hamper the export of the latter. For example, had it not been for Ceylon, the export of Indian tea would have shown much more progress than it has done. The question may therefore be raised as to how far it is judicious to allow a

country to compete thus in respect of the output and export of commercial agricultural products by regularly meeting her deficiency in food-supply. For, it would not have been possible for Ceylon to expand the cultivation of tea to such an extent as she did, if she could not have relied on an increasing supply of food-grains from India. Because she has found a regular supplier of food-stuffs in her next-door neighbour, she has been able to devote the bulk of her arable land to the cultivation of commercial crops for export purposes.

To conclude, India can easily afford to lose the Ceylonese market for her goods; but not so Ceylon. The import of Indian goods is of vital necessity for the welfare of Ceylon's industries and for feeding her labouring population. If Ceylon would, therefore, go in for discriminating legislation which might lower the political status of the Indian immigrants, it is worth consideration whether India cannot retaliate by refusing to feed the people of Ceylon with her food exports.

## THE ROUND TABLE CONFERENCE

**I**N our last Number we gave an account of the opening session of the Round Table Conference amidst circumstances of great splendour and magnificence. The second plenary session was held at St. James' Palace on the 17th November and was presided over by the Prime Minister who outlined the purpose of the Conference and promised an "untrammelled debate." The Conference decided that the Prime Minister should preside and Lord Saekey be the Deputy President while a panel of six Chairmen was also elected. After some discussion, the President announced that the press should not be admitted to the general discussions but should have full and impartial information from three officers of the secretariat, controlled by a committee consisting of Mr. Wedgwood Benn, Mr. Rushbrooke, Williams and Mr. C. Y. Chittamani.

### THE SECOND PLENARY SESSION

Opening the general discussion on the future form of Constitution for India Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru delivered a magnificent speech which made a great impression on the House. "India is determined to achieve a status of equality with the other three members of the Commonwealth, which will give her a Government not merely responsible to but responsive to the popular voice" said Dr. Sapru and added amidst

cheers: "We are here to add, if we can, a bright chapter to the history of the relations of England and India."

On the subject of Commerce, Sir Tej Bahadur said Indians did not wish to rob Europeans of their capital; they would welcome any suggestion Europeans might offer to safeguard their rights and interests.

The Maharajah of Bikaner said he was convinced that the States would make the best contribution to the contentment and prosperity of India in a Federal system of Government.

Mr. M. R. Jayakar, speaking for "Young India," asserted that if India were given Dominion Status to-day, the cry for independence would die naturally in a few months.

Behind the scenes there was considerable discussion first on the Hindu-Muslim question which was considered on the basis of what is known as Mr. Jinnah's fourteen points and Dr. Moonji's counter proposals. The business Committee of the Conference also set up a Federal Relations Committee to consider and decide on the constitutional issues.

### THE THIRD PLENARY SESSION

The Maharajah of Alwar who opened the discussion on the 18th preferred the expression "the United States of India" to the word "federation". He wanted the treaty rights of

the Princes to be frankly discussed. It was England's turn, he said, to help India to reach the position of a Dominion within the Empire.

Sir Muhammad Shafi emphasised the strength and extent of the national movement, and urged that India should be enabled to rise to its full stature. He spoke strongly in favour of a federal system embracing the Princes, and welcoming the policy expressed by the Maharaja of Bikaner. He confessed his inability to conceive of a federation which did not include the States; but Moslems, he said, were convinced that responsibility, with reservations, during the transition must be introduced from the centre.

The Maharajah of Rewa advocated cautious advance and the avoidance of precipitation and short cuts.

Lord Peel speaking for the Conservatives, remarked that his own views on India's future did not greatly differ from those who so passionately expressed their own aspirations. He denied that there was any indifference to India in Britain but he dwelt on the anxieties created by the non-co-operation movement, the talk of independence, and the threats of debt repudiation. He also endorsed the federal idea which has made such vast strides in the last few weeks, and brought his speech to a close on the strong note that India should be brought sooner or later into equal partnership in the British Commonwealth.

Sir Hubert Carr favoured the federal idea but was frankly sceptical of the possibility of immediate responsibility of the centre. Colonel Gidney who spoke for Anglo-Indians, asked for economic protection for his community for twenty-five to thirty years if possible in a Bill of Rights.

The Chief of Sangli outlined the position of the smaller States, claiming that in the essential features it did not differ from that of the other States, with which their rights were identical. Speaking for these States he asserted that if a federation were agreed upon the smaller States would assist.

#### FOURTH PLENARY SESSION

The proceedings of the 12th which centred mainly round the problem of the minorities were marked by considerable warmth. The Maharajah of Patiala joined the Maharajah of Bikaner in sharing the vision of a United States or Federation of India. "A Federation is impossible without sacrifices by British India as well as ourselves," declared the Maharaja, but the Princes were prepared to make the necessary sacrifices. They readily responded to the eloquent appeal of Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru to recognize that they were Indians first and Princes afterwards.

Dr. Moonje declared that the British people and Indians had reached the parting of the ways: and that India would not be satisfied with anything less than full responsible government. He said "Hindu means all-India".

Sardar Ujjal Singh raised the point as to whether, if a Federal Government is established, the residuary powers will rest with the Provinces or with the Centre.

Sir A. P. Patro, who made a special plea for the agriculturists and small landholders in South India, stated that if, while changes are being made, only the intelligentsia of India were provided for and the cultivators and agriculturists forgotten, they would be sorry for having had anything to do with the Constitutional modifications.

Maulana Mahomed Ali, who said he was committed to complete independence and that they would leave the Conference only with Federation established, referred to the communal question as the real problem, but added that Hindus and Muslims were determined not to be divided. For the first time majority rule would be introduced in India, and he, belonging to a minority, would submit to it.

#### FIFTH PLENARY SESSION

The discussion was continued on the 20th. The Nawab of Bhopal spoke first and supported the idea of a United Federal India. He reciprocated Dr. Sapru's view that the States would furnish a stabilizing factor in the Constitution but there must be no question of subordination of the States to the rest of India. He was cheered when he pointed out that communal tension was practically non-existent in the States, and no rift existed among the Princes as between Hindus and Mussalmans.

Other notable points in the discussion were the Princes' strong repudiation of the doctrine of paramountcy as expounded in the Butler Report; Mr. Joshi's plea for a declaration in the constitution of the fundamental rights of workers; Dr. Ambedkar's plea for unitary government and a government which will not mean for the Depressed Classes merely a change of masters.

Begum Shah Nawaz who supported the Federation proposal urged the Conference to give Indian Women an adequate share in the administration of the nation.

Sir Mirza Ismail said that by agreeing to join an all India Federation the Princes had done an incalculable service to the motherland.

Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar urged fiscal management for India, to make her own experiments in her own way. Fiscal policy, he said, could

never be regulated in the best prosperity of India, unless those in charge were animated by purely Indian standpoints and ideals.

Lord Reading who followed was listened to with close attention as he is supposed to be holding ultra-conservative views. Thus, while welcoming the prospect of a united India, and accepting the idea that the natural implication of the Declaration of 1917 was Dominion Status, he seemed to shade this statement off by hinting that the constitution and the status of India cannot immediately be made equal to those of the other Dominions.

The Maharaja of Nawanager corroborated the fact that the national movement in India was in no way confined to the literate classes.

Sir P. C. Mitter, representing the landlords, wanted self government but like other minorities; he desired separate representation in the Provinces and the Central Government. He also demanded the suitable representation of rural areas with the object of improving education and economic conditions of the natives.



Mr. K. T. PAUL

Mr. K. T. Paul favoured the immediate grant of Dominion Status with a strong Central Government.

Then Mr. M. A. Jinnah spoke discarding Lord Reading's legal pose by defining Dominion Status and responsible Government as "India wants to be mistress in her own house." Mr. Jinnah emphasised that the Simon Commission Report was dead and the Government of India's despatch was already a hack number. A new star had arisen in the shape of the Indian

Princes, whose position even placed the demand of British India for Dominion status in the background, so that we were now thinking of the Dominion of All-India. They knew that Parliament must decide the whole question but he asked the three British parties represented at the Conference if they were afraid that Parliament would repudiate an agreement reached at the Conference. It would be a bold Parliament indeed that did so.

Sir Abdul Quayyum demanded for the Frontier Province the same status as for the other Provinces in India.

The Rt. Hon. Srinivasa Sastri delivered a model speech confessing his conversion to the idea of a Federal India. Mr. Sastri asked, was not the Conference designed to conciliate the people from whom a disturbance was feared?

They are not hereditary criminals, savage barbarians, hordes, or sworn enemies of Britain or British institutions. They are men of culture and honour. Most of them have made their mark in their professions and are our kinsmen in spirit and blood. It is the sense of political grievance that has placed them in the position which we view with such distrust and disapprobation. Remove the distrust and you will find them alongside of you, working the new constitution that we shall frame. Therein lies the strength of the situation to-day. It is easy to bring our enemies round.

Then proceeding he made a moving personal reference.

I am on the side of Law and Order, I have never been within the proximity of the gaol, but I am a political agitator. I know how near I am to those whose methods I join with you in condemning to-day. Often in my life has Government viewed my activities with suspicion and set its "spies" upon me. My life has not been one of unalloyed happiness. My way has not been free from thorns and, Mr. Prime Minister, your experience is not altogether foreign to them. Let us not be carried away in this matter, then, too much by a sense of self-righteousness. Very little indeed divides those who now champion Law and Order and those who, impelled by the purest patriotism, have found themselves on the other side.

Mr. Sastri concluded;

Adopt measures born of conciliation and set the Constitution of India in proper order, and we, whose political difference has unhappily divided, will find ourselves once more co-operating for the welfare, contentment and ordered progress of India.

Mr. Sultan Ahmad regarded the demand for the establishment of British institutions as a tribute to the work of Englishmen in India.

Mr. H. P. Moll asserted the need for economic freedom.

Mr. Faruk Huj emphasised that the real problem before the Conference was to achieve the fullest self-government consistently with the possibilities of the British.

Sir Phiroze Sethna declared that India would be satisfied with nothing short of Dominion Status with transitional safeguards. Replying to Lord Peel's remarks regarding vested interests, Sir Phiroze gave numerous instances in recent years of preferences and those which were practical monopolies to Europeans. He hoped that when he returned with a Constitution, Indian and European merchants would work together side by side for the advancement of India, England and the Empire.

Sir Akbar Hydari said that Hyderabad would in no way lag behind other States in helping to realise the form of Government satisfactory to Indian aspirations.

With Sir Chimanlal Setalvad expressing his confident belief that constitutional reforms would immediately bring responsible men to the front, the Conference rose.



H. H. THE AGA KHAN

#### THE SIXTH PLENARY SESSION

The General discussions concluded on the 21st with a moving speech from the Prime Minister, Capt. Sher Muhammad Khan, Mr. Jadhav and Col.

Haksar expressed themselves on different aspects of the problem confronting the Conference.

The Aga Khan drew attention to the complete unanimity among the speakers in favour of full Self-Government. There was no reason, he said why, if a Federal scheme were produced acceptable to the Princes, the Hindus, the Muslims and the smaller minorities, India should not at this moment start on the basis of full responsibility.

Mr. Chintamani paid a tribute to the manner in which the British delegates had listened to unpalatable truths. He said the Labour Government was committed to establish India as an equal partner in the Empire and hoped that Lord Reading would agree more with the Liberalism of Gladstone than that of Sir John Simon.

Mr. MacDonald wound up the discussion with a speech, which according to reports was delivered with much earnestness, force and emotion. It contained several pregnant points, notably those indicating that Mr. Sastri was not the only man who had changed his mind, the Prime Minister's deprecation of harking back on the past, and his recognition that as regards status all were working on the same plane. Especially notable also was his further declaration that the attitude of the Princes had revolutionised the situation and he went on to say:

Your problem and my problem is to sit down together and supply practical answers to those questions which can be embodied in an Act of Parliament (Applause). This constitution, this Federation or whatever it may be, must meet two fundamental requirements.

Firstly, it must work. There is no good producing a constitution which won't work. That won't get you out of your difficulties and won't get us out of ours. The other point is this. The constitution must evolve. You are not in a position here to produce a static constitution that your grandsons, great grandsons and great great-grandsons will worship as though it is one of your sacred inheritances.

Therefore, the constitution must work, the constitution must evolve. It must be a continuing thing, and in the evolving, Indian opinion and Indian experience must be the most important influencing power.

Thus ended the plenary session which appointed various Committees to deliberate upon and advise the Conference on the outstanding issues before it. As the Committees are meeting at frequent intervals and as discussion and negotiation are still going on, as we write, we reserve the review of the work of the Committees and the progress of the Conference, to our next.

# The Future Government of India

BY MR. S. SATYAMURTI, B.A., B.L.

IN this article I propose to take, as my theses, the two declarations of Lord Irwin, the Viceroy,—one, that the natural issue of India's constitutional development is Dominion Status, and the other that it is the intention of himself, his Government, and of His Majesty's Government, to help India to be the mistress of all her affairs, except of those for which it may be found she is not ready immediately, to assume full responsibility. I am not quoting the Viceroy's words, but I am giving their spirit.

From that point of view, if Dominion status be achieved by India to-day, there is no doubt that the demand for Independence will lose considerably in volume, although a school will always continue to exist as it does in Ireland to-day. The reasons for this statement are that, in practice, it will be found that there is no difference between Dominion status as it is understood to-day, and Independence or the substance of Independence, as Mahatma Gandhi called it, recently. All the dominions to-day exercise unquestionable paramouncy in all their internal affairs, including the Army and Foreign affairs. Even as regards Foreign affairs, every Dominion has made it perfectly clear, and Great Britain has accepted it, that she will not be responsible for any war or peace, which Great Britain may commit herself to, without the full and free consent of that Dominion. Above all, the right to separate from the Commonwealth has been established, beyond doubt.

Then we turn to the question of those matters in respect of which, what are known as transitional safeguards, are required. I dismiss the claim of vested interests as one not very relevant because if their claim is to continue to be protected against the paramount interests of India, they cannot be considered. If, on the other hand, the claim is for just and equitable treat-

ment, I think every patriot will recognise that the future Government of India will certainly protect such interests.

I know that very much is made of the so-called "repudiation of debts", by the Lahore Session of the Indian National Congress. The resolution is *not* one for repudiation of debts. It simply asks for an impartial tribunal being appointed to examine the obligations incurred by Great Britain on behalf of India, with a view to seeing how far they are binding on India. In this, there is no threat of repudiating all or any obligations. Such questions are to-day being discussed between the Government of India and the War Office of Great Britain. I venture to suggest that there is no danger to the private investor, of losing his money invested by him *bona fide* in Indian debts. The only question will be, who will be liable to pay—India or Great Britain.

Then, the Europeans are constantly asking for protection against discriminative legislation. In so far as the Europeans claim it, as foreigners temporarily so-journing in this country, India can give no guarantee. But, in so far as Europeans claim this protection, as born and domiciled citizens of India, they need have no fear on that score. All citizens will be equal before the law, in Swaraj India. The next point on which transitional safeguards are considered necessary is the question of external defence and the foreign affairs of India. The Simon solution of the Army has been rejected by everybody concerned, as absolutely impossible. The Government of India's solution is slightly better. But the solution offered in the Nehru Report is about the best. India can have no objection to have a fixed army budget provided the policy, directing the defence and the foreign affairs of India is subject to the control of Indian people. India also wants that arrangements should be made for



the rapid indianisation of the Army, in all ranks and in all arms. If really the fear of the friends of India's freedom is *bona fide*, they ought to be satisfied with this. And the fact that there is likely to be a federation of Indian States with British India makes the rapid indianisation of the Army much easier, than it would have been otherwise.

Another problem which faces us is that of the Indian States. The problem has, however, become very much less serious than it threatened to be some time ago, by the patriotic and courageous attitude of the Indian Princes. I congratulate them respectfully on that attitude. They will find that their future is much safer in the hands of their countrymen than in the hands of any foreign power, however benevolent.

The Princes are naturally anxious about their internal autonomy. But a Federated India has no desire to interfere in their internal affairs. The Princes must however, remember that the wave of democracy cannot be stopped from entering their states. The fullest guarantee of their full internal autonomy is the consent of the people whom they govern.

In all matters of common concern, it ought to be possible for a properly constituted federal legislature, to settle them amicably. I would only ask the Princes to remember that the plea for the perpetuation of absolute British Raj in our country is inconsistent with a *supreme* federal Government in India.

We have, of course, the question of minorities always with us. In my opinion, the only minority which justly requires protection, until it can stand on its own legs, is the minority of the Depressed classes. I would give them all the protection they need, set apart public funds for their education and for the raising of their social status. As regards other minorities, the only protection they can honestly and rightly want is for their culture, religion, language, and social customs, so

long as those customs are not against public morality or the safety of the State as a whole. Such protection can easily be given to them. As for the public services, I recognise that, thanks to the phenomenal poverty of the country, the problem of unemployment among the educated classes who now take a leading part in public life, is so great that they attach great importance to it. The solution which has been so far tried may continue to be tried, viz, that all communal inequalities in public service should be gradually reduced at the initial stage of recruitment, subject to efficiency. This problem will soon lose its significance, when Indians become politically and economically free and their sons and daughters find new and other honourable venues of service and employment.

As far as the Legislatures are concerned, if joint electorates are agreed to I for one will not quarrel about the number of seats, assigned to minorities. I earnestly trust that Indian leaders will have the statesmanship and the foresight to see that separate electorates are inconsistent with any genuine democratic form of Government. After all, we must treat these communal problems as temporary, evanescent ones, and trust to the creation and the rapid development of common economic and political interests, to soften and ultimately eliminate these communal differences.

I have one last thing to say. Often, I hear Englishmen and some Indians even to-day talk of the need for perpetual British connection. I attach no importance to it, one way or the other, unless Great Britain rises to the occasion, and remembers that "time is one thing and eternity is another." If to-day India's claim to be a self-governing dominion be immediately recognised, there is a chance of India and Great Britain continuing to be friends and partners. But if "the moving finger writes and having writ moves on," one cannot predict the future; for, when a great nation makes up its mind to attain its freedom there is no power on earth, no, not even Great Britain, which can stand in its way.

# The Making of Books

By MR. B. NATESAN

CHAPMAN and Hall celebrated their centenary this year and it is but fitting that a record \* of their achievements should be put in a handy and permanent form. This is done by Mr. Arthur Waugh who has been connected with the firm for over quarter of a century as its Managing Director. Doubtless, Mr. Waugh has scoured every available source for details of the early years of the House, and the result is a book of absorbing interest.

For the century that is covered by the activities of Chapman and Hall has been a period of far reaching changes in the methods and standards of publishing, and in narrating the story of the struggles and vicissitudes of this House from its modest beginnings in the Strand to its present magnificent premises in Covent Garden, Mr. Waugh has recounted the whole history of the trade itself. Publishing which was originally a simple enough transaction between author and publisher has passed through many stages in which the Reader and the literary Agent, no less than the Librarians and Booksellers have played considerable part. And Mr. Waugh takes us through the perpetual changes and throws a flood of light on the progress of book-making and bookselling and the allied arts, which must be of special interest to the trade. Of course the trials and triumphs of a fellow publisher are full of lessons, and the warnings of experience are not without point even in the more complicated circumstances of our own day. Mr. Waugh's penetrating analysis of conditions and his luminous study of the publishing trade are full of suggestiveness which comes home to the practising publisher with all the vividness of particularity.

But what is of even more interest to the lay reader and the student of letters is the story of

many agreements and disagreements with authors like Dickens and Trollope. Here Mr. Waugh is at his best, and his picturesque details of the many famous writers who have had dealings with Chapman and Hall will repay perusal.

Half the book is devoted to Dickens and Forster—and rightly so—for together they made the firm's reputation and its wealth in the early years of its struggle. And it is a pleasure to recall the figure of Dickens—"that eager, impetuous, restless young man, with rich, brown, luxuriant hair, high forehead and eyes wonderfully beaming with humour and cheerfulness," running through the pages of the MONTHLY MAGAZINE with his first article in print. Thackeray "walked into one door of the little office in the Strand just as his great popular rival Dickens walked out of the other." There was Carlyle "beginning to emerge out of the loom twilight of neglect" whose *French Revolution* brought "more honour than honorarium"—the dear old Carlyle who used to share with the office boy "his slice of cake and a glass of sherry;" Trollope, clad in his pink coat, "tramping into the office as soon as the doors were open, with a sheaf of proofs in his great side pocket;" or who could forget the striking head and clearly chiselled features of Meredith with "his bright red tie contrasting sharply with the iron grey hair" and the galvanic effect of his conversation? Or John Morley either, that "firm, erect and meditative" figure, calling for his letters at a high desk, turning them over with an eagle eye and "as often as not slipping a shilling into the young assistant's hand as he strode off the strand?" These are pictures to treasure up in our minds.

And there were a host of other writers who congregated into the House—the Brownings, Clough and Proctor and Bulwer Lytton; Alington and Kingsley and Gaskell; Hardy and

\* A HUNDRED YEARS OF PUBLISHING. By Arthur Waugh. Chapman & Hall, Ltd., London.



# THE WORLD BOOKS



**BLenheim.** By G. M. Trevelyan. Longmans Green & Co., London.

England owes much to the Trevelyan family. They have carried on the Macaulay tradition, and now for three generations, have continued their broad and masterly survey of English history. This volume is the first of a trilogy, dealing with the England of Queen Anne. *Blenheim* is the climax, not the theme of this volume. The first hundred pages deal with the social and economic condition of the country, (a fascinating four chapters) and the effects of the accession of William and the Act of Settlement. The last days of this Dutchman who ruled England so wisely are graphically described. The author's judgments are concise and clear. William "had done services to England greater than those rendered to her by any save a very few of her native Princes. But he had been cold to Englishmen, not hiding his preference for his native land and people. So his meed over here had been admiration always, gratitude sometimes, but seldom love."

"That Queen Anne is dead" is a proposition which is generally put forward to confound those who tell old tales. But Queen Anne lives again in these pages. We see her, dowdy and fat, incapable of exercise, worn out by child bearing, racked with gout and dropsy, carrying on her duties with heroic conscientiousness, and above

all, caring for the unity and strength of the State. Slow of wit, she yielded greatly to the clever sharpness of Sarah Churchill, Duchess of Marlborough, whose devoted husband was to bring glory to the period. In fact, the story of the Marlboroughs is one of the main themes of the second half of the book. Their mutual devotion, their voluminous correspondence, their remarkable influence on the Queen—these are a romance in themselves.

With the beginning of the War with France, Marlborough's character and talents gradually dominate the scene. The navy presents a picture of mingled incompetence, bravery, and good fortune; the army, under the leadership of Marlborough, a picture of method, organisation and leadership. Other men appear in this volume. There are brilliant Cameos of Bolingbroke, Nottingham, Godolphin and Dofoe. But Marlborough overshadows them all. His care for his men, his tact with his allies, his brilliant strategy, his personal bravery, and his magnanimity in victory, all these things mark him out as the most remarkable men of his time. The famous march to the Danube, and the battle of *Blenheim*, which gave him power, are described vividly and with much local knowledge. Their account illustrates well the statement the author makes that he cannot "abandon the older ideal of history that was once popular in England, that the same book should make its appeal both to the general reader and to the historical student." We may hope he never will.

**DECENT FELLOWS.** By John Heygate. Victor Gollancz, Mundana, Ltd., London.

The storm with which this novel has been greeted by Etonians is possibly not unjustified as regards the generally accepted theory that "You must not let your school down." It must have needed bravery on the part of Mr. Heygate to write as he has. It is possibly not a true picture of Eton life from the point of view of the average boy. Probably it is far from true as regards the average house at Eton. But there is not unusually a great difference between one house and another in the same school, and it is a mistake for any man to think that his own house typifies his school. This becomes increasingly so, the larger the school is.

It is now more than a decade since "The Loom of Youth" was published, and one remembers the violence of the abuse with which it was greeted. It is difficult to estimate the result of it since its publication, but it cannot have failed to cause a heart-rearcting on the part of many headmasters, and difficult questions from the governors of many school boards. The famous school concerned continues with unimpaired reputation, perhaps even enhanced by the reaction after the first results of that book.

As regards the book itself there is much to be said for "Decent Fellows." The strong language, the discussions among boys of immorality and drunkenness, and the tone sometimes shown are unfortunate, and it in any case true, need and are no doubt receiving careful consideration. It is a great fault if a school is too proud to face criticism and to cleanse itself if it be necessary. No school can be perfect, and every school has its bad patches, though it is very unpleasant to be reminded of the fact. Anyone with reasonable understanding will view Eton's wrath with sympathy.

The particular value of the book does not lie in its grubby details. It lies in its picture of the

reasons that lead a boy to wild escapades, the seeking after notoriety, the fear of being unpopular or unusual, the fear of being considered a 'slop' or diligent worker, the absence in most boys' minds of any real basis of what is worth while and what is not. The ever-present difficulty of a boy's relations with his parents is well shown by Mr. Heygate. The pompous father who has forgotten his youth and the sentimental mother both give themselves useless heart-burnings about their son's conduct and progress. No solution is suggested. Perhaps the only solution is that parents must be young, if not in years at least in outlook.

**AT THE BACK 'O' BEYOND.** By Richard Remnant. W. R. Chambers, London.

"Wary of the pleasure round of England's leisured class", Captain Reginah, the hero of the book seeks adventures in the sun-struck regions of Hindustan. His brave exploits are the subject matter of eight separate stories and the scenes are variously laid in picturesque Burnah, the Nepalese Terai and the Western Ghats. In all the stories, the author carefully preserves the local colour and takes pains to impart a sustained interest to the soul stirring adventures. Unfortunately, Mr. Remnant sometimes changes the garb of a story-teller and plays the part of a political moralist. In one of his chapters, referring to Mahatma Gandhi, the author writes "Never was a man so zealous, so sincere, never a man so foolish." Elsewhere speaking about the non-violent non-co-operation movement, Remnant raves as follows:—"Non-violent Non-co-operation was to be blazoned in letters of blood and fire, of murder and rape and forced apostasy at the point of the sword." One cannot fail to see through these choice remarks the interested diatribe and the sun-dried bureaucrat, out on his mission of denouncing India's national aspirations not through the press, not from the platform but through the medium of a book of adventure.

**THE PAINTED MINX.** By Robert W. Chambers. D. Appleton & Co., London & New York.

Brisk narrative, entertaining dialogue, and the facile, brilliant description that we expect from Mr. Chambers combine to give us a delightful book. The period of the War of Independence, some seven years, was not entirely devoted to fighting. Long periods of stagnation, as in modern trench warfare,—though without trenches, was similarly taken up with attempts to lighten life. The theatre, actors and plays of New York in 1780, so charmingly described in this novel, cannot fail to remind one of the concert parties behind the line in Flanders and Artois in more recent years, and of the added morale given to troops by them. Wars in every generation have much in common, but perhaps one of the greatest differences to-day is the disappearance of feminine influence owing to the long range of guns and weight of shell fire, which has removed all women from proximity to the region of actual bloodshed. This perhaps detracts from the sense of reality of former warfare to us to-day, but "The Painted Minx" in its true picture of those times is all the more entertaining.

**MAHATMA GANDHI.** The Man and His Mission.

G. A. Natesan & Co., Madras. Re. 1. To Subs. of I.R., 12 As.

In this, the eighth edition of Mahatma Gandhi's sketch (published within six months of the last edition) the life story of this great Indian is given in considerable detail and we have a clear and succinct account of his varied activities in South Africa and India, a sketch of the Non-co operation movement, his last arrest and internment, down to the Slocombe interview and the peace negotiations conducted by Dr. Saprta and Mr. Jayakar. The book contains some notable appreciations like those of Mr. Sastri, Dr. Holmes, Prof. Gilbert Murray and others, as also an appendix containing the rules and regulations of his well-known Satyagrahshrama.

**TALES FROM NORSE MYTHOLOGY.** Retold and Illustrated by Katherine Pyle. J. B. Lippincott Co., Adelphi, London.

Miss Pyle has already made her mark in story writing, by her *Tales from Greek Mythology* and *Fairy Tales from India*. In this book, therefore she does for the Norse folk, what she has done so inimitably for Greek Mythology and Indian legends. There are five and twenty favourite old Norse legends in all retold with all the charm and simplicity of her manner. Here we read how the world was made and how the gods and giants followed. And then the ever old and ever new stories are there of Odin, the All father and Figg, his wife; of Thor and his hammer, of Sif with the golden hair, of Freya the beautiful and all the strange and wonderful happenings in Asgard and Jotunheim—which have been the theme of countless songs and plays. Printed in bold type and on featherweight paper and handsomely bound in cloth, this is quite a beautiful gift book for children.

**RELIGION AND SHORT HISTORY OF THE SIKHS.**

By G. B. Scott. The Mitre Press, London.

This is an interesting account of the religion and history of the Sikhs by a writer who has seen service in the Province of which he writes with some authority. Indeed the historical portion and the lives of the Gurus are written with evident sympathy and considerable understanding. But it is a great pity that the author chose in the closing chapters of the book to dabble in current politics. He seems to have taken his opinions from the *MORNING POST* and Sir Michael O'Dwyer. And it would be sheer waste of time to attempt to controvert his uncalled for and utterly irrelevant observations on the Indian demand for Swaraj. There are a dozen photographs in this book.

**GULAB SINGH: FOUNDER OF KASHMIR.** By K. M. Panikkar. Martin Hopkinson, London.

Mr. Panikkar's Memoir of Maharaja Gulab Singh throws light on a little known chapter in the history of nineteenth century India. One of the most remarkable men of his age, Gulab who was originally an attendant at the Court of Ranjit Singh, carved out for himself a Kingdom, which apart from its extensive area, is perhaps the loveliest part of India. For to the lovely Valley of Kashmir, he added territories which together form a kingdom larger than Great Britain. Mr. Panikkar has had exceptional opportunities to ransack original documents and authoritative papers on the period and we have in this volume a connected narrative not only of the great transaction which created the State of Kashmir but also a vivid account of the life and fortunes of a great soldier-statesman of the nineteenth century.

**HIGHWAYS HAND BOOK.** The Highway Education Board, Washington.

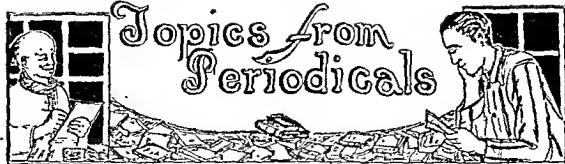
This is a neat little hand-book of 97 pages divided into two Chapters intended as a statistical study of Highway development in the United States of America. As Thomas M. Macdonald the Chairman of the Highway Board says in the introduction, "the building of the modern highway system has no counterpart in the public works of any nation." The booklet has a special value in these days of auto-mobiles and globetrotting. It gives the reader an idea of the longest paved roads in the world, the largest Highways mileage, the shortest road and the most narrow street, the proportion of the United States Highways to the rest of world. It offers excellent tips to the police, municipal authorities and other traffic regulators regarding the advisability of uniform signals and sign-boards. The book is a treasure house of information for the students of Economics and Statistics, because of the various Graphs and Tables giving the total road mileage, road income and expenditure.

**THE BUDDHA'S GOLDEN PATH.** By 'Dwight' Goddard. Luzac & Co., 46, Great Russell Street, London.

This is an excellent elementary manual of the doctrine of the Buddha which the author describes as "the Buddha's Innerway to Enlightenment and Peace of Mind." He rightly says that "some things as Karma, Reincarnation and Nirvana were accepted in India centuries before Gautama Day." He says also: "Other things, such as the nature of the Godhead, the immortality of the soul and any self-conscious life after the death of the body, he warned his disciples against, because they were unprovable and their discussion tended to dissension and unrest of mind." These passages show the real weakness of Buddhism, whatever may be the author's views on the point. The merit of Buddhism lay in its ethic and its sublimation of pity and compassion. Its non-acceptance of soul and God and Veda led to its disappearance from India, whatever were its great trans-Indian victories. Its founder was greater than his doctrine. His Golden Path is well described and discussed by the author as three adventures, viz., through restraint of physical desire to emancipation, through right mind-control to enlightenment, and through concentration of spirit to tranquillisation.

**THE QUEENS OF KUNGAHALLA.** By Selma Lagerlof. T. Werner Laurie Ltd., London.

Selma Lagerlof is a Swedish authoress and the Nobel Prize-winner in Literature in 1909. She is the author of several books, two of which are now available in the Eclectic Library. The Queens of Kungahalla was published in English in 1899 but now appears for the first time in its popular form. The stories besides their high literary merit possess the simple charm of fairy tales. We congratulate the Publishers in inaugurating the Eclectic Library which we hope will supply the English knowing public with the best literature of all countries.



## THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

Prof. Gilbert Murray who is an enthusiast for the League, writing in the *HARPER'S MONTHLY MAGAZINE* for September, clears certain misunderstandings regarding the real value of the *League of Nations*. There are some who think that by a powerful combination of nations and pooling of international resources, economic and military, the recalcitrant nations might be forced to fall in with the verdict of the League. That is not the correct estimation of the League's work. *Its main work has been in the direction of teaching the nations to confer and talk things over before they fight.*

Members of the League must confer before going to war, and it seems likely since the signing of the Briand-Kellogg Pact that they will soon be bound not to go to war at all—there are exceptions at present under both instruments. They must obey a decision of the Court, and must not resist a unanimous recommendation of the Council. The Council must meet and consider what shall be done if any nation makes war in breach of its Covenant, and the members must be ready to treat the Council's recommendation as a matter of the gravest importance, though not absolutely compulsory. These are the things they must do, and if they do not? Well, if they do not, presumably the Council considers what should be done. And that no doubt will depend on circumstances.

Henceforth if France or Britain does a wrong to Haiti, Haiti can give them at The Hague. The reign of law is established in the sphere of Law. Apart from the merely legal or coercive possibilities of the League, Prof. Murray draws pointed attention to the temper of mind that the League is expected to create in the world.

I am not denying the possibility that the League might have to exercise the ultimate ratio of coercion, routinized action with all arms for preventing an aggressive war or restoring a broken peace. But if that ever happened the League, and world peace with it, would very nearly have failed.

## GANDHI AND LINCOLN

Gandhi has often been compared to Lenin. Lenin's idealism and his relentless pursuit of it coupled with his self-abnegation have indeed something in common with Gandhi's. But Lincoln approaches Mr. Gandhi more completely. A writer in the *London SPECTATOR*, reviewing Mr. Gandhi's autobiography, observes:—

In his impersonal courage and his colloquial approach to politics he resembles Lincoln. Lincoln stuck to it, that he fought because he meant to save the Union, in any case and at any cost. But he brushed aside a whole field of legal quibbling when he said that, all the same everyone knew that slavery in some way or other was at the bottom of the quarrel. At the bottom of the present quarrel is the doubt—present on both sides, after all our statesmen have said—as to whether the Round Table Conference is meant to see the Indian peoples in position that will satisfy their self-respect, with the safeguards necessary to ensure an ordered transition, imposed not by outside choice but after discussion with India's representatives. There is little chance that anything would now persuade Mr. Gandhi to help in a settlement. But a statesman who limited him to his contempt of being possibly misunderstood in a phrase when his main contention faulted out like a naked rock could still save the situation. This man had bewildered us, because he has no often thought as if he were an Englishman; and it was from us that he learnt that frankness was the way to safety.

## DEPRESSED CLASSES IN SOUTH INDIA.

THE ASIATIC REVIEW for October has an interesting article from the pen of Mr. F. E. James, on the advancement of the outcastes in the Madras Presidency. Mr. James considers the position of these unfortunate people and discusses it in the social, educational, economic and Political spheres. The first attempts at their reclamation, he says, were made by Christian Missions and nearly half the children of the depressed classes are in the Christian Mission schools. Socially indeed the depressed classes are not allowed to participate with the other classes. But the progress in recent years is quite evident.

Mr. Gandhi's espousal of their cause has had considerable effect in many parts of the country. "How dare we treat any fellow-man as untouchable?" he asks. At the Sabarwal Ashram he sits down to meals with the untouchable boys who are his proteges. In Travancore, largely at his inspiration, a large number of caste people offered passive resistance and went to jail to secure the right of the untouchables to walk on a certain road in the vicinity of a temple. This fight went on for months until the Maharaja-Regent removed by one stroke of the pen a disability which the outcastes had suffered from time immemorial.

Even the Hindu Mahasabha, the stronghold of Hinduism, has passed a resolution to the effect that "every Hindu to whatever caste he may belong has equal social and political rights." The National Congress at the instance of Mr. Gandhi has also placed the removal of untouchability in its programme.

But still conservatism is rampant in the villages, where comparatively little change has taken place in the social relationships of the people, though in the towns, it is true, the social amelioration of the untouchables is proceeding faster.

With regard to their educational progress, Mr. James points out that in 1895 there were 30,000 depressed class pupils in schools. In 1920 there were 150,000 depressed class pupils in schools. To-day there are over 230,000. Over 100,000 of these are in Christian Mission schools, and a number are in the schools maintained by such excellent societies as the Depressed Classes Union, the Poor Schools Society, the Social Service League, and the Andhra Deena Seva

Saugam. Most of these are only in the primary stage, there being only 2,647 in middle schools, and 47 in colleges in 1927. Only about 7,500 of the 230,000 reading in schools are girls, which means that only one out of every 400 of the female population goes to school.

The Madras Government has during the past ten years shown the way to economic improvement. No Government in the world could completely solve this economic problem,

but demonstrations have been made in Madras, and on the whole, money has not been stinted. And in this year's budget the Government has provided £105,000 for the uplift of the depressed classes.

The Government has assigned them lands for cultivation and steps have been taken to provide them with accommodation.

Over 55,000 house sites have been provided by this method since it was first introduced, and over £ 155,000 have been advanced by Government in loans for this purpose. In the year 1923-24 over 6,000 house sites on a total acreage of 800 acres were aligned.

On the political side the importance of securing the representation of the depressed classes on public bodies is being increasingly realized in Madras. In fact, Madras has gone further in this matter than any other province. There is also improvement in regard to representation in local bodies. Thus it may be said that considerable progress has been made in recent years in the condition of the outcastes in Southern India.

Public opinion is more enlightened, education is slowly but surely spreading, social disabilities are being removed, the way to economic uplift is being shown, and political power is being grasped. In this progress Christian Missions, the Government, and social service organizations are playing an important and noble part.

## THE TIMES OF INDIA ANNUAL

This welcome annual, is as bright and vivacious as ever. There are stories of travel and adventure and descriptive scenes accompanied with pictures, angularly well printed. The half a dozen colour plates are got up in such style and splendour that one might go in for a copy of the annual if only for the sake of the pictures which deserve to be framed and preserved. The pictures representing such varied figures as Akbar and Shivaji and Pratap and Ranjit Singh and Lord Clive are not only valuable in themselves but reminiscent of interesting periods of British Indian history. We congratulate the publishers of the annual on the splendour of its execution.



## THE CROWN AND THE EMPIRE

Symbolism has played a great part in the destinies of mankind. Loyalty to the "cross" or the "crescent" has made and unmade empires and affected the lives and fortunes of millions of people. And so the "Crown"—the symbol of British monarchy—"evokes a passionate loyalty among millions to whom forms of Government are merely a matter of verbal controversy." So writes Sir John Marriott in the October *Fortnightly*. That a certain danger lurks in symbolism, as applied to politics, is not to be questioned.

One of the most distinguished of English jurists has warned us against the use of the particular term which is the subject of the present analysis. "You will certainly read," said the late F. W. Maitland, "that the Crown does this and the Crown does that. As a matter of fact we know that the Crown does nothing but lie in the Tower of London to be gazed at by sight-seers. No, the Crown is a convenient cover for ignorance: it saves us from asking difficult questions, questions which can only be answered by study of the Statute book."

Now, by the "Crown" we sometimes mean the "king," the Personal occupant of the throne; sometimes one of the organs of Government, the "executive"—the body of ministers to whom so many of the practical functions of the crown have been transferred. It is even applied to the Departments of state "which form the permanent as opposed to the political executive."

It is a commonplace of criticism that the powers of the "Crown" *i.e.*, the executive side of Government have in recent years dangerously extended. We in India, living under the regime of ordinances need hardly be told of it.

But while the powers exercised in the name of the "Crown" are increasing, the power of the person who wears the Crown is steadily diminishing. That at any rate was the opinion of Prof. Lowell of Harvard who wrote in 1908:—

There can be no doubt that the political influence of the Sovereign faded slowly to a narrow and fainter ray during [Queen Victoria's] reign. . . . as a political organ [the Crown] has receded into the background. . . . One may dissent, therefore, the idea that the Crown has any perceptible effect to-day in securing the loyalty

of the English people, or their obedience to the government.

But Sir John Marriott holds that the "Crown" has also gained. The rapid development of colonial nationalism, "while weakening the connection between the Dominions and the Imperial Parliament, has strengthened the tie between each separate Dominion and the Imperial Crown." Speaking as an ardent nationalist at the Imperial War Conference on April 16, 1917, General Smuts said:—

The Governments of the Dominions as equal Governments of the King in the British Commonwealth will have to be recognized far more fully than what is done to-day, at any rate in the theory of the Constitution . . . ; the young nations are growing into Great Powers and it will be impossible to attempt to govern them in future by one common Legislature and one common Executive.

But there are centripetal forces operating as well, and the General himself gave expression to the significant sentiment:—

"How," he asked, "are you going to keep this Commonwealth of nations together? If there is to be this full development towards a more varied and richer life among our nations, how are you going to keep them together? It seems to me that there are two potent factors that you must rely upon for the future.—The first is your hereditary Kingship. . . . You cannot make a Republic of the British Commonwealth of Nations. If you had to elect a President, he would have to be a President not only here in these islands, but all over the British Empire—to India and in the Dominions—the President who would be really representative of all these peoples; and here you would be facing an absolutely insoluble problem."

But the decentralisation process was going on at each successive meeting of Imperial or international gatherings and attempts were made to make the most of "kingship." But how can a single constitutional sovereign act "on the advice of six executives responsible to as many legislatures."? The dilemma is answered in the words of James Madison, a quarter of a century after the declaration of independence.

"The fundamental principle of the Revolution was, that the Colonies were co-ordinate members with each other and with Great Britain, of an Empire united by a common executive Sovereign, but not united by any common legislative Sovereign. The legislative power was maintained to be as complete in each American Parliament as in the British Parliament. And the royal prerogative was to force in each Colony by virtue of its acknowledging the King for its executive magistrate, as it was in Great Britain by virtue of a like acknowledgment there. A denial of these principles by Great Britain and the assertion of them by America produced the Revolution."

## EUROPEANS AND INDIAN REFORMS

Mr. A. H. E. Melson, sometime Political Secretary to the Associated Chambers of Commerce in India, contributes an article under the caption "Non-official Europeans and the Indian Constitution", to the October number of the *ENGLISH REVIEW*. The writer says that because the bulk of the imports and exports of India passes through European hands, it will be surely obvious that the prosperity of India depends mostly on the policy of the Government of India itself. The writer is not for transferring the entire responsibility to the Central Government. He says :—

"It may be surmised that the European community at the Round Table Conference will reiterate their grave apprehensions as to the effect of transferring law and order, and they will point out what a volume of expressed Indian opinion is either opposed to it or consents to it only subject to considerable restrictions. They will then concentrate upon securing that adequate safeguards shall be provided."

Mr. Melson is of opinion that at a time when a great experiment was being tried in the provinces it would be unwise to start democratic changes in the Government of India. He continues :

"They (the European community) believe that the Federal Constitution, which, it has long been apparent, must be India's ultimate goal, will need a strong Central Government: the constitution of Canada and not that of Australia should be taken as the model. It is, in their opinion, essential therefore that the provinces should be the testing and teaching ground of responsible government, and that for the present the Government of India should not be tampered with."

The writer is against India's passing any legislation discriminated against British interests. He concludes :

"No apology is needed for writing at length on the need for protecting British commerce in India.

It would, indeed, be strange if at a time when all parties are agreed upon the need for new markets for British goods to be found overseas, the richest of all our existing overseas markets were allowed to be lost through inadvertence. The fact that much of the British capital in India is invested in industrial undertakings does not mean that in case of whole or partial expropriation the loss would fall only upon rich shareholders. Apart from the right of every British subject to the support of the British Government is defending his property lawfully acquired in other countries, the British commercial and industrial community in India is the principal influence in obtaining so large a proportion of India's imports from Great Britain. If the non-official British in India, and their possessions, are to be sacrificed on the altar of a shortsighted political expediency, the effect will soon be apparent outside the Labour Exchanges in the industrial cities of England."

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## FITTER FAMILIES IN INDIA

Under the above caption, Mr. Vineyak Roy contributes an article to the Sept-Oct. number of the HINDUSTAN REVIEW in which he points out that the important question that immediately faces us in India is her manhood. With a noble tradition and in spite of incalculable resources, India, he says, is not only in the depth of poverty, but also in the agony of apparently inescapable bondage.

Her political problems are faced with such internal heterogeneities of which no parallel has so far been found in the annals of history. Considering the heritage of her great civilization and her glorious past the solution of India's problems may aptly be considered as a world issue and in that task she needs the assistance of the whole world offered out of perfectly disinterested motives.

From a study of eugenics as applied to India, says the writer, it is apparent though the population of India has been steadily increasing, the virility of the race is tending towards a downward course.

Our first aim therefore in the realization of the new pulverising ideal that has been set up before us should be the attainment of physical fitness; and in the task that is thus placed before us the society of the present generation should see that only healthy and optimistic couples forward as their dues to the future generation robust and healthy children, able to shoulder the responsibilities in the different spheres of life.

If India cannot attain that virility to withstand the onslaughts of stronger races and more vigorous and enterprising nations that are knocking at the door, without doubt, she will ultimately succumb in order to make room for others.

For the purpose of this regeneration, the task has primarily to be undertaken by the children of the soil. Both the mind and the body have to be developed to a greater extent than has hitherto been the case. Education, both literary and cultural, should be carried to the remotest corners of the country. The leaders of society have a heavy responsibility before them. By the process of continuous elimination, the sturdiness of the race will have to be cultivated again. Fitter families in the first place should spring up where mere vegetation is human existence has so far prevailed. Those families should give birth to a generation whose sacrifice, stamina and vitality will awaken in India the rejuvenated song of national self-realization.

If India, out of sheer negligence or lethargy or self-conceit neglects this question, concludes the writer, who knows like many other historic races of the world, the country will be extinct in course of time, and like Africa and the Americas, will be a cradle of the white civilization of the West!

## MOHAMMAD'S APPEAL TO YOUTH

Brigadier-General R. D. B. Blakeney, writing in the ISLAMIC REVIEW for November, makes an appeal to the youth of the day to contribute its share to the advancement of mankind. Indeed the possibilities of youth are great. He says that the youth of the great nations are being brought up in the crassest materialism, denying the possibility of any life other than that in which we strive and suffer, and repudiating the claims of religion which, in its final expression, is the link binding us to nobler and greater spheres of existence.

Hitherto Christianity has been the main object of attack, but signs are not wanting that ere long the creed of Islam will have its turn. "Both Buddha and Christ taught the inadequacy of material achievement, but in each case their teachings were subsequently perverted by priestcraft." It was left to the Great Apostle Muhammad, he says, to "stop the retrograde movement."

The younger generation of to-day, he continues, is much more advanced and they have a clearer and more sensible view of things than the old, crude and dogmatic opinions of the schoolmen of intervening centuries. But youth cannot do the work of the middle-aged without due training. That training is afforded in the teachings of Muhammad. "His plan, like everything truly great, was amazingly simple at first sight, but closer examination disclosed its magnificent potential."

The bulk of mankind had to be taught to think in the abstract. Hitherto all was selfish fear and self-protection; the unseen forces of Nature were crudely fashioned into idols, whose grinning malignity demanded propitiation and bribes.

Short indeed was the shrift he meted out to these, and over their misshapen fragments he taught that, as the Divine Power was all in all and on every hand, it could not and must not be limited.

## THE WEAPONS OF NON-VIOLENCE

Mr. George Slocombe of the *DAILY HERALD*, whose despatches from India created a stir in British political circles, describes in the *New York NATION* the weapons adopted by the followers of Gandhi in their non-violent fight against British bureaucracy. He is convinced that the struggle is nation-wide and not confined to a few sections of people here and there—as is generally misrepresented abroad. There is no mistaking the national character of the nationalist movement in India, he says.

The fever of nationalism has spread to all classes and all communities. Bankers and mill-owners, lawyers and professional men, bazaar traders and mill workers alike have plunged into the struggle with a passionate conviction that the time has come to stake all on winning the coveted prize of liberty. Even the peasant in the villages, those innumerable villages, with their intense personality and infinitely stratified local life which are peculiar to India, reacts to the emotional wave that reaches him from the towns.

Thus even the peasant has at last been awakened to the consciousness of the struggle hitherto principally waged in the towns. Mr. Slocombe instances the case of the Guzerat villages where under the lead of Mr. Patel, the peasants have taken up the Government's challenge with a determination scarcely suspected.

The force of a dimly understood national solidarity has him in thrall. He has been caught up in the wave of mystic, emotional, and political sentiment which is sweeping over India like a new religion, a religion in which the prophet, leader, and deity is Mahatma Gandhi.

Tolstoys are familiar enough with the method of the passive resisters. But Gandhi has carried the doctrine of non-violent resistance several stages, although perfectly logical stages, farther. His resisters are no longer merely passive.

They initiate an attack upon what they consider to be evil instead of merely resisting the encroachments of evil. They offer legal violence, if not physical violence, to British law and authority in India. The destruction of toddy-producing palm trees, and the raids of government salt works, the production of illicit salt, the social boycott of Indian tax collectors, police, and other officials of the government—carried to the length of barricading house doors, denying food and water, and even closing the mouth of village wells—and the active and successful boycott of British goods are developments of the Tolstoyan creed by which the war is actively carried into the enemy's camp.

Mr. Gandhi is no novice in the use of the unusual weapons. He employed them with success during his South African fight. This non-violent resistance is not an ingenious recourse of a political opportunist.

He believes in non-co-operation and non-resistance with a passionate sincerity. They are fundamentals of the same religion of love which drives him to criticize the faults of his own people as earnestly as he criticizes those of the British.

What has been the net result of the struggle during these last months? Mr. Gandhi has accomplished a triple miracle in India.

He has taught the meek and humble Hindu, who shudders at violence with a physical as well as a moral revulsion, to become a Stoic able to endure the blows of police lathis without fear and without shrinking, and even with a fanatical joy. And what is even more remarkable, he has taught the fierce and warlike Pathans of the Northwest Frontier and the incredibly proud Sikhs of the Punjab, to whom a blow is a deadly insult to be washed not only in a blood, to fold their arms under a rain of lathi blows without protest or retaliation. The third miracle is the steady elimination of the religious and race prejudices which have hitherto divided India and the breaking down of the immemorial caste system.

Mr. Slocombe then describes his experience in India where he had seen the remarkable exhibition of men and women of all denominations join in the struggle, and suffer together.

I have seen Hindus, Mohammedans, Jews, Christians, and Parsees lying side by side in the same ward of a hospital suffering from similar lathi wounds, eating from the same dishes and drinking from the same drinking vessel. I have seen high-caste Hindus break their caste to drink water offered by a low-caste Nationalist volunteer. I have seen thousands of high-caste Hindu women who have broken their purdah to picket liquor shops and foreign-cloth stores, and to sit all night in the streets under the heavy monsoon rains when a procession had been banned or halted by the police. I have seen them rush under the uplifted arms of the police to take on their own shoulders the blows intended for the young-men-volunteers of the Nationalist movement. To these people Gandhi is a prophet and an inspired leader, the incarnation of their own national aspirations, the very soul of awakening India.

In conclusion Mr. Slocombe adds that the deadliest of the weapons is the boycott of British goods. And all these weapons have been used with considerable effect. In the face of these facts Mr. Slocombe says that it is no longer a question of India's capacity for self-government.

Whether they are fit for it or not, it is too late to argue the matter now. They have already decided that they are fit to rule themselves, and they have begun to make foreign government impossible in India.

## NANA FADNIS

The MODERN REVIEW for November contains a short life sketch of Nana Fadnis by Mr. G. S. Sardesai. Historians may assess the worth of Nana in whatever way they choose but there is no denying the fact, says the writer, that two obscure Brahmin families from the West Coast, the Bhats and the Bhanus leaving their home in search of fortune and working in mutual co-operation, succeeded for nearly a century, though after strenuous efforts in fulfilling Shivaji's great ambition, i. e. to capture and wield an almost imperial sceptre over India, the only instance of a successful Hindu Swaraj after the hallowed suzerainty of the ancient Guptas.

The following account of the Nana will be found interesting:

Possessing a weak and delicate constitution, Nana was not fitted by nature for the rough and tumble of camp life. He was tall and thin, not very fair in complexion, remarkably grave in countenance, and unusually reserved in manners. It is said he was hardly ever seen to laugh or joke. In the dispatch of business he trusted more to his pen than to his tongue. He was always sparing in promises, but once he committed himself to any particular course of action, even his opponents were sure that he would stick to his word at all risks. His younger cousin Moroba Fadnis was of a totally different nature and an aversion from the beginning of Nana's rise that he intrigued against him in season and out of season and had on that account to waste his precious life in a long imprisonment of a quarter of a century from which he was released by Bajirao II only after the death of Nana.

Whatever difference of opinion may exist in estimating the character and achievements of Nana Fadnis, there cannot be a doubt that the last stage of his active career, namely, the five years after the unfortunate death of the young Peshwa Madhoo Rao II, was a series of blunders, a rapid downhill slide, which nearly wrecked all the good work that he had done previously. His resignation and complete retirement from politics would have been better not only for his own interests but also for those of the state. Like many other notable personages in history, Nana committed the mistake of considering himself indispensable and paid the penalty for his vacillation by undergoing confinement and indignities at the hands of his unscrupulous master Bajirao II and the inexperienced youth Daulat Rao Shinde. The huge fortune that Nana had long toiled to amass, only served to excite the cupidity of all who possessed the strength to snatch it away and it eventually vanished away so quickly that, at his death, the Arab mercenaries whom he had employed to guard his person, clamoured for the long arrears of their pay and refused to permit his body to be removed for cremation, until their claims were satisfied.

## DANCING IN INDIA

"Traditional Dancing in India" is the subject of an article in the current number of the EMPIRE REVIEW, wherein the writer, Ruby Sharpe draws special attention to the characteristic dancing of the Khattacks or Pathans in the British territory on the border of the west of India. Virile and full of grace, it expresses, as no words could do, their fierce determination, their power of devotion to some shadowy call to self-sacrifice, their passionate sense of victory underlying apparent defeat. Wearing voluminous peg-top trousers of snowy cotton, elaborately patterned silk waistcoats, and hand-made silk *lungis* wound carefully round their heads and arranged to show the beautiful coloured stripes of the ends in an enormous bow at one side, a number of dancers move in a circle, taking rather short steps and raising each arm alternately. Occasionally, they execute a wonderful pirouette, whirl their swords above their heads, or sink slowly upon their heels towards the ground.

Usually these dances are performed round a huge bonfire and the flames play on handsome brooded faces and gleaming swords, bringing them into strong relief against a background of frowning hills and deep rivers that whisper of all primal instincts. And, as they flicker and fall, they light up a spectacle than which nothing could be more in keeping with that mysterious spirit of the North-West Frontier of India which for generations has called to Englishmen and found an echo in their hearts.

## THE CALCUTTA MUNICIPAL GAZETTE

THE CALCUTTA MUNICIPAL GAZETTE, the official organ of the Corporation of Calcutta is surpassing itself in its sixth anniversary number. Year after year Mr. Amal Home, its Editor, has given the public an annual distinguished alike by the richness and variety of its contents. The present issue which is sumptuously got up contains articles on various aspects of civics and is adorned with pictures and portraits in colour. Mr. Amal Home is as enterprising as ever and we find contributions from eminent people both in India and abroad.

Another interesting feature is the message of greetings and good wishes from Lord Mayors and Mayors of Western cities and heads of numerous civic associations in America.

## WORK OF THE I. L. O.

Dr. P. P. Pillai contributes an article on the above subject to the current issue of the **INDIAN LABOUR JOURNAL**. One of the ways in which the International Labour Organisation at Geneva has already proved, and will continue to prove helpful, says Dr. Pillai, is by furnishing the Indian Labour movement with that solid basis of knowledge and experience on which alone a strong working class movement can be built. He says :—

The portals of Geneva are always open to the working classes of this country, and in the measure in which other workers' organisations resort to the I. L. O. for enriching their store of wisdom and experience will be found their efficiency and their capacity to respond to the ever-increasing needs of their growing clientele.

So marked has been the influence of the I. L. O. on the course of labour legislation in this country that an acute critic has expressed it as his deliberate opinion that 'the development of Indian public opinion on labour questions has been greatly stimulated and encouraged by Geneva, and that but for Geneva many of the measures of social reform which have now found their way to the statute book might not have been initiated at all'.

The Indian working class movement has already gained some victories in its long war against poverty and social injustice. There is also another aspect of the work ahead of us, says Dr. Pillai, in which the help of the I. L. O. will prove to be of paramount importance.

The whole country is now agitated over the future political constitution of India, and we are all anxiously looking forward to the establishment of democratic political institutions. Now, every civilised government having a democratic system has, as a necessary corollary, recognised as a preliminary duty the provision of educational facilities for the people. If every citizen is to have some share in determining the destinies of his fellows, it is necessary that he should be adequately equipped for the exercise of this responsibility. With an uneducated population, we will find that though we may have the forms of democratic government, the substance of democracy will still be wanting. The dangers of

democracy are the real dangers of civilisation. They are diminished by anything that increases the possibility of intelligent citizenship, that helps to secure conditions in which those who exercise political power may fit themselves for their great responsibility. Can it be denied that the efforts of the International Labour Organisation to obtain sufficient wages for the worker to enable him to maintain himself on a decent scale of living, leisure for the comprehension and exercise of his duties as a citizen, relief from the pre-occupation of uncertain employment, protection against industrial risks and their demoralising consequences, security against exploitation of women and children, are a real contribution to the basis on which the democratic structure of our country may be built?

The writer concludes by saying that the I. L. O. can not only help the Indian worker in his fight to obtain fair conditions of life and work, but that it can also contribute substantially to the establishment of a real democracy in this country.

## INDIA IN PERIODICALS

### THE POLITICAL APPRENTICESHIP OF INDIA.

By Mr. Vasudev Rao. [The Hindustan Review, Oct. 1930].

### THE ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT OF INDIA.

By Prof. P. J. Thomas. [Indian Journal of Economics, Oct. 1930].

### THE RECALL TO AN INDIAN EDUCATIONAL POLICY.

By Rev. W. Weston. [The Madras Christian College Magazine, Oct. 1930].

### THE INDIAN REFORM PROBLEM.

By the Rt. Hon. Lord Islington, G.C.M.G. [The Empire Review, November 1930].

### A NOVEL AGRICULTURAL INDUSTRY IN THE PUNJAB.

By S. Kashinera Singh, M.A. [The Khalsa Review, November 1930].

### SOME ASPECTS OF TOWN PLANNING IN ANCIENT INDIA.

By Dr. Binode Behari Dutta, M.A., Ph.D. [The Calcutta Municipal Gazette, Anniversary Number 1930].

## LORD SANKEY ON FEDERATION

Lord Sankey, Deputy Chairman of the R.T.C. has prepared a list of heads of subjects for discussion by the Federal Committee. The list which has been published is as follows:—

- (I) Component elements of the Federation.
- (II) Type of Federal Legislature and number of Chambers of which it should consist.
- (III) Powers of the Federal Legislature.
- (IV) Number of members composing the Federal Legislature and, if the Legislature is of more than one Chamber, of each Chamber and their distribution among the Federating units.
- (V) Methods by which representatives from British India and from the States are to be chosen.
- (VI) The constitution, character, powers, and responsibilities of the Federal Executive.
- (VII) Powers of the Provincial Legislatures.
- (VIII) The constitution, character, powers and responsibilities of the Provincial Executive.
- (IX) The provision to be made to secure the willing co-operation of minorities and special interests.
- (X) The question of establishing a Supreme Court and its jurisdiction.
- (XI) Defence forces.
- (XII) Relation of the Federal Executive and Provincial Executives to the Crown.

## MR. JINNAH'S FOURTEEN POINTS

### FEDERAL CONSTITUTION

Mr. Jinnah's Fourteen Points which have been the subject of considerable discussion at the Round Table Conference may be summarised as follows:—

- (1) The form of the future constitution should be federal with residuary powers vested to the provinces.
- (2) Uniform measures of autonomy should be granted to all provinces.
- (3) All legislatures of the country and other elected bodies should be constituted on the definite principle of adequate and effective representation of minorities in every province without reducing the majority in any province to a minority or even to an equality.
- (4) In the Central Legislature the Mussalman representation should not be less than one-third.
- (5) Any territorial redistribution that might at any time be necessary should not in any way affect the Muslim majority in the Punjab, Beogal and the N. W. F. Provinces.
- (6) Full religious liberty that is liberty of belief, worship, observances, propaganda, association and education should be guaranteed to all communities.

## ADVERSE LEGISLATION

(7) No bill or resolution or any part thereof should be passed in any legislature or in any other elected body, if three-fourths of the members of the Hindu or Muslim communities to that particular body oppose such a bill or resolution or part thereof on the ground that it would be injurious to the interests of that community.

(8) Sind should be separated from Bombay Presidency.

(9) Reforms should be introduced in the N. W. F. Provinces and Baluchistan on the same footing as in the other provinces.

(10) Provisions should be made in the constitution giving Muslims an adequate share along with other Indians in all the services of the State and to the self-governing bodies having due regard to the requirements of efficiency.

(11) The constitution should embody adequate safeguards for the protection of the Muslim religion, culture and personal laws and for the protection and promotion of Muslim education, language and charitable institutions and for their due share in the grants-in-aid given by the State and by self-governing bodies.

## MUSLIMS IN THE CABINET

(12) No cabinet, either central or provincial, should be formed without there being a proportion of Muslim ministers of at least one-third.

(13) No change be made in the constitution by the Central Legislature except with the concurrence of the States constituting the Indian Federation.

(14) That in the present circumstances the representation of Mussalmans in the different legislatures of the country and of the other elected bodies through separate electorates is inevitable and further the Government being pledged not to deprive the Mussalmans of this right, it cannot be taken away without their consent, and so long as the Mussalmans are not satisfied that their rights and interests are adequately safeguarded in the manner specified above they will not consent to join electorates with or without conditions.

## A CONSTITUTION FOR INDIA

A draft constitution has been prepared by Sir M. Visvevaraya, ex-Dewan of Mysore, in collaboration with Mr. K. Netarajan, Editor of THE INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER, as embodying the minimum demands of India.

Their scheme contemplates the immediate introduction of Dominion Status and the initiation of arrangements for the transfer of all departments of the Central Government to responsible Ministers within a maximum period of ten years. It provides for the entry of the Indian States into the Federal scheme immediately, for those who like to do so, and in course of time for those who are not prepared to enter the Federation immediately.

## INDIA'S DEMAND FOR DOMINION STATUS

THE RT. HON. SASTRI

The following are excerpts from the Rt Hon. Sastri's speech at the Round Table Conference :

The fear which is in the minds of many British people when they contemplate a large advance in constitutional status, is that any polity that we may construct here, or that we may lay the foundations of, may pass, as respects its machinery, into the hands of those who now belong to the Congress Party and who brought about a serious situation which led to the summoning of the Round Table Conference. I do not think the fear unreasonable; it is natural. I think we who speak for India are under the obligation to meet that fear, ought in earnest to try to convince the British people, either that the fears may be countered by cautionary measures, or that the fears have no foundation in fact. Much has been said by my friend who spoke on this side about very large and considerable sections of the population, whom Congress propaganda has not touched so far, who remain loyal to the British connection. May I add another source of comfort? Who are these people from whom we fear disturbance. No doubt, they have caused trouble so far. Are our measures here not designed to conciliate them? Are these not pacificatory steps that we are taking? Are they not calculated to win over once more their hearts to ways of loyalty and ordered progress?

There lies the strength of the situation to-day. Our "enemies" are not bad men; they are good men whom we have alienated by unfortunate political happenings. It is easy to bring them round. Let us make an honest attempt, and, by God's grace, our work shall be rewarded both here and in India.

SIR TEJ BHADUR SAPRU

In the course of his speech at the Round Table Conference Sir Tej Behadur Sapru said :

We have come here across the seas in the midst of the gibes and ridicule of our own countrymen. We have already been described in our country as traitors to the cause. We have come here in the midst of that opposition, but have brought with us the determination to argue with you, to discuss with you frankly and freely, to make our contribution to the solution of the problem, to make ourselves heard but also to hear you and to invite you to make your contribution, so that in the end we may say that those who have already forecast the future were really false prophets. In that spirit I wish to present my case before you.

No greater mistake can be made by British statesmen and my British friends—and I claim I do possess some friends among the British—than to imagine that India stands to-day where she did even ten years ago. I think the idea of the progress India has made during the last ten years could not have been better described than in the gracious words of our Sovereign on the opening day of this Conference. We have travelled a very long distance. Let that be realised. Let this time-worn theory, that we are only a band of men to be abolished for good. Mr. Jayakar and I, during the months of July, August and September, were constantly travelling from one end of the country to the other. We saw with our own eyes, we heard with our own ears, signs and cries which it would have been impossible for me or him to imagine. When I read in the English press description of the situation in India, my heart sinks.

I am not making a reference to these things with the object of frightening you. I am not holding out any threat. I am simply stating facts. I make an absolutely honest confession that, so far as I am concerned, I have realised from the beginning the grave dangers of the civil disobedience movement to my country. But while I have realised the grave dangers of that movement, I have also realised the importance of placing a true interpretation of what it really represents. I beg you on this occasion to rise superior to the small administrative view of this question and to take a broad statesmanlike view of the present you find in India.

MR. C. Y. CHINTAMANI

Mr. Chintamani in his speech at the Round Table Conference appealed to all the three British political parties to help the cause of India. Addressing the chair he reminded Mr. Ramsay MacDonald :

In the preface to your book (*THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA*) I read : "India's needs cannot be met by an adjustment here and an adjustment there. They have to be viewed in their wide sweep." In 1928, presiding at the British Commonwealth Labor Conference in London you said : "I hope that within a period of months rather than years there will be a new Dominion to the Commonwealth of our Nations, a Dominion of another race, a Dominion that will find self-respect as an equal within the British Commonwealth. I refer to India." And your Party, in 1929, on the eve of the election, said—and this is what your Party is committed to : "The Labor Party believes in the right of the Indian people to Self-Government and Self-Determination, and the policy of the Labor Government would be one of continuous co-operation with them with the object of establishing India at the earliest possible moment, and by her consent, as an equal partner with the other members of the British Commonwealth of Nations."



## THE STATES' DEMAND

In a letter to THE MANCHESTER GUARDIAN, Col. Haksar pleads that a federation is the only form of Government for all-India that is likely at present to appeal to the States and suggests that such a constitution will appeal also to British India and, if adopted now, will be not merely workable but will be worked by the States and the provinces alike in a way that no unitary constitution can ever hope to be.

Col. Haksar says that the States see clearly that a federal legislature and executive dealing with nations of common concern to British and Indian India could hardly be so neglectful of the latter's interests as is the Government of India as now constituted.

The idea is also likely to be attractive to British India since, without such federal institutions a United India is impossible and without a United India, Dominion Status is unachievable.

British India will have to surrender some authority at present exercised on her behalf by the Government, with whom she is out of sympathy since the States cannot be expected to enter any Federation except on the basis of co-equal partnership.

## PRINCES' TERMS FOR FEDERATION

The States' Delegation to the Round Table Conference have made considerable progress with their Federation Scheme, and consultations have occurred, sometimes among themselves and sometimes with British Indians. Although no final scheme has been shaped the Princes have practically decided on some lines on which they are to proceed, including:

- (1) The desirability of all States joining the Federation,
- (2) Equal representation with British India,
- (3) Necessity of representation of States in the Federal Ministry,
- (4) Leaving Defence and Foreign Relations outside the scope of the Federal Parlia-

ment, and only matters of common concern to be dealt with by the Federal Executive and Legislature and

## (5) The establishment of a Supreme Court.

The report drawn up by Ministers is now being revised by an enlarged committee. There is no idea at present of drawing up a comprehensive scheme, but whatever decisions may be reached will be regarded as a guide for negotiation with other parties.

There are indications that efforts will be made to raise questions concerning States subjects. Questions like freedom of speech, Habeas Corpus, the establishment of popular Legislatures, the limitation of the privy purse and fixing a Prince's civil list, which will interest both Princes and their subjects, will be raised, and, it is expected, that the Princes will be requested to formulate definite answers.

## THE NIZAM'S ARMY

In pursuance of a *firman* issued by the H. E. H. the Nizam, the Hyderabad State Army is now being reorganised in accordance with a carefully drawn up scheme. Part of the scheme, which is now being given effect to, has been prepared by Commander Nawab Osman Yar-ud-Dowla and is confined to the formation of new units with the existing personnel and does not entail any financial or numerical increase.

The Army will now consist of:—

The Hyderabad Imperial Service Lancers.

The Golconda Lancers

The Cavalry Training Corps

The Bodyguards Squadron

"A" Battery, Horse Artillery

"B" Battery, Nizam's Field Artillery

The Nizam's Own Infantry

The 2nd Asafnagar Infantry

The 3rd Saifabad Infantry

The 4th Golconda Infantry

The Infantry Training Company

The Arab Palace Guards

## INDIANS IN AFRICA

Mr. S. A. Waiz, Secretary of the Imperial Indian Citizenship Association recently visited Simla and had an interview with the Hon. Sir Fazli Hussain, the member of the Government of India in charge of the portfolio on questions affecting Indians overseas. In particular he called Sir Fazli Hussain's attention to the situation in South Africa and East Africa. The Hon. Member gave Mr. Waiz a statement in the course of which he said:—

## SOUTH AFRICA

"Early in February, 1930, the Union Government, as a result of a number of recent judicial pronouncements, set up a Select Committee of the House of Assembly to enquire into these questions and to propose such legislation as it might deem fit. The Government of India have always been conscious of the importance of Indian interests involved, and it was for this reason that they deputed Mr. J. D. Tyson, who was at the time Secretary to their first Agent—the Rt. Hon. V. S. Saxty—in South Africa, to make suitable representations to the Committee in regard to the safeguarding of legitimate interests of the Indian population and to give the Indian community such assistance as it might need for placing its views before the Committee. As you know, the Committee's report, together with its conclusions, which were embodied in a Bill, were placed on the Table of the Legislative Assembly of the Union on the 13th May and the Bill was read for the first time on the 14th of that month. As soon as the Select Committee's report and draft Bill reached the Government of India, they represented to the Union Government that they should be allowed adequate time to examine carefully the far-reaching provisions of this measure. Our representations met with a favourable response and it was decided to postpone further consideration of the Bill until the following session of the Union Parliament which is all probably will commence in January next. The spirit in which our request was met was but another indication of the friendly relations that had been established by the Cape Town Conference. Our Agent in South Africa has been and is hard at work, discussing the Bill with Indians and others, formulating views and reporting us the situation as it develops from time to time. We sought last July the advice of the Standing Emigration Committee of both Houses of the Indian Legislature on the provisions of the Bill. The advice given by them has been found most valuable and every endeavour is being made to prepare the Indian case as thoroughly as possible."

Sir Fazli Hussain then goes on to say that the delegates of India at the Imperial Conference have availed themselves of the opportunity to discuss the situation informally with General Hertzog in London and express the hope that friendly negotiations will bring about a satisfactory settlement honourable and equitable to the Indians in the Transvaal.

## EAST AFRICA

As regards East Africa, Sir Fazli Hussain points out that the conclusions of His Majesty's Government which are set forth in the white paper issued in June last, represent a considerable advance on the former position.

The Indian community has always attached great importance to the principle of a common electoral roll, and the Government of India have always lent their full support to this view. We still adhere to the opinions expressed in this regard on former occasions and, therefore, naturally welcome the declaration that the establishment of a common roll is the object to be aimed at and attained, with an equal franchise of a civilisation or education character open to all races. The proposal to leave the constitution of the Kenya Legislative Council substantially unaltered is also satisfactory. As regards the scheme of Closer Union, I am aware that apprehensions are entertained in certain quarters that if the three territories of Kenya, Uganda and Tanganyika are brought together for purposes of administration, the spirit of Kenya white settlers, which is one of political domination, might prevail on account of their number and influence and that in particular the interests of Indians in Tanganyika, which is administered under a Mandate, might be affected prejudicially. We shall arrange to apprise the Joint Select Committee of Parliament, when it is constituted, of the views of the Indian community on all these matters. We are told that it will be for the committee itself to decide what procedure it should adopt in regard to the fulfilment of the task to be entrusted to it. When that procedure has been decided, we shall take steps to see that our views are placed before the Committee in the most suitable manner.

Referring to certain recent speeches made in South Africa and in London Sir Fazli Hussain says:—

I can very well understand that the reports (as they appeared in the press) of the speeches having caused great dismay to Indians. I myself felt astonished and, to be frank, horrified at some of the sentiments as reported in the Press, and only hope that the full speeches will show that the effect produced in the minds of the readers was due to certain passages having been divorced from their context. I am reluctant to believe that in view of the great world movements of thought on these subjects, any of the great Democracies would be prepared to sanction what would seem from the telegraphed reports to be so serious a departure from the principles of British justice and fairplay that have been more than once enunciated by His Majesty's Government.

Though our task of safeguarding the interests of Indians overseas is one of very great difficulty and delicacy, it is one on which as a rule not only Indian opinion is united, but on which Indian public opinion is reflected in the views the Government of India formulate. Your Association may rest assured of our continued vigilance and of our determination to do all we can to promote the interests of overseas. We know the righteousness of our cause and feel confident that when this is brought to the notice of the statesman or whom rests the responsibility for these matters, they will recognise its justice.

## BRITISH COMMERCIAL INTERESTS

Mr. Huseinbhai Lalji, President of the Bombay merchants' chamber, speaking at its last quarterly meeting on Nov. 15th observed:—

It has been several times claimed by the British commercial community here that they have benefited this country to a very large extent. It is true that they have started some big factories and carried on a large business. The acid test is whether these activities have been started for the economic salvation of India, and, if so, may I ask them if they have at any time co-operated with the leaders of Indian public opinion and leaders of Indian trade and industries with reference to the industrial development of the country? Have they helped the building up, on sure and stable foundations, of such Indian Industries as may be considered "key" industries? In their evidence before the Tariff Board with regard to the several enquiries instituted by this body, have they pressed for industrialization on a much larger scale in this country, and asked for definite and liberal protection to Indian industries? What was their attitude with regard to State-management of railways, a question on which the whole of the Indian commercial community was united? Answers to these questions will clearly show whether the British Commercial community in this country has really stood for the development of Indian trade and industries, and has worked for India's economic regeneration.

## SWADESHI, AN ARTICLE OF FAITH

The sacrifice and suffering of sixty-three thousand Indians including Mahatma Gandhi, the high priest of Nationalism will go in vain if we do not take Swadeshi as an article of faith, urged Mrs. Dharmvir, an English lady by birth opening the Swadeshi Bazaar at Lahore. They should feel ashamed she said, that they still felt the need of opening a swadeshi bazaar at this critical juncture of India's history.

## A RESERVE BANK FOR INDIA

"If the civil disobedience movement continues Provincial Governments might find themselves at the dawn of a new constitutional day, so crippled in material resources that they will be powerless to undertake any constructive programme," said Sir George Schuster, Finance Member, Government of India, in the course of a speech to a Conference of Finance Secretaries at Simla. Sir George mentioned the steps India should take not only for her own prosperity, but for the benefit of the world. What the country requires, he said, is the foundation of a sound central or federal Reserve Bank which, based on national support, would co-operate with the central banks of the world in a sound currency policy. He ascribed the present low prices in India to the extremely difficult conditions created by the political situation in Bombay, and emphasised that the country might gain greatly from co-operation with the British Empire.

## DECLINE OF BRITISH EXPORTS

In the House of Commons, replying to Commander Kenworthy, Mr. Benn said that the boycott of British goods in India was weakening throughout India generally but was still effective in Bombay. He was circulating figures showing the falling off in British exports to India which showed in September quarter a decline of 43.6 per cent. compared with 1929. The decline in British exports to places abroad was 25.8 per cent.

## LANCASHIRE MERGER

The scheme is nearing completion for the formation of another big amalgamation of Lancashire cotton trade. The merger will affect about fifty spinning mills controlling 4,000,000 spindles in the coarse spinning section of the industry in Rochdale and Oldham Districts. The amalgamation is expected to be the second largest combine in the Lancashire cotton industry.

## THE JUTE CRISIS

The Deputation of Zemindars, headed by the Maharaja Tagore which waited upon His Excellency the Governor of Bengal recently at Darjeeling in connection with the jute crisis, has issued a statement with His Excellency's approval.

It says that Government will distribute loans amongst the cultivators wherever justified, for their subsistence during the period of distress and for the purchase of agricultural implements and seeds.

It is further stated that Government will initiate propagands to enlighten the cultivating classes on the present situation and to impress upon them the necessity of drastic restriction in the area to be sown during the coming year.

## AGRICULTURE IN INDIA

"I am very much interested in agriculture and fascinated beyond measure at the things I have seen in India, especially her villages. Most certainly I should think India to be one of the richest countries in the world if one were to take into consideration the material that is available for working the enormous resources that are or seem to be as yet not even looked into" said Professor Fraecls B. Sayre, son-in-law of the late President Woodrow Wilson in the course of a recent interview at Allahabad.

"I spent a perfect day at Naini" continued Prof. Sayre, "visiting the Central Jail and later, saw Higginbottom's Agricultural Institute. If you could have farms and agricultural institutes like that and people took more living interest in them, India will change and change too as she has never done before. The point is to make your grain and cereal and crop grow to double their present size and without much expense."

Asked as to how this was to be achieved and whether he was for large scale extensive farming with tractors and grain elevators, as in U.S.A. or out in Russia, Prof Sayre said: "No, No. What I mean is more intensive cultivation with small

modern improvements in labour and machinery. The present state of cultivation in India and the agricultural implements used in the same are, according to him too primitive for words, but he is very hopeful of agriculturists here. "What the agriculturist wants is a little guidance and instruction and change of outlook. Then you will have a different India. That is what I feel", concluded the professor of International Law, who takes practical interest in agriculture and the living realities around him.

## TREATMENT OF CATTLE DISEASES

A preventive treatment, entirely new to Britain has just been begun by the Ministry of Agriculture in an attempt to check the spread of foot and mouth disease, and to minimise the slaughter of animals which, in six years, is estimated to have cost the taxpayer about £5,000,000 in compensation to farmers. The treatment is an injection of a serum under the skin of animals which have been in contact with sufferers or exposed to the danger of infection, says a report in THE CEYLON OBSERVER. It has the effect of immunising the animal so treated for 10 days, during which their yards and stables can be disinfected. The treatment is at present being given under conditions of secrecy at one of the three centres where there is an outbreak of the disease. One is at Pirbright, Surrey, another is near Leeds, and the third is at Stokesley, near Darlington.

## SCHOLARSHIPS FOR AGRICULTURE

The Madras Government have sanctioned the deputation of six students for three years to the Agricultural College, Coimbatore, with scholarships of Rs. 25 each per mensem, if necessary, with effect from July 1930 and of two students per annum in subsequent years until further orders. The candidates should as far as possible be men domiciled in the Agency tracts. The Director of Agriculture will select the candidates and decide on the necessity of the scholarships in consultation with the Agents.

## RADIO-THERAPY

In presenting their first annual report the National Radium Trust and the Radium Commission set forth their plans for the future, urge the need for a larger number of practitioners, fully qualified to practise radio-therapy, and issue a word of warning against "the creation of false hopes" in estimating the value and efficacy of radium in the treatment of malignant diseases.

"Radium," it is remarked, "is not yet established as a 'cure' for cancer; while it holds out a good promise of beneficial results and certainly of alleviation of suffering, it is at present a very dangerous weapon and one which unless used with the greatest skill, care and precaution may easily be productive of more harm than good."

## HEARING FOR THE DEAF

"I have studied more than 4,300 cases," says Dr. Marcel Vigneron, of New York University, "and not one was totally deaf." When hearing is impaired by illness most people stop using their ears, and deafness increases, whereas proper exercise, as he has demonstrated, tends to restore the injured organs, just as an injured arm may be restored by exercise. Television also may prove helpful, to a limited degree, to deaf persons. Seeing each other at opposite ends of a two-mile line in laboratories of the American Telephone and Telegraph Company, two totally deaf persons carried on a conversation by reading the movements of each other's lips.

## RAMAKRISHNA MISSION HOSPITAL

The Ramakrishna Mission has established in Rangoon a free hospital which has been giving medical aid to thousands every year, the total number of patients during 1929 being 1,31,010. The ninth annual report of the institution shows that the Sevashrama receives considerable financial help from the Rangoon Corporation which granted about Rs. 6,000 during 1929 for repairing some of the existing wards and building additional ones.

## INDIAN HOSPITAL IN LONDON

A scheme for establishing an Indian Hospital in London was launched at a reception held at Veeraswamy's Restaurant by the Indian Medical Association (of Great Britain) and Dr. Irving C. De Silva. The scheme was cordially supported by the delegates to the Round Table Conference and the Indian Doctors in England. It is proposed to start a hospital with 40 beds, a proportion of which will be reserved for Indians. It is proposed to provide Indian post-graduates with appointments, train Indian women as nurses and give Indian doctors facilities for specialisation and research. The initial capital expenses are estimated at £12,500 and the recurring annual expenses for the first few years will be £4,500.

## DRUGS INQUIRY COMMITTEE

Lieutenant-Colonel C. A. P. Hingston, Superintendent of the Maternity Hospital and Professor of Midwifery in the Medical College, Madras, in the course of his evidence before the Drugs Inquiry said that there ought to be some legislation Committee to control the potency and purity of drugs and chemicals manufactured locally and imported from abroad. Special boards should be formed to test such drugs coming on the market to see that they came up to the standard. He also expressed the opinion that all dispensaries should have qualified chemists to dispense their drugs.

## TUBERCULOSIS CURE

The Aga Khan presiding over a meeting at the Ritz Hotel, London on the 9th Dec. announced that the test of Späthlinger vaccine for the immunisation of cattle against Tuberculosis conducted by the Norfolk supervision Committee of Control had proved its efficacy beyond doubt.

Signatories to the document attesting to the value of Späthlinger's work include the Aga Khan, Marquess of Crewe, Dr. Shiels, Sir Archibald Weibull, Sir Arthur Stanley and Mr. Gilbey.

## SIR C. V. RAMAN

On the eve of his departure to Europe Sir C. V. Raman delivered an interesting lecture on the "Scattering of light" in the Sir Cowaji Jehangir Hall, Bombay, on November 19.

Justice Mirza, Vice-Chancellor, Bombay University, presided. Distinguished among those present were Justice Madgavkar and Dr. Meldrum, Principal, Royal Institute of Science.

The Vice-Chancellor, in his opening remarks, congratulated Sir C. V. Raman on the distinction that he had earned by winning the Nobel Prize, and thus adding lustre to India. "We are all proud of Sir C. V. Raman, who has brought the Nobel prize to India a second time."

Sir C. V. Raman after thanking the President for the kind sentiments observed that Science was an international subject, in which there was no division of caste or creed. All Science-men were fellow-workers in a common cause, fellow-servants in the search for Truth. He supplemented his lecture with interesting slides. Sir C. V. Raman showed on the screen, a picture of Prof. R. W. Wood, famous American Scientist, snapped in his laboratory conducting experiments and producing anti-strokes in Raman lines of Benzene. The picture produced by Prof. Wood, was a unique tribute to India. Sir C. V. Raman narrated how he and his students successfully challenged the 19th century physicists' description of light as some kind of electro-magnetic wave. Sir C. V. Raman said his experiments had built a bridge between Chemistry and Physics, which enabled one to ascertain and distinguish between different kinds of chemical forces.

Sir C. V. Raman reached Stockholm on December 10th. King Gustav and other members of the Royal family were in a distinguished gathering at Concert House, Stockholm on the occasion of the presentation of the Nobel Prizes on the same day.

After an address by the President of the Nobel Foundation and a musical intermezzo by the Stockholm Philharmonic Orchestra, the President of Committee for Physics delivered a short lecture on the importance of Sir C. V. Raman's scientific work, and the King presented the distinguished Madras with the prize amidst great applause.

## DR. BOSE ON THE ASCENT OF LIFE

"From plant to animal we thus follow the long stairway of the ascent of life. The barriers which separated the kindred phenomena are now thrown down, plant and animal life being found to be multiple unity in the single ocean of being. In realising this is the sense of final mystery of things lessened or deepened. Science cannot but waken in us a deeper sense of awe and her own advances gain for us a step in that stairway of rock which all must climb who desire to look from the mountain tops of the spirit upon the promised land of Truth," said Sir Jagadish Chandra Bose enunciating some of his principal discoveries at the anniversary meeting of the Bose Institute at Calcutta on the 1st Dec.

Among other striking experiments it was astonishing to watch the plants supposed to be without any rhythmic activity recording their pulse beat which was unaffected by drugs as the pulse beat of the animal heart. No less startling was demonstration of the movement of sap in the plants which was shown not only to ascend upwards but could also under special circumstances be made to descend downwards.

## INDIAN SCIENTISTS IN CONFERENCE

The eleventh annual meeting of the South Indian Science Association concluded its three days' programme at Bangalore on the 17th Nov. Dr. W. E. Watson presiding.

The proceedings which were mostly in the Committee, concluded with a presentation address to Sir C. V. Raman on the latter's proud achievements in Science.

## TAGORE'S MESSAGE

In a message delivered to the New York Press Association Sir Rabindranath Tagore is reported to have said :—

"I am proud my countrymen to-day, under their great leader Mahatma Gandhi, have disdained to imitate violent methods of modern military nations in their struggle for freedom but



SIR RABINDRANATH TAGORE

made moral integrity and spirit of sacrifice the directive power of their non-violent movement. By accepting spiritual force as their chief weapon, they have already proved their superiority to the primitive mentality of unashamed pillage and manslaughter which persists in most countries to-day and I have no doubt that if our countrymen can keep fast to this heroism of non-violence, in spite of violent provocation they will have no difficulty in establishing the freedom which is already theirs in so far as they are true to their central ideal.

I can tell you that the whole world to-day recognises the greatness of India's spiritual struggle for liberty. India has proved that human history has come to a stage when moral force has to be acknowledged even by politics."

## THE PUBLISHER'S CHOICE

Lieutenant-Colonel John Murray, D.S.O., head of the great publishing firm of Mr. John Murray, addressing the Librarians' Conference on the subject of publishing said :

"Really the publisher is an ordinary business man with a liking for literature, pursuing an honourable trade and, we hope, conscious of its responsibilities. A bad book published can do unlimited harm.

"Naturally a publisher wants good books which sell well—but that is not too easy to attain. Books from a publisher's point of view may be classed as those which he knows are good and which he knows will sell well, and those which are bad and which he knows will not sell well. Between these come the books which he knows to be good but won't sell well, those which he knows to be bad but will sell well, and those which he would quite like to have on his list but is very doubtful of the prospects.

"A publisher should bring out some good books *pro bono publico* even though he does not expect them to sell well.

"A publisher wants to be a prophet, he usually only succeeds in being a gambler—especially in these days of high prices demanded.

"How does he get what he wants?

"It may be said that some publishers are born with books, some achieve books, and all have books thrust upon them."

## PUNJAB LITERARY LEAGUE

"Guru Bernard Shaw" is how G. B. S. has subscribed himself in a letter of good wishes to the Punjab Literary League.

The Punjab Literary League was started at Lahore for the dissemination of literature and art. A number of messages of welcome, goodwill and co-operation from a number of eminent continental literary men of world-wide reputation like Mr. Bernard Shaw, Prof. Gilbert Murray and John Galsworthy has been received.

## ANDHRA UNIVERSITY CONVOCATION

MR. ALLADI KRISHNASWAMI AYYAR'S ADDRESS

In the course of his Convocation Address to the Andhra University, Dewan Bahadur Alladi Krishnaswami Ayyar, B.A., B.L., Advocate General, Madras, said :—

"The universities are no longer to be merely places of polite and genteel learning. They have to be the "reservoirs of the intellectual forces of the nation and the clearing house of intellectual ideas." The State can no longer stand aloof from



MR. ALLADI KRISHNASWAMI AYYAR

the universities but must place unreservedly its resources without in any way impairing the academic freedom which is the breath and nostril of a true university. The universities in their turn owe a duty to the tax-payer to bring themselves into intimate touch with the life of a nation and to satisfy the moral, intellectual and practical needs of a society. There is no subject which can be ruled out of the category of university subjects and of university instruction. The humanities, pure science, science in its application to industry, have all a claim upon the universities \* \* \*

The graduate of a university must realise that he is under a triple duty. He owes a duty to himself, a duty to those less fortunately circumstanced than himself, a duty to the society of which he is a member and to his country. As for himself, he must start life with the feeling that his education really commences with his degree. Education is a process, not a curriculum or the completion of a curriculum. The unfolding of the human mind is a continuous evolution and the search for the truth is never complete. Secondly, the educated man owes a duty to spread the light that is vouchsafed to him to others less fortunate than himself. He must put back into the pool a bit of what he has got. In the case of a good number of you, I know that your education is the result of supreme self-sacrifice on the part of your parents who had to stint even the necessities of life.

Realise that it is an accident that you have been given a chance in life which has been denied to most others similarly circumstanced like you. Thirdly, you must make a point of giving of your best to the service of your country and be able to help the development of a higher type of society, and you must be inspired by the lofty ideal of leaving the world at the end of your career richer and better than you found it. While it is your duty to cultivate a lofty patriotism, while you may be zealous of your self-respect and a certain manliness in dealing with others, I appeal to you not to fall a victim to communal rancour or factional fight. In public life, beware you do not appeal to the lower instincts of your fellow beings; but cultivate a broad humanism which is above caste, creed and race.

## CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY

The Senate of the Calcutta University at its recent meeting passed a resolution protesting against the proposal for withdrawal of Government grants amounting to Rs. 1,29,000 to different colleges.



### SENTENCE ON MR. BRELVI

Found guilty under Section 17 (1) of the Criminal Law Amendment Act on two charges, for publishing the "Jawahar Day" programme of the Bombay "War Council" Mr. S. A. Brelvi, Editor of the BOMBAY CHRONICLE was sentenced to five months' simple imprisonment and a fine of Rs. 250 or in the alternative, to six weeks' further imprisonment by Mr. Khandalawala.

Mr. S. P. Kapadia, printer and publisher of the paper was awarded five months' simple imprisonment and a fine of Rs. 150, or in default six weeks' further imprisonment.

The case arose out of the publication in the BOMBAY CHRONICLE, of November 15 and 16 of the "Jawahar Day" programme as arranged by the "War Council" of the B.P.C.C.

Mr. Brelvi, who was undefended took no part in the proceedings.

### JUVENILE COURT IN MADRAS

It has been decided to establish a juvenile court in the Madras City under Section 30 of the Madras Children's Act consisting of a salaried Magistrate and an Honorary Magistrate. The question of establishing similar courts in the districts will be considered later after gaining experience in the working of the new court in the City. It is understood that police officers attending this court will be required to wear ordinary dress.

### WHIPPING OF PICKETS

"Whipping under the Picketing Ordinance is illegal." This was the opinion given by Mr. T. J. Y. Roxburgh, Chief Presidency Magistrate of Calcutta on Nov. 1, when it was brought to his notice that the Ordinance did not provide for any such punishment.

The Magistrate added that no such punishment would be inflicted in future upon offenders convicted of picketing.

### ILLEGAL PROCEDURE

"The whole procedure of the police has been vitiated by wrongful trespass and other irregularities", remarked Mr. Kunja Behari Roy, Sub-Judge in disposing of a civil suit brought by Mr. Lachin Mea and several other Moslems against Sub-Inspector Gopal Chandra Phockau (now Inspector of Police in Silchar), Inspector Bipin Bihari Das, Sub-Inspector Abhya Charan Sarna (since degraded) and eleven other police officers, Panchayets and village chowkidars, seeking to recover damage of Rs. 3,000 from the defendants which had been decreed with costs. It was alleged that the plaintiffs had been illegally arrested and assaulted.

### A HIGH COURT REVERSAL

The Calcutta High Court has set aside the order under Sec. 144 issued on Mr. B. N. Sasmal prohibiting him from entering Midnapur district.



LADY CHATTERJEE

Lady Chatterjee, the wife of the High Commissioner for India, is among the candidates who have passed in Hindu and Muslim law in the Michaelmas Bar examination.

## LATE SIR P. RAMANATHAN

Sir P. Ramanathau, the distinguished Indian leader of Ceylon whose death occurred on the 28th ultimo at his residence in Colombo, was very near completing his four score years. Sir Ponnambalam, says a contemporary, was a widely travelled and highly cultured gentleman who had



SIR P. RAMANATHAN

taken a most active part in the public life of his country. He held very distinguished offices and rendered conspicuous service to his country. He was a member of the board of education for long years and acted three times as Attorney-General of Ceylon. He was an active member of the Ceylon University Council. He built and endowed in 1913 a residential college in Jaffna for Hindu girls. He also opened another college later on for boys. He had written several treatises on philosophy, religion and ethnology.

## PANDIT MOTILAL NEHRU

Pandit Motilal Nehru, President of the Indian National Congress, accompanied by his daughter, Kumari Krishna Nehru and his personal physician Dr. Atal, arrived in Calcutta on the 18th November, for treatment of his ailments. He was X-rayed at Chittaranjan Seva Sadan and subsequently examined by Sir Nilratan Sircar, Dr. J. M. Das Gupta, Dr. A. G. Ukil, Dr. Jihraj Mehta and by Dr. Bidhan Chandra Roy, who, by special arrangement, was permitted to leave Alipur Jail for a few hours. Pandit Motilal has been advised sea-voyage for a change.

## THE ARREST OF WOMEN

Two women of the Nehru family were arrested on a charge of being members of an unlawful assembly in connexion with a women's procession at Allahabad in the first week of November. They are Miss Shyam Kumari Nehru, an Advocate of the High Court, and Miss Krishna Nehru, the younger daughter of Pandit Motilal Nehru. Miss Shyam Kumari Nehru, and Miss Krishna Nehru, were tried and sentenced to pay a fine of Rs. 50 or, in default, to undergo one month's simple imprisonment. They declined to pay the fine; but in the meanwhile someone had paid and the ladies were freed.

## LORD HARDINGE

Lord Hardinge, ex-Viceroy of India, arrived in Bombay on the 25th of last month; by the "Viceroy of India" and has visited Hyderabad, Mysore, Madras and other cities.

Interviewed by THE TIMES OF INDIA, Lord Hardinge stated that the object of his visit to India was to meet his old friends and see New Delhi, and that it had no political significance whatsoever.

Lord Hardinge will remain in India for three months.

## THE R. T. C. COMMITTEES' PROGRESS

The special correspondent of the LEADER cables from London under date Dec. 9, that the Round Table Conference will adjourn on Dec. 23 for four days and will resume immediately after the Christmas holidays with a view to complete work by the middle of January at the latest.

It is expected that a minorities committee, probably presided over by Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, a defence committee presided over by Mr. Thomas, and a public services committee presided over by Mr. Lees-Smith will shortly be set up.

The chances of a Hindu-Mahomedan settlement do not seem to be bright; for as we go to press we learn that the informal Conference of Hindu-Muslim leaders at Chequers has proved inconclusive. Further efforts are, however, being made by the Nawab of Bhopal and the Liberal leaders who have formulated fresh proposals containing their maximum concessions.

At the meeting of the Committee on the 8th. Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru directly raised the question of the legislative powers of the central legislature, urging the removal of the present limitations. He also emphasized the desirability of the princes making the federation real by agreeing to administrative co-ordination in the central federal services. Sir Muhammad Shafi generally supported him.

The basis for an All-India Federation has been laid down by the Sub-Committee of the Round Table Conference whose interim report has been published. It recognises that all the parties will have to make many sacrifices for the sake of a larger unity, specially in the case of States.

The report contemplates a two-chambered federal Legislature, its enactments having full force and effect throughout the units comprising the federation. Certain points, such as the position of the Crown, have been left over for further examination.

The report of the Burma sub-committee contains six conclusions. They relate to the acceptance by Government of the principle of separation coupled with a declaration that Burma's constitutional advance will not be prejudiced, to the interests of the minorities, finance, defence, the administration of central subjects and a trade convention.

Mr. H. P. Mody and Mr. Shiva Rao record that they are unable to endorse the first recommendation relating to a Government announcement without qualification.



SIR PHILIP CHETWODE

The New Commander-in-Chief who took charge of his office at Delhi on November 29th. Sir Wm. Birdwood the retiring Com-in-Chief sailed for England the same day

### HOBBS ON CRICKETERS

Hobbs who is now in India, with Sutcliffe at the invitation of the Mahataj Kumar of Vizianagaram, was asked his opinion about many well-known



MR J. B. HOBBS

players and, while he kept reserved in most cases, he spoke very highly of Frank Tarrant, the famous Australian and Middlesex cricketer who has now



MR. H. SUTCLIFFE

retired. While he was talking about Frank Tarrant one of the spectators interrupted and asked if he had seen the much talked of fast

bowler Gilbert, the aborigine of Queensland, whose deliveries are so fast that batsmen cannot follow the ball. Hobbs turned round, smiled and said: "No I have not seen him and if critics of his game mean what they say about this new bowler's express deliveries, this aborigine bowler is either in a class by himself or must be playing at night."

### BRITISH MOTORIST'S FEAT

Jack Dunfee, British holder of World's 200 Miles Speed records for all types of cars, with the assistance of Dudley Froy, broke five more records on the Montlhery Track in Paris. Driving a three-litre British Sunbeam, he covered over 330 miles in three hours and averaged 117.20 miles an hour for the first fifty miles. Dunfee beat the existing three hours' record by over five miles an hour.

### GERMAN SPORTS CLUB

The number of active members of German sport clubs was, on August 11, 631,000 and supporting members 4,265,000. These numbers together form 34 per cent. of the population against some 7 per cent. before the War. Germany had in August 31 Stadia or more than all other continental countries put together.

### SCHNEIDER TROPHY RACE

It was announced by the International Aeronautical Federation, after a meeting in Paris on Dec. 12th, that an agreement had been reached between the Aero Clubs of Britain and France and Italy regarding the entries for the next year's Schneider Trophy Race. This means that the contest will definitely be held next year in British waters, probably in the Solent.

### DEATH OF FAMOUS CRICKETER

J. T. Tyldesley (57) the famous Lancashire and England Cricketer, died on the 27th of last month. He played for England in the Test matches 26 times against Australia and five times against South Africa.

### Mr. CHURCHILL'S INDISCRETIONS

Mr. Winston Churchill has again made one of his blazing indiscretions; this time, a thoroughly wicked and ill-timed speech on India. The



Mr. RAMSAY MACDONALD

speech has been denounced by responsible men of all parties. The *Times*, in the course of a leading article, says that "Mr. Churchill is no more representative of the Conservative party than the assassins of Calcutta represent Indian delegates to the Round Table Conference and his speech will have just as little influence on British policy." The paper goes on to observe that Mr. Churchill has learnt nothing and forgotten nothing and that he still remains the same ignorant but omniscient subaltern of 1896. The *News-Chronicle* calls on Mr. Baldwin to disown the views of his erstwhile colleague; and the Maharajah of Bikanir joins the chorus of denunciations with a statement in which he says it is not statesmanship to dream that India could be content with permanent subordination to a bureaucratic system of Government or be held in subjection by a policy of blood and iron.

The Prime Minister, speaking at Reading under the auspices of the Indian Empire Society called the speech "mischievous from beginning to end." The Premier said:—

Yesterday Mr. Churchill showed neither wisdom nor discretion. Everybody knows—I do not care whether you agree or disagree with us—everybody knows that in process of time, on account of our education, the education we have given them, on account of our giving them political literature—the speeches of Edmund Burke, chapters of Macaulay's history, political essays by the late John Morley and so on—we have brought the Indian people, however mixed as they are consisting of a variety of strata as they do, composed to such a large extent of religious communities which do not mix, nevertheless, we have brought that people up to such political consciousness that they have become aware of the fact that self-respect alone compels them to accordance with our education and example to ask from us a much larger measure of self-government than they have had hitherto.

As always happens—on this occasion there are people who would run too fast—as always happens, on this occasion there are conflicts between idealistic pioneers and the more static governing powers of the country, and to-day, we have boycotts which I believe are unnecessary. We have political agitators and law-breaking which I believe, so far from helping us to give self-government, are only putting impediments in our way, but nevertheless, a practical statesman keeps his head cool and takes an objective not a subjective view of his problem. . . .

They have come to discuss with us a means to a further political evolution. The Viceroy, one of the greatest Indis has over had, is supporting this movement as a matter of wisdom and not as a politician. The Viceroy who controls the situation is not a Labour man. He is not a Liberal He is a Tory. There is no political party principle involved in this matter, and at this moment, when the Conference is on, when the Mussalmans, Sikhs, Hindu, depressed class, Indian Christian and British commercial representatives are all sitting round tables and stating their causes and exchanging views, Mr. Churchill selects this moment to make a speech mischievous from beginning to end, with no constructive idea or proposal to it and expressive of nothing except the antiquated relationship between the Imperial authority and the people who came under its sway, which was blind to every modern movement in politics and still-acked with regard to the handling of people whom we ourselves had enlightened in political affairs and aspirations.

How the Congress, how the elements in India who wish this Conference to fail, how the elements in India who have been fading during the last four or five weeks the handling of the Conference has been so good that they are ceasing to have the driving power of lawlessness, how to-day, they must have blessed Mr. Churchill for giving them an opportunity for rousing up prejudices in India again against the British Raj?

We will leave Mr. Churchill alone. I think we have got such a good hold over Indian opinion that we can even afford to allow Mr. Churchill to make the speech he did yesterday, but if he will take my advice he will not repeat it.

# Diary of the Month

- Nov. 17. 218 Persons are arrested in Delhi in connection with the "Jawahar Day."
- Nov. 18. The Governor opens the Madras Legislative Council.
- Nov. 19. Lala Dunichand and Pandit Santanam, Lahore Congress leaders, are re-arrested.
- Nov. 20. The Late Lajpat Rai's daughter is sentenced to six months' S. I. in Lahore.
- Nov. 21. Sir Oswald Mosley defies official Labour programme.
- Nov. 22. Mr. Jairamdas Doulatram is sentenced to six months' R. I.
- Nov. 23. Mrs. Saraladevi Ambalal, Gujarat "Dictator" is fined Rs. 1,000.
- Nov. 24. Mr. Brelvi of the BOMBAY CHRONICLE and Mr. Sadanand of the FREE PRESS are arrested in Bombay.
- Nov. 25. Mr. Mahadev Desai is arrested under the Criminal Law Amendment Act.
- Nov. 26. The Bombay Government decide on the deportation of Mr. Manilal Kothari.

- Nov. 28. 259 are killed in an earthquake bayoc in Japan.
- Nov. 29. Indian Hospital scheme in London is launched and R. T. C. Delegates promise help.
- Nov. 30. Sir Grame Thomson, Governor of Nigeria, is appointed Governor of Ceylon.
- Dec. 1. Mr. Brelvi, Editor of the BOMBAY CHRONICLE is sentenced to 5 months' S. I. and Rs. 250 fine.
- Dec. 2. Kaka Kelekar states that Gandhiji has given up milk and curds.
- Dec. 3. Mr. Thakkar's appeal against the order of re-trial in his case is dismissed by the Bombay High Court.
- Dec. 4. Two students are injured in Delhi in a Bomb explosion.
- Dec. 5. Hundred persons are injured in a lathi charge in Benares.
- Dec. 6. R-101 Enquiry concludes.
- Dec. 7. Sirdar Vallabhai Patel is arrested in Ahmedabad.
- Dec. 8. Lt.-Col. Simpson, Inspector-General of Prisons, (Bengal) is shot dead.
- Dec. 9. The Calcutta High Court holds the Police Commissioner's ban on processions in the city as illegal.
- Dec. 10. Mr. K. M. Munshi breaks a fifty-four hours' fast.
- Dec. 11. Sir S. M. Chitnavis is re-elected President of the C. P. Council.
- Dec. 12. Mrs. Rajpati Kaul (mother-in-law of Jawaharlal Nehru) is arrested.
- Dec. 13. Rajkot authorities ban the entry of Manilal Kothari.
- Dec. 14. Anglo-Swedish Society holds a reception in honour of Sir C. V. Raman in Stockholm.
- Dec. 15. Martial Law has been declared in Madrid and Central Spain.



LORD HARDINGE

- Nov. 27. Lord Hardinge arrives in Bombay.

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## Financial Safeguards

BY PROF. KRISHNA KUMAR SHARMA, M.A., B.Com.

(Professor of Economics, Sanatan Dharma College, Calcutta).

THE ultimate right of India to manage her affairs through a Government responsible to the Indian Legislature has now been definitely recognised by the British Parliament. This is evidenced by the various speeches of the Premier of His Majesty's Government and the announcements of the two Viceroy of India, namely, Lord Irwin and Lord Willingdon. There are, however, certain safeguards to be included in the new Constitution subject to which the responsibility is to be transferred to Indians. The safeguards are to be such which are demonstrably to be in the interests of India and are to be for a temporary period. Among these safeguards are to be financial and commercial safeguards, which the Britishers say, are necessary to maintain the credit of India and to safeguard the trading rights of British people in India. There is no unanimity on the nature and extent of these safeguards between the Indian and the British points of view. Two sessions of the Round Table Conference have been held and nothing definite has come out in this connection. The last Round Table Conference also proved a bitter disappointment. "Important questions were left either untouched or undecided and attention was 'deliberately diverted to peripheral details to the neglect of the centre. . . Things which really mattered were either not discussed at all or relegated to the far end of the session when a ceremony of the discussion was gone through and the so-called conclusions embodied in the Committee's Reports."—(Report of Federation of Indian Chambers.) The financial safeguards and commercial discrimination questions were both discussed in a couple of days very hurriedly and the Reports thereon were gone through in the scheduled time in a hurry.

It is necessary to understand what these safeguards are and to what extent Indians and the

Britishers are agreed thereon. With regard to finance, Indians want that it should be transferred to a minister completely responsible to the Indian Legislature subject only to such safeguards as are ordinarily involved in a constitution and as may be demonstrably proved to be in India's interests. Sir Purshottamas Thakurdas made it perfectly clear in the Federal Structure Committee when he said that "nothing but a completely responsible minister, a minister completely responsible to the Legislature will satisfy us and that no safeguards devised by this Conference in the shape of control from outside India will be acceptable to us".

The Sub-Committee of the Round Table Conference on Financial Safeguards recorded their opinion that during a period of transition, the Governor-General must have the power to implement his decision on financial matters if he thinks that the Finance Member is wrong. The proposals in this connection are:

1. That it is essential that the financial stability and credit of India should be maintained;
2. That the financial credit of any country rests in the last resort upon the confidence of the investor, actual and potential;
3. That one result of the connection which has subsisted between India and United Kingdom has been that her credit in the money markets of the world has so far been in practice closely bound up with British credit; and
4. That a change in the constitutional relations with the United Kingdom which involved a sudden severance of the financial link between the United Kingdom and India would disturb confidence and the new Indian Government and the Indian Legislature will be placed at a great disadvantage.

It is unnecessary to add that the representatives of Indian Commerce and other representatives of India did not agree to the above mentioned proposals in their entirety and a great deal of discussion centred round the last proposal. The Indian Members contended that the severance of

the financial link will not be sudden as India had been demanding transference of financial control from the hands of the Secretary of State to the Indian Legislature for a long time and that this step would not disturb confidence as the Finance Member of the future Government of India will be responsible to the Legislature.

The control of finance is fundamental because it has a bearing on all Government activities. It may be highly technical but it is a vital part of administration. The Government of India Despatches emphasise the necessity of safeguards to maintain the credit of India and of the Government of India, not only on the ground of maintaining the capacity of India to borrow and the solvency of the Government but also in the interests of the vast private capital invested in India by Britishers. The latter is not a proper ground to put forward, because there is a difference between capital borrowed by the Government from outside India and capital invested by the non-national trading community. When we are told that in the vast magnitude of interests to be safeguarded by the Secretary of State, there is also to be considered the question of the British capital invested in India, there is no wonder then if Indians feel very apprehensive of external capital.

There is no precedent or parallel in the history of any country of the world where, in the interests of foreign investors, safeguards in the constitution of the borrowing country may have been provided in the interests of the lenders. England lent to United States of America before the War vast sums of money and she has got capital invested in Argentina and other South American countries, Canada and Russia. Did these borrowers provide any such safeguards for British investors in their constitutions as the British interests are demanding in the case of India? The lenders must, of course, get satisfaction before they entrust their money to the borrower regarding the honesty, integrity and financial stability of the latter. More than this the lenders cannot expect of the debtors. Why should the Britishers start with a prejudice against India's honesty and incapability to manage her finances soundly?

#### GOVERNMENT BORROWINGS

A lot has been said regarding the borrowings of India. The total borrowings of India up to March 1931 stood approximately at 1,171 crores of rupees. Out of this the rupee borrowings came to about Rs. 655 crores and sterling borrowings to

Rs. 617 crores which shows that the indebtedness of India is half in Great Britain and half in India. With this special feature, it is inconceivable that the representatives of India would ask for a system of reforms which would endanger the safety of those who hold the Government paper to the extent of 655 crores. The interests of the British investors are identical with those of Indian investors. It is not easy to understand why the British investors should ask for special safeguards which the Indian investor detests. \* \* \* \* \*

It is said that Government have responsibility regarding currency and exchange. "The underlying idea in all countries is, that the currency authorities should be free to conduct a policy in accordance with the dictates of sound finance, detached from all political influence." Everybody should agree with this view, but with one reservation and it is that it is not the political influence of India alone which should be detached, but also the political influence from Whitehall. The Secretary of State and the India Office exercise political influence of a more direct character. Why should the Britishers ask for finance to be a reserved subject and say at the same time that the Reserve Bank should be free from political influence in India.

Everybody will admit that the Reserve Bank should be free from political influence, but at the same time it has to be admitted that it should be created by a statute of the Indian Legislature and not by a Statute of the British Legislature. If political influence is kept outside as it should be, it is all the more imperative that the political influence from England which is stronger and not always in India's interests should also be kept outside. In this connection the following passage appears in the Government of India Despatch:

We should hope that it would be possible to convey Indian opinion of the desirability that such a bank should work in close co-operation with and on lines approved by the Bank of England.

This is an unfortunate sentiment expressed in the Government of India Despatch. Why should the Reserve Bank in India work on lines approved by the Bank of England? The Bank of England no doubt is the premier bank and it has great influence too, but the fact of the matter is that India should be left free to take advice, guidance and counsel from such institutions as she pleases. \* \* \* \* \*



## CURRENCY AND EXCHANGE

The question of the Reserve Bank brings us to the question of currency and exchange. It is suggested that the control of currency and exchange should rest in the Secretary of State till the establishment of the Reserve Bank. That period is indefinite and is becoming an every day as economic conditions of the world are worsening day by day. Indians feel that as far as exchange and currency are concerned, the India Office certainly has not a record of which Indians can be proud and with which they can be satisfied. No responsible Finance Member of the future Government of India will mismanage currency and exchange problems in utter disregard of public opinion and Indian Legislature as has been done in the past. The fact is, the rupee has been tied down to the sterling in utter disregard of the recommendations of a Commission of experts to the contrary. In 1925, England devaluated her currency to the pre-War level but in 1927 the rupee was overvalued as compared with the pre-War level of rupee prices. England superseded the Gold Standard in an extraordinarily short space of time on September 21, 1931 and the Bill passed three readings and received the Royal assent in one and the same day. What England did, India could also have done and that was what was done by the announcement of the Finance Member in India, but it was contradicted five hours later by the Secretary of State in England. All this was done by Executive action without taking the Indian Legislature into confidence which was in occasion then. The Assembly censured the Government and no elected non-official member supported the Government. Since then India's Gold resources have been sacrificed to the extent of 98 crores of rupees in spite of vehement protests from responsible Indians. Under a democratic constitution the Government would have gone out of office in such a case. It is things like these which do not inspire confidence and Indians, therefore, want full control over finance. Let us have opportunities to commit mistakes and we shall not fare worse than the present Indian Government. Further, our mistakes will not be open to suspicion as those of the Government in the past have been.

The Report of the Federal Structure Sub-Committee of the First Round Table Conference indicates the safeguards which were suggested at that time and which are insisted upon by Britishers. To maintain the financial stability of

India, and to maintain her credit at home and abroad, the Report suggested the reservation of powers to Governor-General with regard to budgetary arrangements and borrowing. One should have thought that the ordinary powers of the Governor-General in the usual course would be sufficient. Continued budget deficits and reckless borrowing would hurt the Indian investor first and most directly. The price of the Government of India Paper would fall and the Indian investor would suffer along with the British investor. Why should not, therefore, the Indian public, having vested interests in Government borrowings, be trusted to safeguard this position? The credit of India cannot be appointed by the Secretary of State and the public in England, and India will lend only if the economic and financial condition of the country is sound. On behalf of India, the Secretary of State has in the past paid rates of interest which have been the highest paid by any respectable Major Government in England at that time. How can the mere fact of the control of the Secretary of State secure by itself the advantage of stability of economic position of India? \*

The Report of the Round Table Conference Sub-Committee on Safeguards shows that there is not a shadow of control proposed to be given to the future Indian Government in financial matters. As Mr. G. D. Birla pointed out in his speech in the plebary session, out of 90 crores in the general budget, about 70 crores is taken up by the military expenditure, debt services and pensions put together. This means about 80 per cent. of the general budget is reserved to the Crown. Nothing is said about the Commerce Department which includes railways whose net budget amounts to Rs. 40 crores and gross budget to 100 crores annually. It is not known whether the Department will be transferred to popular control. The position of the Railways was not discussed at any great length at the last Round Table Conference. But the Report of the Federal Structure Sub-Committee of the First Round Table Conference says that:

In this connection the Sub-Committee took notice of the proposal that a statutory railway authority should be established, and are of opinion that this should be done if, after expert examination, this course seems to be desirable.

It is not said whether this Statutory Board is to be constituted by the Federal Legislature or by some other authority. It is not clear who is going to control the future policy of the proposed

Statutory Board. This matter was brought to the notice of the Lord Chancellor by Sir Parshottamdas in the Federal Structure Committee, but no notice was taken of it. Thus irredeemable mortgages have been sought to be placed upon India and they should be reduced before it is possible to secure safeguards for India's interests. Mr. Birla suggested that the military expenditure of India should go down to 33 crores which was the pre-War figure and the Imperial Government should share a portion of the past burden of military expenditure of India. Then there was the question of an equitable

adjustment between the two countries in respect of India's liabilities, past and present. "Then if we so reduce our mortgage, probably the safeguards will be tolerable." As things are, we cannot and should not "deceive ourselves into thinking that by creating an Advisory Council here or by doing some thing else there, we are going to get anything of the kind we desire". In future discussions, therefore, Indians should see that attention and effort are concentrated on the reduction of the mortgage, because this alone can provide safeguards which will be satisfactory to all concerned.

## BURMA'S CHOICE

BY "POLITICUS"

BURMA has made her choice. Her verdict is clear. The complete results of the General Elections, which are now available, show that out of 80 elected seats, anti-separationists have captured 42, while separationists have secured 29 seats, the remainder 9 being neutral. "The results should serve as an eye-opener," says the *Rangoon Daily News*, "to the Government and Anglo-Indian publicists who have left no stone unturned to make the world outside believe that Burma is at heart separatist". After this clear indication of the mood of the Burman electorate, it is no wonder that Mr. U Ba Pe, leader of the separationists, has declined to form a Ministry. For as the *Statesman* truly points out: "The decision represents the clear verdict of the Burmese themselves and it can only be presumed, in the face of frequent reiterations regarding the absolute finality of that verdict, that they have deliberately chosen to throw in their lot for good and all with India."

Reuter reports that the victory of the anti-separationists was a complete surprise to the British public. To us in India there is nothing surprising in the Burmans desiring to remain attached to this country. The fact is that interested propaganda by high placed officials, and a certain group of Burmans, was so persistent that the British public was deluded into the belief that Burma actually desired separation. And then certain quarrels that ensued between Indians and Burmans in remote villages of Burma gave colour to the aspersion that Burmans wouldn't settle down with Indians. Taking advantage of the situation, the Burma Committee of the First R. T. C., on the strength of the Simon recommendations, pressed on the Government to make

a public declaration accepting the principle of separation. Frantic efforts were made to take steps to confirm the separation, and the separate R. T. C. for Burma ended last year with the Premier's announcement of a scheme of Reforms which elicited strong disapproval. But as a sequel to the separation, the Premier declared that "His Majesty's Government were prepared, if and when they were satisfied that the desire of the people of Burma was that the Government of that country should be separated from that of India, to take steps, subject to the approval of Parliament, to entrust responsibility for the government of Burma to a Legislature representative of the people of Burma under a Ministry responsible to it".

And the Governor of Burma was accordingly directed to hold an election specifically for this purpose: to get at the mind of the electorate on the issue of separation. This is the first time that a definite issue was placed before the Burman electors and they have given their verdict in an unambiguous manner. For it is significant that several Members of the R.T.C. who advocated separation, have been beaten at the polls.

It is, therefore, for the R. T. C. that is now meeting in London, to consider the ways and means of including Burma in the Federation. It is altogether irrelevant to submit the issue to the present Legislative Council or to frighten the Burmans, as Sir Samuel Hoare does, with the consequences of irrevocability when once Burma decides to federate with India. Hence it is that Dr. Ba Maw urges that Burma should forthwith be represented on the Third B. T. C.

# The Problem of the North-West Frontier

By DR. SIR P. S. SIVASWAMI Aiyar, K.C.S.I., C.I.E.

As a Captain in the Gurkha rifles, the author of this book \* served for some time in the district of Peshawar and he also served in the Third Afghan War of 1919 and in the Waziristan operations from 1921 to 1922. His book is based upon a certain amount of first-hand knowledge of the Frontier districts and tribes and more largely upon his study of the records in the India Office and of the secret reports in the political department of the India Office. He has worked at his subject for several years and has embodied the results of his study in this volume. He has dealt with the question of a scientific frontier, the imperial and local problems connected with the frontier, the characteristics of the border tribes, the attitude of the Amir of Afghanistan and the results of the various frontier policies adopted from time to time. From the imperial point of view, the question is, what is the most suitable boundary line for the purpose of defending India against an attack by Afghanistan or Russia or any other neighbouring power. A scientific frontier should also meet political, ethnological and geographical requirements. From a local point of view, the problem relates to the control of the tribes inhabiting the unsettled areas on the frontier and to the protection of the settled tracts of the Frontier province against their raids, outrages and attempts to foment risings among their fellow-Mahomedans in the province. The author refers to four possible lines of resistance against foreign invasion: (1) the Indus river, (2) the old Sikh line which corresponds to the administrative boundary, (3) the Durand line, and (4) the so-called scientific frontier from Kabul to Ghazni through Kandahar. The Indus boundary was advocated by the Duke of Wellington and by Lord Lawrence. But it has been condemned by the military authorities generally as disadvantageous - from a strategical point of view. The present administrative boundary and the Durand line are also examined and pronounced unsuitable for purposes of defence.

Mr. Collin Davies is firmly convinced that it would be impossible to demarcate on the north-west of the Indian Empire a frontier which would satisfy ethnological, political and military requirements. But what is the best strategical boundary?

The author says some would have included Herat which they considered to be the key to India. Others went so far as to suggest the occupation of such outlying places as Balkh. But it was generally agreed that the best line would be the Kabul-Ghazni-Kandahar frontier. This would mean no advance into Afghanistan. And the question is, whether it would be possible and expedient to advance up to this line to meet an invasion. In his concluding chapter, the author refers to this question and says that the north-west frontier of India is not represented by any particular boundary line; it is a belt of mountainous country of varying width, stretching for a distance of about 1,200 miles from the Pamirs to the Arabian Sea. He thinks that it is necessary to hold the eastern and western extremities of the five main mountain passes: the Khyber, the Kurram, the Tochi, the Gomal and the Bolan. It is also essential to the defence of India that no foreign power should be allowed to establish itself in the Persian Gulf. The author evidently approves of the policy of erecting Afghanistan into a strong buffer State and controlling her foreign affairs.

Though the book professes to deal with the frontier problem during the period from 1880 to 1908, it was published only during the present year and the author would have done well to have noticed the recent course of events in Afghanistan and the British recognition of her right to full independence and the effect of this change of situation upon the problem of external defence. He might also have noticed the change of situation brought about by the Russian revolution and the attitude of the Soviet Government towards India and Afghanistan. \* \* \*

The history of the policy adopted by the Government of India in dealing with the border tribes is also left incomplete by not being brought up to date. It is a pity that the author has not thought it fit to refer to the policy and measures adopted by the Government of India during the last few years to prevent tribal risings and disturbances. He might with advantage have referred to the occupation of Razmak and to the construction of roads and railways which have been pushed to a commanding position in tribal territories.

\* "THE PROBLEM OF THE NORTH-WEST FRONTIER" (1890-1908). By G. Collin Davies. Cambridge University Press. 12 sh. 6d. net.

# The Indian Girl and Her Education

BY MRS. J. M. KUMARAPPA, B.A.

**R**EGARDING the results of our present system of education, a critic writes :

Speak to the ordinary graduate of an Indian University or a student from Ceylon, he will hasten to display his knowledge of Shakespeare; talk to him of religious philosophy, you will find that he is an atheist of the crude type common in Europe a generation ago, and that not only has he no religion, but he is as lacking in philosophy as the average Englishman; talk to him of Indian music . . . he will produce a gramophone or a harmonium, and inflict upon you one or both; talk to him of Indian dress or jewellery, he will tell you that they are uncivilized and barbaric; talk to him of Indian art, it is news to him that such a thing exists; ask him to translate for you a letter written in his own mother-tongue, he does not know it. He is, indeed, a stranger in his own land.

Such is the observation of Dr. A. K. Coomaraswamy, and no stronger indictment than this can be made of our educational system, a system which is so unrelated to our national life as to make us alien in our own native land ! It is no wonder, therefore, if there is a widespread fear that a system so unsuited for the education of the boy must be even more unsuited to meet the educational requirements of the Indian girl. Even if this system had been developed on more natural and normal lines, then too one would be forced to maintain that the girl's education ought not to be the same as the education of the boy, for the simple reason that Nature has endowd both the sexes with special faculties and ordained distinctive functions for each to discharge toward society and the race.

That our education is foreign to its character is not its only fault. Among its main defects, another that needs special mention in this connection is, that our educational system has been developed more with a view to meet the urban needs rather than the rural. In other words, this system tries to spread education from the top downwards instead of building it from bottom upwards. Unfortunately our alien educational experts and Indian leaders ignored the most important aspect of our civilisation in formulating a system of education for the people of India. They missed the fact that our civilisation is a product of the village and not of the town, of the forest and not of the city.

"A most wonderful thing," points out poet Tagore, "that we notice in India is that here the forest, not the town, is the fountain-head of all its civilisation. . . . It is the forest that has nurtured the two great Ancient Ages of India : the Vedic and the Buddhistic. As did the Vedic Rishis, Lord Buddha also showered His teaching

in many woods of India. The royal palace had no room for Him; it is the forest that took Him into his lap. The current of civilisation that flowed from its forest inundated the whole of India."

If education is to be made truly Indian, if it is to serve the needs of our masses, we can ill-afford to neglect this national ideal. The future education of India must so develop as to meet really the needs of rural India, since India's civilisation itself is rural, and her population also chiefly rural.

In view of this situation, if boys' education demands an agricultural bias, the education of the Indian girl must demand a homecraft bias. Even here it must be pointed out that our system failed to give due consideration to the special requirements of our girls. Our educational authorities have gone on resting complacently on the formula that what is sauce for the gender is also sauce for the goose ! They ignored the fact that training in the functions that a group is expected to discharge must really be the objective of education in respect to that group. Since the function of the girl in society is not identical with that of the boy, her education cannot be the same as that provided for him. \* \* \* \* \*

Any system of education intended for the girl must therefore provide her not only with some general knowledge but also with some working knowledge of how to run a home or manage a household. Up to now the teaching of homecraft has not been seriously taken up in connection with the education of women in India. Most of our girls are left to pick up such knowledge as they can from their ignorant and poverty-stricken mothers and other women-relatives. In view of the appalling condition of our villages and Indian homes, I am strongly of the opinion that instruction in homecraft must be made compulsory for all school-going girls above ten years of age. Such training is both essential and indisposible in the interest of the future home-life of New India. It is a wonder to me that our people have not yet ceased to think that women can do all things necessary in the home by a sort of an intuition,—a special gift of the benevolent Providences to women. It is, of course, appealing to the women's sense of vanity to be told that she can do it all by mere intuition, but unfortunately there is more flattery and less truth in that statement. In the early days of milk and honey, there was perhaps no need for

scientific training in housecraft. But now with the advance of the so-called civilization, the wholesome life of our villages is infected with disease, darkened by ignorance and ground down by poverty. If the reader is a believer in the "intuitional efficiency" of women, then let him think for a moment of the terrible toll of infant mortality; listen to the woeful tale of the thousands of women whose death at the time of maternity could have been saved had they been provided with adequate knowledge, and then ask himself why intuition is helpless to assist young mothers to save themselves from premature death and their infants even from common ailments. A nation has no greater asset than her patriotic, energetic and healthy citizens. It is therefore imperative that we should train our girls or future mothers to conserve their lives and the lives of the little ones, the future citizens of New India. \* \* \*

Most of our girls of today, girls trained in the educational system devised for the boy, think that house-keeping is beneath them. In fact, their outlook on life and society is so morbid. The present system has failed to teach the girl the dignity of labour, to realize that nothing is really beneath one so long as it is within the scheme of life. Housecraft, being an important part of a woman's life and work, must be given a high place in the school curriculum for girls. The average Indian girl cannot and does not aspire for anything higher than to increase the happiness of the home and decrease humanity's sorrow and suffering. To this end, I wonder if a simple syllabus like the following, which is being tried in some schools, could not be adopted throughout India with the necessary changes and additions to meet local requirements:

**I. COOKERY.**—(1) Buying and storing of foods; (2) the simple methods of cookery such as boiling, baking, frying, and some knowledge of the foods best suited for each method; (3) classification of food-stuffs and their functions in the body; (4) dietetics.

Advanced instruction may be given to older girls in book-keeping, buying and storing of agricultural products, and in food values. If the course is continued in Secondary Schools, girls may be trained to become matrons, supervisors of cookery department in hospitals, hotels and the like.

**II. LAUNDRY WORK.**—How to wash and iron clothes, preserve colours, remove stains, etc., with some knowledge of the materials with which to wash and stiffen.

**III. CLEANING.**—(1) The care and method of cleaning everything in a home: fittings, kitchen utensils, rooms, carpets, furniture, etc.; (2) Methods of cleaning in order to economize time, labour and costs.

**IV. NEEDLECRAFT.**—(1) Renovating and mending garments and household linen, (2) simple cutting-out garments; (3) adaptation of simple patterns and the management of the machine.

**V. PERSONAL AND HOME HYGIENE.**—(1) Ventilation; (2) drainage and stabling of domestic animals; (3) some knowledge of infectious diseases and the use of disinfectants; (4) first aid and simple household remedies; (5) care of teeth, skin, hair, nails, etc.

Throughout the teaching of hygiene the aim should be threefold: (1) To awaken a health conscience, (2) to teach self-control, self-respect and respect for others; (3) to prepare girls, as far as possible, for the responsibilities of citizenship and home-life.

**VI. INFANT AND CHILD CARE.**—(1) Natural and artificial feeding; (2) clothing; (3) ailments and habits; (4) dangers of the use of drugs; (5) the general management of infants and children.

**VII. SIMPLE ONE JOBBING.**—Some knowledge of how to repair locks, taps, hinges; how to use nails, screws, saw. In short, they must be taught how to handle the necessary and simple tools found in every home.

**VIII. HOME PLANTING AND KITCHEN GARDENING.**—A kitchen garden is a useful adjunct to every home in India. Some knowledge of how to grow vegetables and how to take care of a garden must be given.

Owing to such practices and obstacles as early marriage, purdah system, conservative family traditions, suspicion of Western learning and the like, it becomes necessary for most of our girls to drop out immediately after middle school or high school education. Only a very small percentage of girls aspire for a college education. In view of this fact, I believe, the education of the girl must in the main be of the utilitarian type, if her life is to be enriched and made more useful by it. \* \* \*

Besides making the girl more efficient in the home, such a course would develop in the girl some interest in the various opportunities of usefulness that are now being thrown open to every woman. Therefore every girl, from the highest to the lowest in the land, should be taught how to organize and manage a home, just as she is taught to read and write. This essential aspect of her education cannot be sacrificed for subjects which have come to be looked upon as more academic or decorative. A course in Housecraft is not without its cultural value. It makes a girl more observant, alert, methodical, energetic and skilful. Because of its usefulness to the girl, this subject should be taught in every secondary and high school for girls. In view of its enormous importance in the uplift of homes and of the reconstruction of village life, it is earnestly hoped that our educational reformers will not overlook the claims of Housecraft in the education of our girls.

# The Nobel Prize and Its New Winner

By MR. P. R. KRISHNASWAMI, M.A.

ALFRED NOBEL, the Swedish inventor of dynamite, was born in October 1833. He belonged to a talented family. According to his own statement he acquired his knowledge in private studies and did not attend any secondary school. To quote his words written in 1893, he "devoted himself particularly to applied chemistry and discovered explosives known under the name of dynamite and smokeless powder called Ballistite and C. 89". Inclined to regard the whole world as the proper field for his activities, Nobel began to establish factories and exploit the market in different countries: Finland, Sweden, Germany, England, France, Austria and the United States.

Alfred's imagination was nearly wild, and apart from applied chemistry, he interested himself in electricity, optics, machinery, gunnery, biology and physiology among other subjects. It is interesting to remember here that he was also a great lover of literature. Though thrown on self-efforts, Nobel became highly educated in the humanities even when he was only eighteen. He was well versed in languages: Russian, Swedish, French, English and German being of his equipment. At one time he had ambitions of being a poet and at that time he had not decided on the career of an inventor. Shelley influenced him much and he actually wrote poetry in English.

He never married; he resolved on this when a girl whom he loved died. He was a cosmopolitan and when he died, one could not name the country of his domicile. He died on the 10th December 1896. A fifth of his property was left to individual persons, relations, and friends. Several public institutions were also benefited by his wealth. The rest of the money was left for the annual distribution of prizes by the Academy of Sciences at Stockholm for peace, literature, physics, chemistry, and medicine.

When Bernard Shaw was awarded the prize for literature in 1925, he said he did not personally stand in need of the life-belt after having made enormous wealth by his books. But the Nobel prize has become the reward for distinguished achievement rather than the means of saving talented men from poverty. It has always been difficult to define the principles governing the award of the prize. It was thought to be given to writers of idealistic nature, but this idea has

not been confirmed by the quality of the work of the prize-winners. The influence exercised by the writings has been suggested as the criterion for merit. When the award was last made to the American Sinclair Lewis, considerable dissatisfaction was expressed by English critics who must be satisfied by the present award. Among the prize winners have been: Kipling, Maeterlinck, Tagore, Romain Rolland, Anatole France, Yeats, Shaw, and Henry Bergson.

The award to Galsworthy causes little surprise. He is a veteran among living English writers. He is a prominent illustration of the influence of Ibsen on English literature. He is a better artist than the other Ibsenites, Bernard Shaw. Mr. Galsworthy was given the G.M. in 1929, but he refused the knighthood. He was born in 1867 and was educated at Harrow and Oxford. He is Honorary Fellow of New College, Oxford.

Mr. Galsworthy has written almost as many plays as novels. His "Forsyte Saga" divided into eight parts and "Swan Song" have already taken their place as recognised masterpieces of English fiction. He gives us convincing pictures of Victorian Society, and like Wells exposes the narrowness of the time in not conceding independent existence to woman. The dramas by Galsworthy are numerous and they made their mark earlier than the novels. The pleading for social reform is in them all. The defect of the existing system of dealing with criminals is exposed in "Justice". "The Silver Box" shows that the poor and the rich are treated differently in the course of public justice. That sexual lapses are viewed according to the status of the persons concerned is brought out in the "Eldest Son". The struggle between capital and labour is studied in "Strife" and the "Mob" produced in 1914 treats of jingoism set against pacifism. The arguments are impartially stated on both sides. The idealists are in the wrong. Smaller men with a practical sense solve social problems successfully. "The Fugitive" takes up the position of woman.

Irony and inconceivableness impart a gloom to many of the plays. His outlook is so serious that real humour is fairly impossible in them. Though serious they have always been successful on the stage. Galsworthy presents a rare combination of moral seriousness, artistic restraint, and resourceful dramatic devices.

# MY VISIT TO THE FAR EAST

BY SIR HARI SINGH GOUR, KT., M.A., D.LITT., D.C.L., LL.D., M.L.A.

IT is a pity that on the advent of summer every year, Indians seeking a cooler climate follow the beaten track of going West and few pause to consider whether they should not vary the monotony of their annual itinerary by occasionally turning East. I have been myself a victim to this habit till an invitation from certain leading bodies in Japan, pressed by personal persuasion, diverted my attention from the direction to which I had already turned and for which I had even booked my passage.

I have stated before that to most Indians the Far East is a *terra incognita*. As such they do not know that taken as a mere pleasure haunt, the Far East offers advantages denied to the West. In the first place the climate of Japan is, during April to August, as good as is to be found anywhere in Europe since the temperature varies from 66 to 70 F. and up to July the weather is usually dry, crisp, cool and breezy with abundance of sunshine and late in June, but as often as not to July, the monsoon which gives us rain also visits Japan and then we have what might be called their rainy season. August and September are hot months when the damp heat approaches that of Bombay and Calcutta, but I was told that it is never so hot or depressing. I went to Japan in April and was back in July and so can only speak of the later months from hearsay.

*Hakusaki Maru*, the boat by which we sailed was by no means a slow boat of the N. Y. K. Company, since all such boats are engaged in the most frequented run in the Pacific between Yokohama and San Francisco; but it was a comfortable boat and a pleasing contrast to the European mailboats we had been accustomed to use. Most of the passengers were Japanese, but there was a small sprinkling of English-speaking Europeans, three Germans, the same number of Americans, but no English who, we were told, had made it a rule to patronize ships of their own nationality. Colombo to Kobe was 16 days by this boat; but it would have been two or three days more had we not cut out Shanghai as our port of call, omitted on account of the Sino-Japanese skirmish then proceeding.

As we encountered our Japanese fellow-passengers, we were greeted with a bow and a smile which encouraged us to make a further advance towards vocal courtesies, but to our great distress we found that, of the dozen Japanese not one could speak English; but though

this was a surprise, it is nothing compared to what we were soon to find in Japan, that in the whole Empire of Japan there is not a single Japanese who can speak English with fluency though the teaching of English is compulsory and most educated Japanese can read and write that language with varying degrees of proficiency. This is not due to lack of opportunity or incentive since both are present in ever increasing degree in the life history of Japan. But the Japanese like the English are bad linguists and I was told that the Americans come in as an easy third. In this respect the Chinese present a pleasant contrast to their neighbors, in that they can produce dozens of Chinese in every city who can speak and even think in that language. The subject is important and would be interesting to those who advocate the substitution of a vernacular for English as the medium for higher education; but it will take me too long to explain that no people can master the accent and idiom of English when they study it only as a second language. But I am not writing a thesis on education and so must take leave of a tempting digression.

I have said before that our excursion on a Japanese boat was a novelty; but what a pleasant novelty it turned out to be. Though our stewards spoke only Japanese, we had no trouble with them as they made up for the deficiency of their linguistic stock by anticipating all our wants, and what is more, thinking out our creature comforts and providing against both timely and adequately. Cleanliness is to the Japanese an obsession. He is clean himself and does his bit to make everything else clean. As such while we were travelling through Korea and Manchuria, we were at recurring intervals each given a wet towel dipped in hot water to wipe our hands and face with, which both cleaned and refreshed us. And this practice is common everywhere where people do coexist.

The first port we touched after leaving Colombo was Singapore, and it gave us an idea, since confirmed, of the remarkable progress the Far Eastern countries have made as compared to poor India. For, whether it was at Penang or Manila both of which we visited on our return journey, or in the interior of the Malay States or China or Japan, we found large well laid out modern cities replete with every modern convenience which seem to vie with one another in their beauty, luxury, and general modernity. Contrast with this the state of India

and the Indians. Most of the latter of the menial class one meets with, whether in Burma, Ceylon, or the Far East, whether Singapore, Hongkong, Peking or Shanghai are employed as sweepers, scavengers, sewer and road coolies which has given the Indian the sobriquet of a "coolie race" whether in Africa or in the far off Cathay. Most of the Indians I have met in these parts might be divided into three classes: the menials who are most in evidence, the shop-keepers and pedlars confined to the larger towns, and a few scattered souls who eke out their existence by doing odd jobs, as teachers of languages, doctors, quacks, priests, fortune-tellers, religious preachers, and the like.

Indians belonging to the upper strata of society are scarcely to be found abroad which is a pity, a great pity, since it gives the foreigner a wholly erroneous conception of India and the Indians. A single example, out of many I could cite, would suffice to illustrate my meaning. When I was at Tokio I paid a visit to all typical educational institutions from the primary school upto the University. In one of the former I noticed on a shelf containing paper-mache figures (something like the clay models of Jackson) prefacing the several types of people of the world. One such was a black figure, but for a scanty loin cloth none, with his black hair waving in the air. Underneath was impressed the legend "Indian". The Headmistress who stood next to me blushed as my eyes fell on this figure; but her apologies were in vain for such figures were torched out by the factory for regular supply to the schools and it represented the Indian coolie, the original of which one can see any day in the seaport towns of China and the Malaya. Curiously most of them hail from the Tamil country, though in India itself the north supplies this kind of labour to the south. The Americans on board whom I met, had previously told me that their countrymen associated Indians with pedlars, fortune-tellers, priests, palmists and vagabonds who preyed upon the credulous public, of which that country has its just proportion. But though the Indians are the main recruits to menial service in the Far East, it must not be supposed that they are its sole exports, since the police in the principal ports including Shanghai is drawn from the Sikhs whose tall stately figures can be seen at every street crossing and corner, while they supply the watch and ward staff to the principal banks and business-houses even in some of the Japanese ports where foreigners are taboo. Apart from

these, there are over 300 Indian exporters, mostly Sindhi merchants who export silk from Chiba and Japan to India and other countries, but they do mostly wholesale business and are unknown beyond their clientele.

I had been on a cultural mission to Japan and aroused considerable interest by my numerous lectures to growingly appreciative audiences; and the parting words I heard everywhere were: "Come back". That invitation was not personal but one given to me as a representative of Indian culture which impressed the young rejuvenated nation who, after their emergence from the medieval feudalism, have long since entered the comity of modern nations and are naturally looking forward to things intellectual after their memorable conquests in the industrial and commercial fields.

In these fields, the progress Japan has made within the last 20 odd years is truly astounding. I cannot go into the details of her wonderful progress; but a simple sentence, not mine, will illustrate what we all felt on the subject. I was invited to a Rotarian lunch at which many of the intellectuals of all nations were amply represented. One of them, a high American dignitary, sat next to me and I asked him what he thought of Japan. Without a moment's hesitation he replied: "We feel like barbarians before Japan." There was, of course, the exaggerated piquancy in his remark; but it is not far from the truth. Those who have visited Europe, will find a visit to Japan a real tonic, for Japan is Europe and still the East. She has become commercialized but her people have not lost their soul. For Japan with all her industrial, commercial and military prowess is still at heart Oriental. The unflinching courtesy of her people, her boundless hospitality, her large hearted generosity, the high personal character of her people, their scrupulous punctuality, the highest degree of organisation and orderliness, makes Japan a living example to India and the East, to emulate. I can only hope that Indians of note and culture will pay a visit to the Far East, where they are sure to find a ready welcome and in which they will find the deep roots of their own religion and social order germinating grown into a tree of rare charm and beauty, whose fruits of utility and progress have already astounded the world.



# French Colonial Policy and Coloured Races

BY DR. LANKA SUNDARAM, M.A., PH.D. (Lond.)

WE in India are familiar with the treatment meted out to coloured races by the Anglo-Saxon community. The colour complex is real and effective whenever the traditional Englishman encounters a member of the so called coloured races. If in England, you are up against the "colour bar" and subdued hissing is indulged in by the average native of that country. Even in such a cosmopolitan city as London, we have had experience of some hotels and dance-halls refusing admission to members of the coloured community. If Indians are subject to such treatment, one need not wonder at the probable plight of the Africans—the negroes. Even Paul Robeson, that African singer and actor of international fame, had to coolly receive this snub while he was in London. The cultured and the real nobility of the land may not indulge in this manifestation of the superiority complex. But the average middle-class family, and the newly-made rich, are the worst offenders against the ordinary code of human equality so precious as one of the rights of man. Protests are numerous from influential quarters all over England, but the Anglo-Saxon complex is too strong to be tempered with. Scotland is the most confirmed sinner in this regard.

In India proper, despite recent changes, the British community form themselves into a patrician bloc. Social intercourse between the Indian and the English people in our country is at best meagre, cautious and certainly based upon an idea of differential honour. It had been said with justice that the English official in India feels himself as something above ordinary humanity. The present Viceroy is stated to have declared in London prior to his departure to India, that one of the most needed things to-day in our country is a sense of equality: racial, political and cultural among the British and Indians living side by side. He pointed out that the Willingdon Club, Bombay, manifestly endowed by Indian princes and gentlemen, does not admit Indians on a basis of equality. This, he claimed, is a scandal which ought to be removed immediately and fundamentally.

One of the most felicitous impressions which an Indian traveller in Europe brings back would be the absence of any racial ill-feeling in France. The Latin mind does not indulge in any of the manifestations of the superiority complex. Not only on the boulevards of Paris, but everywhere

in France the coloured visitor is welcomed with the same warmth and geniality as are the Englishman or American. In society, as in the mass of the population, the coloured people are made so comfortable that they do not for one moment believe that their skin is tanned and is different from that of his hosts, a feeling which is constantly forced down upon him while he is in England. Everywhere he is welcome on a basis of equality. Certainly, the inhibition which troubles him while in Great Britain, is totally absent in France.

## II

Passing on from a purely sociological to a political sphere, we find the same difference between the Anglo-Saxon and the Latin races. France's empire was built up and sustained on a basis of racial equality. One may not like the logical thoroughness of the French with which the overseas empire is exploited. Anyway, such is the general policy of any Imperial power now in existence. England in India, Belgium in the Congo, Italy in Lybia, the U.S.A. in the Philippines, and Japan in Korea, are one in their respective colonial policies in the economic sphere. But a student of human affairs would be struck with the absence in French colonial policy of the invidious patrician feeling so glaring in the activities of the other Imperial Powers.

For one thing, as it is said in Latin, the French Empire may not be one pays, but it certainly is one patrie. The colonials of France consider themselves as natural Frenchmen by virtue of their being included in the Imperial system. There is only one citizenship in the Empire. But in the British Commonwealth we are confronted with the obvious fact that an Indian is almost an outcast, say, in South Africa or in Australia. Every unit of the Commonwealth possesses a citizenship of its own, and differential treatment of the worst type is meted out to the coloured people of the Empire. There is no doubt that Indian ill-feeling towards Britain is accentuated by the fact that our nationals are subject to the greatest of political, civic, and racial disabilities in the "white" units of the Empire. The "continuous voyage" test in Canada, the "White Australia Policy" in Australia and New Zealand, and the numerous anti-colour legislative measures in South Africa, have reduced Indians to the ranks of racial inferiors and rendered our feelings

poignant. Our indignation at this pernicious racial distinction, now existing in the Commonwealth, is at the bottom on ultimate analysis of the Indo-British impasse. Even the Chinese and the Japanese have better rights in the countries named above than our own countrymen who happen to belong to the Commonwealth.

As for France in the Empire, no such distinctions exist. Psychologically as well as legally, all the peoples of the Empire are one and equal. Alike with Holland, France encourages intermarriage between the French people proper and the colonial races. There is a spirit of mutual trust, confidence and respect is fostered between these two sections of the French citizens. Economic rivalry between them is possible as in the case of Indo-China where communistic activity in the indigenous population is militating against the French economic policy, or in Morocco where the Moors are revolting against the French Imperial system. While racial bitterness is fully exhibited against the British in Egypt, Ceylon, India and China, no such feeling is discernible in the French Colonial Empire. This is entirely due to the policy of racial equality fully operating there.

Perhaps one of the most important reasons for this unique feature of French colonial policy is the fact, that every unit of the Empire sends its representatives to the *Chambre des Deputés* in Paris, a system which is peculiar to France alone. In the rough and tumble of the parliamentary system in Paris, colonialists and real French rub shoulders on a basis of equality. It sometimes happens that Frenchmen from France stand for election from the colonial units, as was the case from Pondicherry recently. Further, when the apportionment of portfolios is imminent, the Premier of France has to depend upon the votes of these colonial representatives. I very clearly remember the case of M. Diagne, a negro delegate from Senegal, West Africa. He is a member of the French Parliament. Last year he was made Under-Secretary of State for Colonies. The most curious thing about him is, that he is the dearest of the Africans I have met in Europe during the course of over four years. But he has perhaps one of the fairest of Frenchwomen as his wife. When the question of forced labour among the colonial possessions of the White Powers came up for discussion in a Committee of the International Labour Conference, it was M. Diagne who defended the French system which is admittedly the worst on record. No doubt, the late Lord Sinha was an Under-Secretary of State for India. But this was on

offerance and official patronage, and certainly not the liberal initiative of the late Mr. Montagu. In the case of M. Diagne, his portfolio was obtained in his own right and on a perfect basis of racial equality. It would be difficult to find a ready parallel to this instance in the whole of the British Commonwealth. There is only one instance to my knowledge in the case of a Bushmen Knight being made a Minister of Native Education in New Zealand. But this was purely of a domestic nature and for a specific issue affecting his own race. But M. Diagne's portfolio has almost world jurisdiction as far as the French Empire is concerned and envelopes the fortunes of numerous branches of the coloured races, some of which are admittedly superior to the African, such as the Moslem and the Indo-Chinese. In this unique manner, France is solving one of the fundamental issues of the modern era—the problem of colour.

Summing up, we may ask the question whether the world would ever be able to solve the momentous problem germinating out of the clash of colour. Britain and other Imperial races have distinctly failed. It was Hitler, leader of the Nazi movement in Germany, which was shorn of her colonial empire as a sequel to the Peace of Paris, who asserted recently that the grant of independence to India would be a menace to the Western civilization. And Hitler is a man of destiny and is sure to shape the future policies of Germany and of Europe. His statement is ominous. Before the War, German *kultur* was considered a menace to world progress and concord. Thousands of Englishmen to-day honestly believe that the fortunes of the coloured races are a dirge that reposed in the white races. The colour complex is prominent even in such a democratic country as the U. S. A. and the Ku Klux Klan has attained notoriety through organised lynching of negroes in the American Continent. Instead of mitigating the evils of the colour bias, most of the white races are now trying to accentuate it. Only France approaches us with a programme of political action designed to minimise this evil. From the purely sociological point of view, she has weathered the storm and this French example is worthy of consideration and imitation by other colonial powers. Otherwise, colour-war, considered by arm-chair politicians all over the world as a figment of imagination, will be a distinct reality in the near future.

# BROADCASTING

BY SIR ALEXANDER CARDEW

**H**OW will broadcasting affect the world in the next quarter century?

Twelve years have not yet elapsed since the first wireless broadcasting service was inaugurated at Chelmsford. In the short interval since then broadcasting has made gigantic strides, yet is still in its infancy.

No attempt to answer this question can be adequate unless the possibility of the widespread use of television is taken into consideration.

The addition of optical broadcast to the aural broadcast we already have is a step to which all look forward as probable, or rather inevitable. Exactly when the simultaneous transmission of sound and movement will be available for public use and service cannot yet be definitely foretold, but it cannot be long delayed.

When it arrives, the consequences will be far reaching. They may influence industries apparently far removed from wireless and interests as yet unthought of.

One of the most regrettable features of modern times has been the depopulation of the countryside. Villagers found life in the villages dull and monotonous compared with what the towns had to offer. When in out of the way districts felt themselves cut off from the advantages and pleasures of civilization. In consequence there was an increasing tendency for the population, and especially the young and enterprising elements in it, to move to the towns. Consequently the country has become still duller and the towns more crowded. Both have suffered in consequence.

With the coming of radio something has already been done to remedy this state of things. People who live in the country, however remote, can already listen to a great variety of interesting items. Already through the B.B.C. the dwellers in distant valleys can hear and share in much that is to be enjoyed in towns.

But radio is not a static or stagnant thing. It is advancing rapidly. When it becomes possible to transmit moving and living pictures together with the sound, the position of the countryside and the town will be almost reversed. The dweller in the country will then be able to enjoy almost all the advantages which now belong exclusively to the town. He will have in addition all the charms which the country already

possesses, its freedom, beauty, and remoteness, and he will escape from the dirt, the fog, the crowds of the city.

When that day arrives there may be a considerable extension of the movement already to some extent apparent to move out of the cities back into the country. The villages will be lit by electricity; the provision of cheap transport will reduce the present cost of movement from place to place, a change which we have already seen in rapid progress.

In thus spreading universally the resources of knowledge and the means of amusement, radio will be fulfilling its natural function. Ruskin declared that the test of true wealth is, that it should be capable of being shared by all. The etheric waves on which radio depends constitute, like sunlight, a universal possession. They cannot be exhausted. On the contrary, the greater their use, the larger the resources which will be available for the still further diffusion of amusement and instruction, for the B.B.C. in Great Britain and the N.B.C. in America depend on that expansion for their ability to increase their services to the public.

But the work of wireless is much wider than these domestic uses, however valuable. Its influence on international relations has already been important and will continue to increase.

When Mr. Ramsay MacDonald opened the Radio Exhibition at Olympia in September 1929, he was full of the thrill he had received by addressing the League of Nations at Geneva. "As if by magic," he said, he found himself connected up with a great part of Europe. When a whole continent, perhaps a whole world can be instantaneously connected with one place and brought under one influence, the changes in thought and habit which may ensue are incalculable.

That was two years ago and already great further advances have been made, so that we are assured that the National Government is projecting a scheme for Empire Broadcast for which practical proposals may be expected before long. Such a scheme will form one of those links of Empire union which are so much needed now that the older and more rigid bonds are being swept away by the Statute of Westminster.

But Empire broadcasting will not be complete unless it can be extended so as to appeal also to the great English-speaking community in the

United States. Much has been contributed by American inventive genius to the development of wireless and it is peculiarly fitting that it should serve the purpose of increasing the co-operation between the British and American peoples.

That wireless will slowly, if surely, help to soften and remove those international prejudices which are largely born of ignorance and isolation is surely not a mere ideal. In the past the words for "stranger" and for "enemy" were so closely allied as to be interchangeable. By bringing nations into closer relations, radio will tend to remove the feeling of insularity and aloofness which breeds unfriendliness.

Before the broadcasting era, a foreigner was to the untravelling bulk of the population, an unknown quantity, and the unknown is always feared, often without reason. Today the foreigner is no longer unknown. He has become a voice, friendly sounding, if incomprehensible, and he is fast losing his terror and strangeness. Who can tell what twenty-five years will accomplish in this direction?

How far broadcasting will encourage the use of international language cannot yet be said. English possesses many claims to fulfil such a function, not only because of its wide diffusion but because of its simplicity and freedom from archaic difficulties of tense, case and gender.

The great difficulty in its path is the divorce between spelling and pronunciation. It would be a singular consequence of radio if it should lead Great Britain—the most conservative of countries—to a serious reform of spelling!

No one can doubt that Clerk Maxwell, when he carried out, nearly sixty years ago, those marvellous researches which laid the foundation for wireless, had no conception of what his work would lead to. The triumphs, which have since followed, have been the result of the labours of many workers, but one truth has been brought home to all, viz., that there is no research however abstruse and apparently remote from every day life which may not lead to practical results of far-reaching importance. Thus the wonderful progress of wireless has served the cause of science generally, for it has not only created a new body of scientific workers but has demonstrated to the world the limitless field which research may render fertile.

On some obscure laboratory table there may be, at this moment, apparatus belonging to some experiment capable of affecting the world even more profoundly than broadcasting. Radio—as the man in the street knows it—has risen in twelve short years. Who can tell what fresh wonders, dwarfing radio, a quarter of a century may reveal?

## The Case of the Transvaal Indians

BY MR. MANILAL GANDHI

[The following statement on the plight of Indians in South Africa has been issued by Mr. Manilal Gandhi, son of Mahatma Gandhi and Editor of *Indian Opinion*, Natal.—[ED. I.R.]]

A situation of grave crisis has arisen in South Africa as a result of the passing of the Transvaal Asiatic Land Tenure Act which threatens to undo all that Mahatma Gandhi had done for the Indian community in South Africa after a fierce and prolonged struggle lasting for seven long years. The 1914 Smuts-Gandhi Agreement has been consigned to the scrap heap and the Cape Town Agreement too has met the same fate. Indians in the Transvaal are faced with the imminent peril of being literally reduced to the position of pariahs.

### THE EARLIER RESTRICTIONS

Law 3 of 1885 is a Transvaal Republican law. This Law prohibited Asiatics generally from owning land in the Transvaal except in bazars and locations and such places. It provided residential segregations but it could not be enforced because the law is not compulsory. It merely empowers the Government to set aside certain areas for occupation by Asiatics but did not empower it to compel them to go into those areas. The law did not provide trade segregation.

Thus the above law only prohibited Asiatics from acquiring ownership of land. In other respects they had free movement. That is to say they could reside and trade wherever they liked.

Then came into existence the Transvaal Gold Law of 1908. Under Section 130 and 131 of this Law, Asiatics and coloured persons generally, except bona fide servants, were prohibited from residing on proclaimed land except in bazaars, locations, compounds and such other places as the Mining Commissioner might permit. This Law went a step further than the Law 3 of 1885. The Indian community very strongly protested against this restriction. The Law, however, never attempted to prevent Indians from trading on proclaimed land. There was communication between the British Government and the then Attorney-General of the Transvaal on the subject, from which it was perfectly clear that no existing rights were being interfered with by the Gold Law, and no existing right was the right of the Asiatic to trade. Thus this Law, while it did take away the right of the Asiatic to reside on proclaimed land, did not interfere with his right to occupy premises on proclaimed land.

The Indian community was, however, not satisfied with this position and in the correspondence which formed the Smuts-Gandhi Agreement, Gandhi made it quite clear to General Smuts, the then Minister of the Interior, as to what the Indian community felt. This is what Gandhi stated in his letter dated June 30, 1914.

As the Minister is aware, some of my countrymen have wished me to go further. They are dissatisfied that the Transvaal Gold Law, the Transvaal Townships Act, the Transvaal Law 3 of 1885 have not been altered so as to give them full rights of residence and ownership of land. Whilst, therefore, they have not been included in the programme of Passive Resistance, it will not be denied that some day or other these matters will require further and sympathetic consideration by the Government. I shall hope that when the Europeans of South Africa fully appreciate the fact that now as the importation of indentured labour from India is prohibited and as the 'Immigrants' Regulation Act of last year has in practice all but stopped further free Indian immigration and that my countrymen do not aspire to any political ambition, they, the Europeans, will see the justice and indeed the necessity of my countrymen being granted the rights I have just referred to.

Until the year 1919, things went on smoothly. The Gold Law was not put into operation and Indians resided and traded wherever they liked, and while their right to own land was taken away

by the law of 1885, it did not prevent them from acquiring ownership of land by forming companies, even though they may be composed of Asiatics and likewise they created property interests without any hindrance.

#### ASIATIC AMENDMENT ACT

The Government, however, took steps to further restrict their rights in that year by passing the Asiatics (Land and Trading) Amendment Act of 1919. This Act, while protecting the vested rights created up to that year, prohibited Indians from acquiring ownership of land even by means of forming companies in which Asiatics had any interest. The Select Committee then had also recommended "that steps should immediately be taken to render it impossible for any Indian or Asiatic in future to obtain a trading license for a new business; in other words, that whilst existing rights should be recognised and protected and where necessary validated and legalised, no further obtaining of trading licenses (save and except as renewals of existing licenses) or opening of new businesses by Indians or Asiatics should be allowed." It may be said to the credit of the Government that though this was a recommendation to the Government rigidly to enforce the laws against the Asiatics, the administration remained inactive up to the present time and successive Governments have always allowed the presence of Asiatics on proclaimed land in spite of Sections 130 and 131 of the Gold Law of 1908. It was the Union Government's declared policy and not mere apathy which brought about the non-enforcement of these provisions. The Government was not enforcing them in 1914 when the Smuts-Gandhi Agreement was concluded and did not do so until this day.

Though the above Act deprived Indians of the right to acquire ownership of land even by means of companies, Indians nevertheless continued to create property interests by purchasing land which was transferred to a European in name only or by means of long leasehold or by forming a company which was not according to the Law an Asiatic company but in which Asiatics had an interest.

The Congress has never defended the action of those who have created property interests by actually evading law. The law could take its own course in such cases. But whatever the Indians may have done since the 1919 Act in respect of acquiring property interests, they adhered to the law previous to that year and

exercised the rights which the law did not deprive them of, with the full sanction of the highest court of the country.

Indians were contented with this position however unnatural and unsafe it was. It was taken for granted that the Government would not violate the 1914 Settlement.

Things have however changed since. The Transvaal Asiatic Land Tenure Act has been brought against the Asiatics in all its bitterness. Instead of so amending the existing laws as to remove the restrictions imposed upon the Indian community in accordance with the 1914 Settlement, the present legislation tightens up the existing laws and establishes the principles once and for all of compulsory segregation. Under the Act, in future, Indians in the Transvaal can reside and trade only in areas specially set apart for them. Outside these areas they may not go. Their position will be no better than that of the aboriginal natives. There are provisions in the Act safeguarding the properties acquired by Indians up to May 1930. But if these properties are outside the segregated areas, Indians may neither reside in nor occupy them. In short, the operation of this law will automatically remove the bulk of the Indian population from the Transvaal within a decade and those who remain will have to remain *sahelots*.

A Commission is set up under the Act to enquire into the legality or otherwise of the occupation or residence of Indians on proclaimed lands. We do not expect much to come out of this Commission. The most it could do is to protect the rights of a few. It cannot alter the law which is on the Statute-Book. It is stated in the Cape Town Agreement that the Government of the Union shall continue to adhere to the policy of affording the fullest opportunities to the permanent section of their Indian population for their upliftment. The Transvaal Asiatic Land Tenure Act is indeed a poor gesture of adherence to that policy. The matter, however, does not rest there. There is another clause in the Cape Town Agreement, namely,

When the time for the revision of the existing trade licensing laws arrives, the Union Government will give all due consideration to the suggestions made by the Government of India Delegation that the discretionary powers of local authorities might reasonably be limited in the following way: (1) The grounds on which a licence may be refused should be laid down by statute; (2) the reasons for which a licence is refused should be recorded; and (3) there should be a right of appeal in the case of first applications and transfers as well as in the case of renewals to the courts or to some other impartial tribunal.

### FLAGRANT BREACH

The Transvaal Provincial Council deemed it necessary to revise the licensing laws of that Province, and it has passed an Ordinance known as the Transvaal Licences (Control) Ordinance of 1931. This Ordinance gives unfettered rights to the municipalities and local boards to refuse a trade licence without assigning any reasons and give no right of appeal from the decision of the licensing authorities. This Ordinance has received the assent of the Governor General-in-Council. This is also a measure constituting a flagrant breach of the Cape Town Agreement.

There is yet another right that the Transvaal Indians have been deprived of and which constitutes a serious breach of the 1914 Settlements. It is the right they had acquired under the Transvaal Registration Act, of entering the Transvaal by virtue of their registration certificates at any time. The registered Indians were given an unchallengeable right to reside in the Transvaal. This was a right that was secured to them after not only sufferings during the Passive Resistance campaign. Under the Immigration Act of 1931, however, after an absence of a day over three years of any Indian from the Transvaal, his registration certificate becomes null and void and the holder can no more enter that Province.

This is the sad tale of woe of the Transvaal Indians. Neither the successive delegations nor the Agents of the Government of India have been able to help Indians out of their difficulties. This is what to effect they have said: "We are powerless. We have no machine guns nor have we an army."

The Transvaal Indians have exhausted every possible constitutional means to seek redress but their efforts have been in vain. They feel that they would rather face extermination than willingly acquiesce in the deprivation of their right to live as self-respecting human beings. They feel that this is a question not merely of their self-respect but of the honour of their mother-country, and the only honourable course open to them is to refuse to submit to the humiliating legislation and suffer the consequences.

The Government of India, we have no doubt, fully realise the difficulties we are placed under, and we expect its active sympathy. From the people of India we know we cannot under the present circumstances expect more than their moral support.

# ENGLISH ROMANTICISM

BY MR. W. B. GOKHALE, M.A.

THE world exists by a balance of antagonisms, says Carlyle. 'This may be too heavy an expression but need we doubt that some such thing does exist? We must all have felt at some time or other some sort of a regular or irregular rhythm in life. Certain ideas or tendencies predominate over others so much so that they become the *zeit geist*. Time passes, and with its lapse a low murmur of discontent with the existing order of things begins to undermine it like a canker; gradually a crack appears on the surface and then comes the great upheaval which pulls down the entire structure. A revolution comes and with it come also a new world into existence. New thoughts reign for some time but things of yore again begin to attract and allure. They peep through the haze of dim ages like mountains at a distance. They seem to have a halo round them. In other words they become romantic.

Literature being the reflex of life gives us the same impression. 'Through the fall of man the world became a dull, rapid and uninteresting thing to medieval society.' 'This world was regarded merely as a preparation for the one to come. But the great epoch "The Renaissance" opened the eyes of man to the beauties of this life. Fresh blood began to course in their veins and the life of man, throbbled and tickled with the young joy. This spirit of bubbling youth was responsible for a wonderful outburst of genius in life and literature which is reflected in the glorious works of the Elizabethans. A time, however, came when it was felt that there was perhaps too much of sweet in this. In the wake of such revolutions we often see cases when bad things perish but with them not a few good things too and soon this romantic sap of literature was dried up by the rigorous blasts of Puritanism. Literature became austere, cold and dull. People were disgusted somehow with the romantic muse and would soon wear the sable mantle of melancholy and austerity. This grew into a fashion. Sky-kissing mountains, rivers of molten silver, glorious dawns and sunsets ceased to be objects of admiration. Life in the streets or closets was more and more adhered to. Such things as were written about nature were affected, often incorrect and cold because they were not inspired with genuine emotion and wanted first hand observation. The Augustan age was essentially prosaic, precise and prim. Life was of a type—crip, cut and dry.

There was no individuality or novelty to relieve the grim monotony of life and literature both. And this had begun to weigh upon the genial sense of youth—and a reaction against this too was not far. It is, however, wrong to suppose that English romanticism began with the publication of the lyrical ballads. 1798 did not burst upon the people like a meteor. Cowper, Gray, Burns, Collins, Chatterton and others had already begun to strike the romantic chord but the lyre was not steady in their hands. The ground was thus already prepared for Wordsworth. Castle Otranto and Macpherson's Ossian had already directed the attention of the people towards the weird and phantastic in Nature. The terror-novel with its goose-flesh element was becoming popular every day and Scott was reviving ancient chivalry and romance in his writing. There was a definite return to the past in many respects. Wordsworth appeared with his impressive though not wholly acceptable theory of poetic diction. He was the purest exponent of love in nature which becomes a sort of worship with him. He vehemently attacked the traditional closet poetry, emphasised first-hand observation of Nature and dwelt on the necessity of emotion recollected in tranquillity. He revived the love for nature which had once existed in some form but had not fallen into neglect and preached that one could not only get peace from communion with nature but that nature could mould human character and conduct as well.

Various have been the attempts to define Romanticism but no single definition has yet been considered adequate; but if we gather the elements emphasised by them, we can form an idea as to the essentials thereof. A return to Nature we have already noticed. Almost all the poets of this momentous epoch have been inspired by it. With Wordsworth it becomes a deity. With Shelley it is a great force—with Keats it is an element wherein he can safely repose and with Byron it is a background for human affairs. There is a genuine love for nature in all of them and the path shown by them has never been left.

Shakespeare and his contemporaries had witches and fairies, ghosts and spirits but these had led the human world in the Augustan age. This supernatural element however reappeared with this rebirth in a slightly altered form. The Romantics revived an interest in superhuman

powers and agencies. These powers were not necessarily drawn from Celtic, Norse or Icelandic mythology as in the time of Shakespeare and his contemporaries but were of an indefinite type. It was the existence of some supernatural forces affecting human courses that was now especially emphasised. The rime of the ancient mariner with its tingling awe and Christabel with its weird phantasmagoric haze set the pulse throbbing. Added to this was the increased interest in the Orient. The East has always been a permanent source of romance. Cashmere with its gul and champak odours and Arabia with her Jinds and giants come to be associated with romance. This element of distance therefore, both in time and place counted strongly with the Romanticists. An extraordinary love of beauty was responsible for a delight in colour and sensuousness. Coleridge more or less inaugurated the use of colour in poetry, and this was handed down to Keats in whom it becomes a happy companion to his deep sensuousness. He is Greek in spirit which again is a necessary corollary to the spirit of the times—the desire to seek peace and refuge from the din and rattle of jostling humanity.

That there was an element of revolt in almost everything goes without saying. Wordsworth wrote poetry about common people and used their

language—a marked innovation. He broke away to a certain extent from what was called poetical language. Shelley was an ardent revolutionary and burned to change the existing social order. The fierce spirit of Byron wished to become one with that of the storm—the destructive element—and for Keats there was nothing more sublime than beauty.

Strangely enough, sweetness is to asdoest allied and if we might say so, the lives of all the great Romanticists prove this. Wordsworth, once a great poet, lived miserably long only to lose his poetical talent; Coleridge died miserable and dejected. Shelley 'always in the clouds' could not see his desires fulfilled. His was the tragedy of his celebrated Alastor. Keats was killed by 'an arrow that flieth in the dark' and Byron's was a broken heart. There was likewise a clear commingling of sweetness and sadness in the works of the Romanticists so much so that we might deem this as one of the essential elements of English romanticism. All of them heard the still and music of humanity and proved that there is a sense of tears in things human. Need we say that they have made English romanticism one of the greatest epochs of all literatures—one that will ever be of entrancing interest to lovers of the muse?

## Quaint Customs Regarding Decisions of Disputes

BY MR. S. G. NALLE, F.C.I.

UNDER the heading "Trial by battle" which appeared in a daily newspaper recently, it is said that duelling arose from the impression that, in single combat, Providence would not fail to declare itself in favour of the innocent and so before the eighteenth century it was considered as legal in England and many European countries.

Arising from this same impression, the Khasia also in former times used this "trial by battle" as a means of settling civil disputes which, on account of their intricacies, they could not be disposed of by the Darbars. By permission of the Darbars, each party engaged a man skilled in swordsmanship to represent them and the fight took place in an open field amidst a big crowd of spectators. Each combatant must dress himself in a costly dance costume which must be provided by the party engaging him. At the

present time a dance costume costs about Rs. 800 or Rs. 1,000. The duelist who won, took only the head of his opponent to the party who engaged him, but the dance costume and the gold ornaments which the defeated duelist wore, remained the property of the other party. The winning party then occupied the disputed property with great feast and beating of drums.

Another mode of deciding cases among the Khasia, especially in Cherra State, was by water ordeal. There were two kinds of such ordeals. In one kind of ordeal which is called *Ka-ngam-laiih*, the two disputing parties fixed a spear each in a deep pool of water. They then engaged long-winded pleaders to act for them, and their task was to dive and hold the spear in the water. The pleader who remained longest in the water was declared the victor, and



the party who engaged him then took possession of the disputed property. The anxiety of the parties to win their cases was so great that sometimes to compel their pleaders to remain in the water, held them down with their spears, and it so happened sometimes that their pleaders were drowned. Another kind of water ordeal was that two pots, each containing a gold and a silver piece, wrapped in two pieces of cloth, were placed in a shallow pool of water. Both litigants were then asked to dip their hands in a pot and to pick out one bundle. The party who got the gold piece was declared the victor, but if both of them picked out either gold or silver pieces, then the case was compromised and the disputed property was divided into half.

The above two ordeals are now obsolete, but there is another kind of ordeal which is still in force now and is generally done in the War side of the Khasi Hills. That ordeal is called the *Ordeal by u. klong* and is the most dreaded of all the ordeals, because the belief is that if a man swears falsely by *u klong u khani* (gourd and arrow) death and complete extirpation of his clan will be the consequence. The Darbars who are the judges, do not generally encourage the parties to have their cases decided by this ordeal, for they fear lest they should be blamed if the evil consequences fall on either party afterwards. The party who feels that his case is just, generally proposes that the case be decided by this ordeal, and the other party either accepts or refuses the proposal. If the Darbar declares that the case be tried by this ordeal, then the party who undertakes to swear, brings to the Darbar a *klong* or gourd containing in it a fermented rice and a feathered arrow having a barbed iron at the end planted in the fermented rice. The chief judge who is a *Siom*, a *Lyngdoh*, a *Wabadar*, or a *Sardar*, takes the gourd and before giving it back to the swearer makes the following prayer:

"Come down and hear witness, thou goddess, who reignest above and below, who createst man, who placest him on earth, who judgest the right and the wrong, who givest him being and stature (i.e., life). Thou goddess of the State, thou goddess of the place, who preservest the village, who preservest the State, come down and judge. If this man's cause be unrighteous, then shall he lose his stature, he shall lose his age, he shall lose his clan, he shall lose his wife and children, only the post of his house shall remain, only the walls of his house shall remain, only the small

posts and the stones of the fire-place shall remain, he shall be afflicted with colic, he shall be racked with excruciating pains, he shall fall on the piercing arrow, he shall fall on the lacerating arrow, his dead body shall be carried off by kites, it shall be carried off by crows, his family and clan shall not find it, he shall become a dog, he shall become a cat, he shall creep in dog, he shall creep in urine, and he shall receive punishment at thy hands, oh goddess, and at the hands of man. If, on the other hand, his cause be righteous, he shall be well, he shall be prosperous, he shall live long, he shall live to be an elder, he shall rise to be a defender and preserver of his clan, he shall be a master of tens and a master of hundreds, and all the world shall see it. Hear oh goddess, thou who judgest." While the above incantation is uttered, the judge also pours out the liquid that is contained in the fermented rice. Then he calls out the gourd and says thus: "Then *u klong* with whose assistance, according to our religion and our custom, a man when he is born into the world is named—hear and judge. If he speaks falsely, his name shall be cut off by thee, and he shall surely die." After that he then says to the fermented rice: "Thou yeast, thou charcoal, thou rice of the plough, thou rice of the yoke, thou, too, hear and judge. If he speaks falsely, eat off his tongue, eat away his mouth," and last of all he invokes the arrow thus: "Thou piercing and lacerating arrow, as thou hast been ordained by the goddess, who createst man, who appoints man to occupy a pre-eminent place in war and in controversy, do thou hear and judge. If he speaks falsely let him fall upon thee, let him be cut and be torn, and let him be afflicted with shooting and piercing pains."

The judge having finished his incantations, he then gives the gourd to the man who undertakes to take the oath. The man then puts the gourd on his head and while holding in that position, he repeats the incantations uttered by the judge, only that he uses the first person personal pronoun instead of the third person used by the judge. During the whole ceremony there is complete silence, and the grave solemnity with which the ceremony is performed, creates such an impression that the party who feels guilty generally never dares to take this ordeal. He would rather lose the disputed property, pay, even his whole wealth, than allowing the wrath of the gods to visit on him and be the cause of the extinction of his clan.

# Indian Labourers in Ceylon

BY JOHN COATES

IT is the Minimum Wage Ordinance of 1929 that governs the conditions of life for Indian labourers on Ceylon estates. Its introduction did much to lessen the abuses that existed on certain second rate estates and to render it exceedingly dangerous for any unscrupulous employer to exploit the labourers in his employ.

For, under the clauses of this Ordinance, rates of pay which, up to that time, had depended entirely upon the discretion of the employer, were laid down on a fixed scale, approximately one anna per diem above the rates that were then in existence on the majority of well-managed estates.

Certain other matters appertaining to the welfare of the employees were also given legal protection. Free medical facilities, better housing arrangements and estate schools were made obligatory upon every employer of Indian labour.

At the time of the introduction of the Ordinance, there was considerable consternation amongst European planters, who had deservedly won a reputation for fair-dealing in their treatment of employees and who resented Government interference. In certain quarters it was prophesied, moreover, that the introduction of laws in relation to Tamil labourers would have a deleterious effect upon the harmonious relations that had always existed between European employers and the labourers on their estates.

That this dismal foreboding, advanced for the most part by planters whose knowledge of the sterling qualities and the shrewd common sense of the Tamil labourer was lamentably meagre, has found no justification at any time since the introduction of the Ordinance is a source of the greatest satisfaction to those who wish to see the Indian labourer raised to the position that his merits deserve, and who saw in the Minimum Wage Ordinance a fair solution of his present-day problems.

How, then, can modifications of the Ordinance, apparently a retrograde step in the development of the labourer, be viewed with anything but grave concern? To answer this question, it is necessary to review in brief the economic conditions prevailing on estates at the present moment.

The cost of production of rubber on most Ceylon estates is normally as much as 6 annas per lb. With the greatest economy and consequent decrease in the capital value of the property, it is possible to produce for, perhaps, half that

sum. Yet the selling price of the product is, at present, under two annas per lb. and there is no prospect of an increase.

Tea in Ceylon costs 8 annas to produce. For the last few months, the price realised for their tea by the average estate has not reached that figure.

Yet, despite the loss incurred and the reductions in the salaries of Europeans, no cuts have hitherto been made in the labourers' wages.

That it is right for the labourers themselves to be the last to suffer a salary decrease, no one will deny. But it would be foolish to contend that, despite the conditions prevailing, no change must ever be made in the employees' rates of wages.

For, the alternative is one that spells starvation for thousands of labourers. If the Indian Government should refuse to sanction the modifications proposed, there will be dozens of estates who will be obliged to cease production. This will entail the unemployment of labourers on those estates. Some may return to India; others will remain in Ceylon. The result in both cases will be hardship and misery, for there is no work in either country that could absorb a tenth of the army of unemployed that would suddenly come into existence.

In consideration of the hardships that are likely to occur in the reduction of wages—undoubtedly the lesser of two evils—it is necessary to remember the ratio that inevitably exists, at any moment in the economic life of a country, between wages and cost of living. It will be obvious that the latter is governed to a large extent by any changes in the former.

That this will occur—it has, in fact, already commenced to occur in anticipation—in Ceylon need not for a moment be doubted. The cost of clothes and provisions will quickly react to the labourers' decreased purchasing power and the change in his conditions of living will, therefore, be much less than might be expected.

The value of money lies in its purchasing power. Provided the purchasing power remains constant, an employee will be as well off on 6 annas per diem as he was previously on 9. This is the light in which the modifications to the Ordinance should be viewed, and it will, then, be realised that what is apparently a retrograde step may, in reality, be of negligible account in the lives of Indian Estate labourers in Ceylon.

# OSMAN: THE RICH

BY MR. AHMED SHAFI

## I

OSMAN was the son of Affan. He traced his descent five generations back to one of the forefathers of the Prophet. His family was held in great esteem by the Arabs. The national standard of the Qoreish was entrusted in the keeping of this family. They were highly respected for their noble descent, wealth and renown.

Osman was born 47 years before Hegira. Nothing is known about his early age, but it can be safely inferred that unlike the Arabs, he had learnt reading and writing before he grew to manhood. He engaged himself in trade and by the virtues of his honesty, truthfulness and straightforward dealings, he became prosperous.

## II

He was of 34 years age when the Prophet raised the call to Islam in Mecca. Like the other Arabs, Osman felt surprised at it, yet his natural piety, devotion and grace prompted him to instant response. Abu Bakr, after his conversion, began introducing the new faith among his relatives and friends. Osman expressed readiness to be presented to the Prophet for conversion, and before the two could visit him for this purpose the Prophet himself called on Osman and addressed him in these words: "Osman! accept the grace of God. I have been chosen by Him for your guidance, and for the guidance of the mankind." Osman says that he found the appeal of these words so irresistible and pregnant with meaning that he at once bore witness that there was no God but Allah and that Muhammad was his Prophet. He did this in the teeth of opposition of the whole of his tribe when only 35 or 36 persons had entered the fold of Islam.

Every addition to the number of Mussalmans infuriated the Qoreish more and more. Osman, in spite of his position in his tribe, was not excepted from the usual brutalities that were visited upon the Mussalmans. His own

uncle beat him mercilessly. His relatives shunned him and treated him with indifference and slight. Osman found that he could bear it no longer and with the approval of the Prophet, he migrated to Abyssinia with his wife Raggia, a daughter of the Prophet. He was the first of the Mussalmans who exiled themselves for the sake of truth and in search of freedom of worship.

Osman lived in Abyssinia for a few years and when the false news of the Qoreish having embraced Islam reached there, he along with a few others returned to Mecca. On learning that there was no truth in the news a few returned to Abyssinia, but Osman settled down in Mecca.

## III

A little later he migrated to Medina when the Mussalmans trekked out to that haven of peace and immunity from persecution.

There was scarcity of potable water in Medina. The whole town had only one well which supplied drinkable water. It was owned by a Jew who depended for his livelihood upon the sale of water. Osman wanted to purchase the well and dedicate it for public use but the Jew would not sell it. He, however, after considerable difficulty was persuaded to sell only the half of it at twelve thousand *dirhams* on the condition that the Mussalmans would have the right to take water free for one day and on the next day the Jew would sell the water as usual. The Mussalmans used to take in so much water on their turn as would suffice them for two days. The Jew soon found out that his business was no longer a paying concern. He agreed to sell his half of the well for eight thousand *dirhams*. Osman paid the money and dedicated the whole well for free public use.

## IV

Osman was not by nature of the fighting class. Owing to the sickness of his wife, he could not join the Prophet in the battle of

Badr. He, however, took part in almost all the subsequent battles. When the Prophet went to Mecca for the Haj for the first time and had to return unsuccessful, Osman was sent to the Qoreish on embassy. When contributions were called for making preparations to meet the Romans, Osman offered to equip one-third of the entire army which consisted of about thirty thousand men. He accompanied the Prophet on the last Haj of his life.

Before his death Omar had suggested a panel of six men including Osman, Ali and Abdur Rehman bin Auf from whom a Calif might be elected. After two days' discussion, Abdur Rehman bin Auf proposed that the panel should be reduced to three men and that three should retire in favour of the other three. This was accepted by the six and as a result Osman, Ali and Abdur Rehman bin Auf were left in the field. Abdur Rehman now withdrew and asked the other two, *i.e.*, Osman and Ali to leave the selection in his hands. They both agreed to it, and they all repaired to the mosque where the others were also called. Abdur Rehman after a short discourse suggested Osman as the next Calif. Ali also agreed to it and so did everybody else. This happened on Monday the second of Muharram in the year of Hegira 24.

## V

Omar during his caliphate had brought Syria, Persia and Egypt under the sway of Islam and had laid down lines for carrying on the administration of these countries. Osman, therefore, chose for himself the mild ways of Abu Bakr or the stern measures of Omar as the need arose or the occasion demanded. The Armenians stopped payment of taxes. An expeditionary force was sent against them to compel them to submission. In the year 25 Hegira, the people of Alexandria abetted by the Romans revolted. Amar, the former Governor of Egypt, handled the situation with considerable tact and suppressed the revolt without use of much force. It was, however, reported to the Calif that Amar had reduced the women-folk

of the rebels to be slaves. Osman expressed deep resentment at this and ordered that the slaves should be freed at once.

The same year an expedition was sent to Tripoli. The Tripolitans were defeated and sued for peace by offering fifty lakhs of *dinars*.

Osman dismissed from service the Governor of Kufa who had obtained a large sum of money on loan from the public treasury and could not repay it.

In the year 26 Hegira, Algeria and Morocco were conquered. In the year 28, a naval force was sent against Cyprus as this island was a strategic point from which the Romans could attack Egypt and Syria, and it was considered necessary to possess it for the safety of these two countries. The peace was concluded after the Islanders agreed to pay a subsidy of seven thousand *dinars* a year and to keep the Mussalmans informed of the movements of the enemy fleets, but they broke the treaty in 33 Hegira. The island was invaded again and annexed to the Islamic territories.

The Governor of Basra was constantly opposed by a large local faction. During the caliphate of Omar this faction could not have its way, but with the accession of Osman matters assumed a different turn. As it happened, the Kurds raised a revolt and the Governor, in his speech in which he called the people to arms, spoke on the merits of joining the expedition on foot. Hearing this the owners of horses discarded their mounts and got ready to march on foot. A few preferred to wait and see how the Governor himself joined the force. The Governor emerged from his house riding a very good steed followed by forty ponies which carried his accoutrements. The matter was at once reported to the Calif and a demand was made for the recall of the Governor. The Calif dismissed the man from service.

In 31 Hegira, the Romans collected a big fleet to attack the Syrian coast. The Mussalmans met them with their fleet at some distance from the coast and after a severe fight defeated the Romans.

## VI

The first six years of the twelve years of Osman's caliphate were years of peace, prosperity and plenty. The extension of territories, increase of trade and the effects of good and settled government brought wealth and the concomitants of wealth, the life of ease and luxury. This created the causes which unless counteracted lead to decline and fall of a people. When a class obtains the monopoly of wealth and power, it prefers to sacrifice the interests of the whole society to its own vested interests. But this was not all. There were other causes as well that operated to create trouble in the later six years of Osman's caliphate. A class of factious persons organised a campaign of misrepresentation and false accusations against the Calif. The older generation of the companions of the Prophet, who could exercise a steadying influence on the younger generation, had either retired from active life or slowly died out with the result that the sentimental idea of sanctity which attached to the old associations of Osman had been considerably weakened. According to the convention created by Abu Bakr and confirmed by Omar Ali, the high offices of State were entrusted to the people of the Qoreish tribe who came to regard themselves as superior to the other Arab tribes. On the other hand, these Arab tribes claimed equal share in the administrative offices on the plea that the territories to be administered had been brought under the sway of the Mussalmans by the dint of their sword. The numerous conquered peoples, who could not oppose the Mussalmans, openly took part in covert conspiracies to hasten their downfall. The Jews often played the spear-head to these conspiracies. Osman's mild and inoffensive nature seemed to invite injury. His treatment of the men of his own tribe was regarded as favouritism. The chief centres of these movements were Kufa, Syria and Egypt, and all were agreed on the dethronement of Osman and the extirpation of his tribe from the affairs of State. \* \* \*

Various charges of more or less frivolous nature were brought against him, and whenever Osman had occasion to explain his conduct he did so without hesitation. But such explanations could not suppress or satisfy the passions that had been sedulously aroused against him. He, however, determined to make an attempt to set this agitation at rest and called a Conference of all the Governors of the provinces. \* \* \*

But the Conference ended as it were in a fiasco. Several persons were then sent out to the different provinces to enquire into and report upon the causes of this agitation. The Calif himself sent word to all and sundry that he would personally enquire into any complaint that might be made against any of the Governors.

## VII

Meantime the revolutionaries of Basra, Kufa and Egypt marched on Medina to secure compliance with their demands by use of force, if necessary, and encamped at a distance of about two miles from the town. They asked several prominent people to intercede on their behalf but all refused to be dragged into this affair. Osman, on hearing the news of this congregation, requested Ali to soften these people and to ask them to return to their homes, telling them that the Calif would redress their grievances. On next Friday in the mosque Osman divulged the scheme of his reforms and the future course of the conduct of his Government at some length. The people were satisfied and thought that this would put an end to their troubles and break the monopoly of the Ommayyads—the tribe of the Calif. A little later the streets of Medina resounded with the hoofs of horses and angry shouts crying for revenge. The Egyptians had returned. On enquiry Ali was informed that as they were returning to Egypt, they overtook a messenger of the Calif who was making for Egypt with haste which aroused their suspicions. They searched him and found concealed on his person an order from the Calif asking the Governor

of Egypt to put them all to sword. They had therefore returned to Medina to take revenge for this treachery and deception. Osman was informed of this at once. He professed ignorance and declared on solemn oath that he was unaware of the existence, or the despatch, of any such order to Egypt. It was suspected that his nephew Marwan has done the trick. The Egyptians were not pacified with this and affirmed that a Calif who could allow such serious matters to happen without his knowledge or cognizance, was not fit for the trust reposed in him and demanded his retirement from this august office. Osman refused to do so saying that he of his own will would not divest himself of the honour which God had bestowed upon him. A rigid blockade of his house was established at once. This continued for forty days. Even water was not allowed to pass the ring. Neighbours alone could occasionally smuggle through a few eatables. Even Ali was rudely prevented from going to the Calif. Osman made several attempts to parley and argue with the besiegers but all in vain. He reminded them how he had purchased land for extending the mosque and a well to provide people with drinkable water and dedicated them to the Mussalmans at a time when they badly needed such help. He recalled how he had fared danger to his life by going to Mecca as the Prophet's messenger, and how well the Prophet thought of him and of his services. The rebels admitted all this but did not relent. They decided to kill him before the people returned from the Haj. Osman asked them why they wanted to shed his blood. Islam permitted killing of human beings in three cases only: adultery, murder and heresy. He was guilty of none of these. But all this left them unaffected. The Calif had still some loyal friends. One of them offered three alternatives of escape. He should give fight to the rebels. His adherents were numerous enough to put them to flight. In the alternative he should escape by the backdoor to Mecca or leave for Syria where he would be backed by a strong force of

loyalists. Osman would not accept either of these alternatives. He would not be the first Calif to shed the blood of his co-religionists. He would not take shelter in Mecca lest the rebels should violate that sanctuary and he should be the cause of it. He would not leave Medina where he found a home and an asylum in the company of the Prophet. Again and again his friends suggested resort to arms but the Calif persistently refused their offer saying that his best friend was one who would resist the temptation of striking a blow in his defence. He would not permit killing in any case. At the same time he knew that he would be killed and got ready for that. He set his slaves free. He took hold of his Quran and began reading it. The door of his house was guarded by Hasan, the son of Ali and Fatma, the daughter of the Prophet. The rebels scaled the wall and entered the house. One caught him by his beard and pulled him. Osman said: "My nephew, if your father had seen it he would not have liked it." His assailant felt ashamed and did not touch him any more. Another struck an iron rod on his forehead and felled him. Still another gave him another blow. This rendered him unconscious and he began bleeding profusely. Someone pierced him with his lance and yet another struck him with his sword. Osman's wife attempted to ward off the blow with her hand. Three of her fingers were cut and so was the thin thread of the life of this good natured, mild tempered, but strong willed Calif. The world of Islam has not yet recovered from the shock of the blow that was struck on that fateful Friday afternoon. For two days no one could dare approach his body for fear of the rebels. At last under the cover of night a few daring persons found an opportunity to give him a silent burial.

[JUST PUBLISHED.]

**The Four Califs.** By Ahmed Shafi. CONTENTS: Abu Bakr, Omar, Osman, and Ali. Price Rs. One. To Subscribers of the "Indian Review", ANNAS TWELVE (12).

G. A. NATHAN & Co., PUBLISHERS, G. T., MADRAS.

# Sir P. C. Ray's Autobiography

BY MR. N. C. KELKAR

(Editor, *The Kesari and The Maharashtra.*)

IT is a welcome sign of the times that leading public men by writing sensible autobiographies are taking away from that class of literature the stigma and the odium of vanity which is generally alleged against their authors. What information can be more authentic than that supplied, nay, written down with their own hand, by people who have themselves made the events to which that information relates? A man writing his autobiography produces, in our opinion, a work of real historical value, so that lovers of the science of history can wish for nothing better. It is wrong to suppose that autobiographers may indulge in any truth or exaggeration out of vanity. For, in their case the needed guarantee against this lapse is supplied by the great fact that in most cases autobiographies are produced in the very lifetime of their writers. So that their contemporaries have an obvious chance of correcting or even exposing them if they have indulged in interested exaggerations or untruths.

But considerations of this kind do not at all arise in the case of people like Acharya Ray, who are characterised by extreme simplicity and openness of mind and whose soul is always engrossed with considerations of selflessness and public service. In the present book\* is told the life-story of a worker, 70 years old, and it gives an insight into the great development of study of the science of Chemistry and also the practical work thereof, which has been attained by Bengal during the last half century. With Sir J. C. Bose for Physics, and Acharya Ray for Chemistry, Bengal possesses two illustrious names of servants which can be mentioned with well-founded glory and justifiable pride by Bengal as its noique possession.

Acharya P. C. Ray was born in a fairly well-to-do family, so that as a child he can be said to have been born "with a silver spoon in his mouth". But he saw the fortunes of the family deteriorate to his own early lifetime, and it was owing to Ray's own attainments and industry as a scholar that he could proceed to England and lay the foundation of a scholarship which deepened and extended with years, and which brought him not only a very high post as a teacher but honour to the world of scientists

abroad. And what is more important, the means and resources of one of the most successful *Swadeshi* industrial concerns in India. We need not dwell upon the narration of the events of P. C. Ray's life as a student in India or in England, but we can definitely recommend to the reader those chapters in the book which relate to his work of tuition and research at the Presidency College, Calcutta, the establishment of the Bengal Chemical and Pharmaceutical Works, his new Chemical Laboratory, the scientific researches generally carried on in Bengal, the School of Industrial Chemistry, the history of Indian Chemistry, the University College of Science, and so forth. "From 1885 till 1920," says Acharya Ray, "Chemistry claimed me almost as her own." One can, therefore, easily imagine what an amount of useful work, and also inspiring work, must have been put forward by him during these nearly 50 years. Acharya Ray has written his book in such a way that even a common reader may feel great interest in it. He has avoided all abstruse and technical matters, even in giving account of his own work, or the story of scientific research. He has written the book rather in the style of a frank open hearted man who takes delight in conversations with any one he meets as man to man without the smallest suspicion of inferiority or ignorance on the other man's part or slightest vestige of superiority or learning on his own. But the book does not exclude sidelights of the Acharya's mind upon the contemporary events of our time; and therefore one feels absorbed when he takes you into the story of reascent nationalism of Bengal and the part played by the heroes of Bengal politics through a period which will be memorable in modern history. Furthermore, the book is enlivened by the charming evidence of garrulity to which Acharya Ray is evidently prone. For, he often betrays and even runs away with his love for literature and gossip and consequently we find in the book less chemical formulas than lines of poetry. The second part of the autobiography contains statements of his opinions on many serious subjects which are either connected with chemistry or with literature. They in a way extract the essence of wisdom which the author has been able to garner out of his living experiences in different spheres of life.

\* LIFE AND EXPERIENCES OF A BENGALI CHEMIST.  
(Author: Sir P. C. Ray.) Chakravarti Chatterji & Co.,  
Calcutta, and Kegan Paul & Co., London.

# The Task at the Next R. T. C.

BY MR. MADHO PRASAD

MANY questions of consequence to the political future of India demand attention in connection with the coming Indian Constitutional Conference in London. And they assume added importance in view of the decision of His Majesty's Government that the Conference is to proceed according to a "fixed agenda", whether this agenda is framed by the Government or, as it is now believed in responsible political circles, in consultation with the Indian delegates when they assemble in London. A business-like procedure for the Conference is of course to be welcomed; but it is essential to ensure that Indian interests are not sacrificed under a false sense of expedition and dispatch and in too great an anxiety for speech at a Conference which is to attempt a final agreement on the subject of the new Constitution.

Obviously the first duty of Indian delegates at the Conference will be to press for the inclusion in the agenda of subjects which, in their view, must come before it. And surely the basis of the further deliberations must be labours of the two sessions of the Round Table Conference and the Committees appointed to persueance of its recommendations. For by whatever name the coming Conference may be called,—the Viceroy avoided the use of the term "Round Table Conference" in his recent address in the Central Legislature—one can understand the coming Conference as only a continuation and final stage of the Round Table Conference (the change in personnel notwithstanding), because the object with which the Round Table Conference was called has not yet been accomplished.

## CENTRAL RESPONSIBILITY

If, therefore, the coming Conference cannot ignore the labours of the two Sessions of the Round Table Conference, it is permissible to refer to them briefly here. Just now the issue of central responsibility is looming large on the horizon of Indian constitutional discussions. The character of the National Government in Britain, dominated by the Conservatives who have never had much sympathy with our political aspirations, the recommendations of the Devidson Committee which require a large payment to be made to Indian States by British India in the event of the former federating with the latter, and other similar circumstances, have raised doubts as to the chances of the materialisation of the idea of Federation in the near future, though it will not be a great

surprise if the Princes rise to the occasion again. All the same the doubts are there; and the question is: What about the introduction of the principle of responsibility in the Central Government of British India? One need not quote from the reports of the Federal Structure Sub-Committee and the speeches of the Prime Minister at the Conference, to point out that what the British Government and Parties have committed themselves to recently is Federation. It is well known that the Conservatives countenanced the idea of the introduction of even partial responsibility at the centre, only because in a Federation the Princes might be expected to counterbalance any breakneck policy of British Indian politicians. But Federation or no Federation, the next reforms would be wholly unacceptable even to "moderate" sections in British India if they fail to provide for an advance at the centre. Nor have the fears of British Indian public men on this question been dispelled by Sir Samuel Hoare's promise of a "single Bill", for the interval between the introduction of Provincial Autonomy and materialisation of Federation may be decades.

## DEFENCE

While the question of partial central responsibility for British India must, therefore, find a place on the agenda to be taken up in case the Conference fails to reach a settlement on the terms of Federation, there are other matters, perhaps equally important and, in any case, as vital to the "advance of India through the new Constitution to full responsibility for her own government", to quote the words of the declaration of His Majesty's Government of January 19 and December 1, 1931, which must be raised in the Conference. One such matter is the Indianisation of the Army. Admittedly, Self-Government for India, or any other country, can never be real unless the country concerned can defend itself. Indeed, this important subject was dealt with by the Defence Sub-Committee of the Round Table Conference and it passed the "definite" resolution that "immediate steps be taken to increase substantially the rate of Indianisation in the Indian Army" in view of the principle adopted by it that "the Defence of India must to an increasing extent be the concern of the Indian people and not of the British Government alone". Surely, it would be legitimate for Indians to demand at the next Conference that steps be



taken to give effect to this resolution agreed to by the British Government even though it did not satisfy the Indian section of the Sub-Committee. For it must be pointed out that the authorities have managed subsequently to take away what little was gained by Indians at the Round Table Conference in this matter. In opening the proceedings of the Military College Committee which was appointed in pursuance of the recommendation of the Defence Sub-Committee, to work out the details of the establishment of a training college in India "at the earliest possible moment", to enable a substantial increase in the rate of Indianisation, the Commander-in-Chief announced the ready-made decision of the Government that the College was designed to train sixty candidates for British India, and that the Viceroy's commissioned officers in the units of the Division to be Indianised were also to be replaced by King's Indian commissioned officers. This decision effectively provides against any increase in the rate of Indianisation that might have been expected to result by the provision for the training in the proposed Military College of sixty British Indians as contrasted with the present twenty vacancies at Sandhurst, six at Woolwich and three at Cranwell that are reserved for Indians. For, nearly two-thirds of the officer establishment of the Indian Army consists of the Viceroy's commissioned officers who are now to be replaced by King's Indian commissioned officers. "The effect of the conditions sought to be imposed," as is pointed out by Sir Abdur Rahim, Rai Bahadur Chhotu Ram and Mr. S. N. Mukerji in their joint minute of dissent to the Military College Committee, will be that "the establishment of the College will lead to no increase whatever in the rate of Indianisation as the resolution of the Round Table Conference demands, and the only result will be to substitute one class of Indian officers for another".

#### SAFEGUARDS AND OTHER SUBJECTS

Of course the subjects of reservations and safeguards and commercial discrimination may be expected to come up before the Conference in connection with the consideration of the central structure. But what about the provincial constitutions? Are not the reports of the Sub-Committees, except the Minorities Committee, to come at least for a review before the coming Conference which is to finally settle the issues relating to the next Constitution? It is necessary here to refer to the stage at which the two Sessions of the Round Table Conference

left the whole subject of the next Constitution. The Round Table Conference in its plenary session in January last year "noted" the reports of the Sub-Committees with objections, sometimes strong objections, to parts of them voiced in the Committee of the whole Conference. These objections were merely recorded; and it was understood that an attempt to reconcile them would be made at the proper time. Indeed, the only resolution passed by the Round Table Conference in its plenary session laid down no more than that "material of the highest value" had been collected "for use in the framing of the new Constitution". The Second Session engaged itself only with Federal Structure and the the Minorities Problem, and at the end of it the Prime Minister said in surveying the work of the two Sessions: "The reports presented to us now bring our co-operation to the end of another stage, and we must pause and study what has been done and the obstacles which we have encountered, and the best ways and means of bringing our work to a successful end as rapidly as possible." Clearly unless the whole procedure is to be altogether irregular, the work of most of Sub-Committees, the conclusions reached by them, and the differences presented by them, ought to be reviewed by the coming Conference. The structure proposed for the provinces affects some interests intimately. For example, the proposal to establish Second Chambers in three provinces has been strongly disented from by the progressive sections. Considering not only this but also that the hope of obtaining a satisfactory arrangement at the centre is not very bright, it is essential that the subject of provincial constitutions should also come up for review by the Conference. By the way, it may be noted that the elimination of many delegates who were invited to the previous sessions, may adversely affect the points of view that they represented and voiced. Anyhow, as it is, it is incumbent on those who are invited to the coming Conference to see that important subjects are not left out of the purview of the Conference, and that due weight is attached to opinions expressed in the past sessions.

THE FIRST ROUND TABLE CONFERENCE. India's demand for Dominion Status. Speeches at the First Round Table Conference by the Premier, Princes and the People of India. Pt. 2. To Saba, of the "F.R.", Pt. 1-8.

G. A. NATHERAN & CO., PUBLISHERS, MADRAS.

# The World Economic Conference

BY MR. A. RAMAIA, M.A., F.R.ECON. S.

THE acceptance by the United States of the invitation to take part in the discussions of the coming International Economic Conference only on the official understanding "that the questions of reparations, of debts and of specific tariff rates (as distinguished from tariff policy) will be excluded", has led to a good deal of adverse criticism against the attitude of the United States on the ground that a Conference with these limitations must prove futile and farcical and fail to achieve the purpose for which it is to be convoked. It is said that this attitude of the United States is similar to agreeing to a naval disarmament conference but refusing to permit any discussion of battleships, cruisers or submarines or "any other than purely naval subject".

In the view of the present writer, the criticism levelled against the United States though quite justified is not helpful. If the Conference is to achieve any measure of success, it is essential that its energies should not be wasted in a discussion of points where differences are likely to exist to a large extent. If there are any questions on which views are held in many quarters in America contrary to those of the outside world, they are in respect of the debts question and the tariff question. Though a good many leading Americans, including Senator Borah who believe that in America's own interest a readjustment of the debts and reduction of tariff rates are necessary, public opinion has yet to be persuaded to recognise the inevitability of these for the economic recovery of U. S. A. herself as well as the world outside. It has to be brought home to the mind of every American that the decline in international trade has been many times the annual total of the reparations and War debt payments and the shrinkage in the national income of many nations still larger; that in the very case of the U. S. A. herself within the last two years, the national income has shrunk by considerably more than 20 billion dollars. This aspect is to be made clear to the American and he must be made to recognise that his prosperity lies more in making the other nations buy something from him in exchange for the goods which they send than if they are to send those goods simply in payment of their political debts.

From the trends of American public opinion, it is however clear that the Economic Conference

is not to be proper medium through which the U. S. A. would like to be enlightened on the matter of debts and tariffs. Questions as to which nations can best afford to bear the burden of the War debts, and whether on the basis of standard budgetary and economic tests the U. S. A. cannot more easily shoulder the burden than any other country, would certainly lead to stout opposition on the part of the American representatives of the Conference. The energies of the Conference should not be allowed to exhaust themselves on this controversial question which, if it is to be satisfactorily solved, ought to be handled independently of the Conference.

If the Conference is to achieve anything substantial, it may properly confine itself to the limited task set for it, *viz.*, of considering "methods to stabilize world commodity prices". Though the terms of reference of the Lausanne Conference included the seeking of an agreement not only on the settlement of reparations but on the measures necessary to solve "the other economic financial difficulties" which are responsible for and may prolong the present world crisis (*vide* Preamble to the Lausanne Act), that Conference completely spent itself on the question of the reparations settlement and decided to invite the League of Nations to convocate the World Conference on monetary and economic questions now to be held. The object of the Conference is essentially to investigate the possibility of a world-wide rise in the general level of wholesale prices and incidentally to consider the restoration of the gold standard on the monetary possibility of silver. Though the demonetization of gold, and the feasibility of a system of managed currencies based on the price levels of commodities, may also come up for discussion in the Conference, there is little chance of any proposal meeting with approval which do not take into account the basic conditions under which the Conference has to meet, *viz.*, that no country is prepared to make sacrifice for the benefit of others.

Under these limitations the coming Conference has to work. Whether it fails or succeeds in other respects, it will certainly be contributing to world recovery if, within its limits, it discusses from an international standpoint the problems of currency and credit, foreign exchange and connected questions and points the way to raise world prices above the present level and then to maintain them at the level thus reached with reasonable stability.

# The Problem of Unemployment in India

By MR. V. P. CHOUDARY, B.A., B.Com. (Lond.), A.S.A.A., A.I.B. (ENG.)

ONE of the most perplexing problems which is baffling the minds of the great thinkers in the West is the problem of unemployment. The United Kingdom with a population of 42 millions has got about 2 millions of people unemployed, i.e., about 5 per cent. of the total population. Similarly, Germany has about 8 per cent. of the population unemployed. In the United States there is not any official information available to measure unemployment, but private estimates put as much as 10 millions of people unemployed, that is to say about 8 per cent. of the population. When we take India, Sir M. Viswesvarayya has put it at about 80 millions unemployed which is about 23 per cent. of the population. The topic of the day in the United Kingdom, Germany, and U.S.A. is the problem of unemployment and how best to tackle it. Somehow everybody feels the pinch in India and nobody cries it out. Sir M. Viswesvarayya has rightly pointed out in his recent address to the University Institute at Bangalore that the official world has not taken notice of the situation which is developing alarmingly every day.

I shall just try to examine in a very brief manner what concerted action can be taken by the Government and the public to mitigate this problem, which alone can solve the problem of underfeeding and starvation amongst a great many of our people.

Regarding the agricultural population it is well known that they are unemployed for six months in every year. The pressure on the soil has become very great and the methods of cultivation have not improved during the last one or two centuries at least. This has made agriculture a losing game. Some cottage industry, e.g., poultry-keeping, dairy-farming, silk, and preparing of cotton, etc., will add to the slender purses of the struggling agriculturist. During recent years the spinning wheel has done something to alleviate the distress in some classes. But that alone can do very little. Finance is the stumbling-block in the way of quite a good number of enterprising youngsters. The Government must tackle this problem seriously and try to improve the earnings of the agriculturists. While the incomes of the agriculturist is stationary at best or reducing, the burden of taxation both direct and indirect is increasing. Such a situation is bound to develop seriously not without repercussions in other spheres.

Unemployment amongst the educated middle classes is rampant to-day. This is due to, I think, popularisation of higher education of a particular type. Our Universities are, to day, very liberal in giving education of a certain type which would not be much useful to the practical world of business. We are learning very little that is useful to the outside world. Even amongst technically educated people there is a great deal of unemployment. Education is developing at a much rapid rate than the economic development of the country. So far as I can see, judging by the present circumstances, there is no time in the near future when the trend of economic development will be faster than that of education. Hence we have got to be prepared for a comparatively long era of unemployment amongst the educated people. The solution for this partly, at any rate, lies in modifying the University education to suit the business taste and then adapting ourselves to the business atmosphere. Private enterprise is the mother of all work, and we should in the coming era go on boldly with private enterprise and increase the possibility of our employment and enrich our country.

For this we require the co-operation of the Government no less than the co-operation of our own capitalists. The Government must boldly come out with some schemes and be the forerunner to the enterprising young men. They must financially support deserving cases, always bearing in mind that its own finances are not endangered by that act. The capitalists must boldly come out and as a recent Bombay meeting has resolved to start on a "Ten Year Plan" for India. In short, our own capitalists must take courage in both hands and start an era of intensive economic development. They would be serving their country best in doing so.

There is just another point which should never be out of our mind. If we put ourselves the question: Are the economic resources of the country sufficient to maintain our population with a decent standard of living which is growing at 10 per cent. compound interest every decennium. I think the population of our country is much too great for the economic resources we have got. The only solution for that is the reduction of population by not allowing it to grow at such an alarming rate as 10 per cent. If we are not prepared for it, we must be prepared for a lower standard of living and should not grumble at it.

# Yajnopavita or the Sacred Thread

BY PROF. A. S. ALTEKAR, M.A.

(Benares Hindu University)

It will be difficult to find a Hindu who does not know the sacred thread. Several beliefs have woven themselves around this sacred thread. It is popularly believed to be the visible manifestation of the very essence of Brahmanism; many castes who had given up its use have recently begun to wear it again with a view to show that their status is in no way inferior to that of the priestly class. Children imagine that the knot of the sacred is potent enough to exorcise any malicious demon. All think that one can never separate oneself from it. Let us therefore try to see what was the original conception of the sacred thread and how it came to be worn.

The association of the sacred thread with the *Upanayana* ceremony is at present regarded as intimate as the association of breath with life. Hence it is that the ceremony in question is known as the sacred thread ceremony in English and *janua* in Hindi. An investigation into the nature of the *Upanayana* ceremony, however, does not enable us at all to unravel the mystery of the sacred thread. Nay, a careful study of the Grihya Sutras, which discuss in great details the various items connected with this ceremony, discloses the astounding fact that the wearing of our present-day sacred thread did not at all form a part of the *Upanayana* ceremony! There are about 15 or 16 Grihya Sutra works; they narrate in details when and how the *Munja* belt, gourd, staff, deer skin, etc., are to be given to the boy in the *Upanayana* ceremony, but they nowhere make any mention of the sacred thread, of the time when it was to be given to the boy or of the *Mantras* to be used on the occasion. Varsha Grihya Sutra is the only exception, but it is a late work and its reference to the commencement of the use of the sacred thread at the time of the *Upanayana* does not invalidate the remark that the older and genuine Grihya Sutras are unaware of the association of our present day sacred thread with that ceremony.

It was a custom among the Hindus to wear an upper garment at the time of performing a religious duty like the study of the Vedas, worship of gods, etc. Baudhayana expressly says that religious functions should be performed only when one wears an upper garment, and accordingly we find that all the genuine Grihya Sutras lay down that at the time of *Upanayana* when the boy has been given a bath after a

shave, he should be offered an upper garment to wear before the ceremony begins. One of the Grihya Sutras recommends that this upper garment should have been spun and woven in the household just before the commencement of the ceremony. Yajnopavita or the sacred thread is nothing else than a representative and descendant of this upper garment.

Etymologically Yajnopavita means the upper garment worn in the manner proper at the time of a sacrifice. This etymology is supported by an express observation in Tattiriya Samhita (1, 1, 3) that Yajnopavita really means the upper garment worn in a particular way, viz., so as to pass it over the left and under the right arm. The same garment would be called *Prachinavita* if it were worn in the opposite fashion at the time of the sacrifice to the manes.

A number of authorities can be cited to show that Yajnopavita was originally of the nature of the upper garment and not a triple cord. Rishyashringa lays down that triple cord might be worn for Yajnopavita only if a garment is unavailable. Gautama Dharma Sutra states that an upper garment should be invariably used as Yajnopavita, but if this were impracticable, a thread may be substituted. From the Gobhila Grihya Sutra also we learn that either a piece of garment or a triple cord of cotton or Dharbe threads was to be worn as a Yajnopavita. From the Nyayamalavistara we learn that the Mimamsakas also understood the terms Yajnopavita, Prachinavita, and Nivita as referring to a piece of cloth and a triple cord.

During the evolution of their religious ideas, the Hindus soon came to the conclusion that the proper way to evaluate life was to regard the whole of it as a period of religious dedication and preparation. The upper garment was necessary at the time of the performance of religious duties, and if this whole life was to be viewed as a kind of continuous sacrifice in the cause of God and sentient world, the upper garment would have to be continuously used throughout the life since the time of the *Upanayana* when the Hindu was given the privilege of commencing his religious duties. A loose upper garment, it was realised, would not easily lend itself to such a continuous use and therefore the practice arose of substituting a thread for the upper garment. The passages in Rishyashringa and Gautama mentioned above

show that the fashion of wearing a thread instead of a full garment was late in origin. The new substitute was, however, very convenient and it soon drove out of the field its old prototype. In course of time people so completely forgot that the sacred thread was a substitute for originally the upper garment, that some of the later Smritis began to recommend a third sacred thread as a substitute for the upper garment itself.

When Yajnopavita was of the nature of an upper unstitched garment, it could not have been obviously used as continuously as we wear the sacred thread at present time. It must have been occasionally laid aside when a person was not engaged in any particular religious duty. That this is not a mere conjecture is proved by a quotation from Bṛhgu Smṛiti taken by Ananabhatta in his *Smṛitichandrika* which states that it was a custom with several schools of Yajurveda like the Katha, Kanva and Taittiriya to remove the sacred thread at the

time of the bath. The same authority permits the removal of the sacred thread from the neck when one intends to have a bath after an oil-rubbing. It is therefore clear that the present day notion that one cannot pass a single moment without a Yajnopavita was not shared by our ancestors. How it arose has been already indicated above.

The above investigation into the origin and nature of the sacred thread would, it is hoped, enlighten the reader as to its real significance. It is a symbol showing that its wearer regards the whole life, including every moment of it, as a period of continuous duties towards gods, men, and the lower animals. How much were it be wished that such a consciousness should be ever present in the minds of us all. Further, if any person, either within or without the fold of Hinduism, were to desire its use after understanding its full significance, we should rather welcome than discourage the idea.

## PEARLS IN COLOURS

BY MR. S. T. MOSES, M.A., F.Z.S., F.R.A.I.

THE pearl, the emblem of purity, is white; but even among pearls, variation rules and multi-colored pearls are, therefore, not unnatural. The extraordinary range in the variation both in color and shade is beyond belief; to appreciate it, one's eyes must feast on the marvellous display in the Showrooms of the London Goldsmiths and Silversmiths Co., whose collection of pearls from all the fisheries of the world is assuredly the most unique ever exhibited.

White, silvery, golden, yellow, rose, pink, blue, black, etc., pearls are known, though the most famous of them are the white. Here those tinged with yellow are preferred as they are reported never to change their colour. A fair-skinned cynic ascribes this partiality to the fact that yellow pearls on dark necks enhance the beauty of both. White pearls are apt to fade to a dingy yellow after 40 to 50 years' wear. The Indian white pearl is often found to possess a pale green lustre, absent in the Australian white pearl. The yellowish discoloration so often seen in the Indian and Ceylon pearls, is said to be due to the primitive method of picking out the pearls after allowing

the flesh to rot. In America, the shell-fish are opened by knives and the pearls are sought for at once among the fresh tissues of the oimal. Here one cannot be quite sure of having secured all the sacreous concretions, but there is only this advantage that the pearls are obtained in a fresher state and so are less liable to discoloration.

Pearl producers in nature are usually shell-fish, though others are found in both the animal and vegetable kingdoms. According to ancient Hindu writings, an exhaustive list of pearl producers is as under: Boar (tusk), Cobra (head), Conch, Cow, Crocodile, Egret (neck), Elephant (tusk), Fish (head), Lion (foreleg), Monitor, Oyster, Arrecapalm, Bamboo, Lotus, Paddy, Plantain, Sugar-cane and Cloud. The *Shastras* also describe the various colors of the different kinds of pearls. The fish pearl is colored like a "missionary flower". The cobra pearl has a brilliant blue halo round it. The elephant pearl, which curiously enough bears a likeness of the elephant impressed on it, has a white lustrous point on the top, the bottom is ivory-white and the shades elsewhere suggest a variegated dark-cream.

A word regarding the origin of the pearl in shell-fish. It is of the same substance as forms the inner coat of the shell; the pearl being formed by the deposition of layers, in concentric series, around irritants such as parasitic worms, sandgrains, diatoms or other foreign bodies introduced, often accidentally, between the animal and the shell, may be defined as "a more or less rounded mass of shell substance made up of concentric layers laid down around a nucleus". The shell substance may be of any, one or more of the layers normally present in the shell-fish. Some pearls may consist wholly of the periostracum, some of Hypostracum and some again of nacre or the "mother of pearl" layer. Nacreous pearls characterise the pearl oyster. In fact, pearls composed of lustrous nacre are the gem pearls, the beautiful Orient pearls of Indian, Ceylon and even Australian waters. In cases where the innermost layer is porcellaneous, the pearls are of the same nature. Examples are: the pink pearls of the West Indian Conch, *Strombus gigas*, the rare and nicely watered pearls occasionally produced by our Sacred Chank, *Turbinella pyrum* and the lustrous white pearls sometimes found in the edible oyster (*Ostrea madrasensis*). Periostracal pearls are usually brown. Thus, pearls seem to be colored like the interior of the shell where they arise. Many pearls from the freshwater mussel are dark through iridescent. Freshwater pearls from Europe, America and elsewhere vary from a delicate pink to light purple and on to dark-brown. Lamellideous pearls, reddish tinted ones, sold in the Sorada bazaar (Ganjam) are obtained from the Sorada reservoir. The pearls yielded by the green mussel in Sonapur backwater (Ganjam) are also pinkish.

The black pearls, popularly known as the Panama pearl from its original source of supply, is exported more from California which contributes 99 per cent. of the world's supply. They occur also in Tahiti, Fiji and Australia. The only instance of the discovery of a black pearl in India is given below.

Black pearls, if of fine quality, are of more value than the white. Many black pearls have made history. Phillip II had two, one the size of a pigeon's egg valued at £4,000 and another valued 150,000 dollars weighing 250 carats. The Shah of Persia purchased one from Tavernier for £180,000. Empress Eugenie of Europe, when set the black pearl fashion in society, had a necklace of black pearls worth 5 lakhs of francs.

The late Madame Nordica possessed a famous collection of colored pearls. The finest collection of black pearls extant—it took a century to collect—is that of the Duchess of Anhalt-Dessau. The "Borgia" pearl mentioned in the Adventure of Sir Napoleons in the "Return of Sherlock Holmes" by Conan Doyle is a black pearl.

In India, black pearls do not seem to have attracted attention. References in writings are also meagre. A Telugu magazine (*Kalpalatha*) in 1904 published a story "Sopanamkithavali", where the heroine has a necklace the central pearl of which is black. Well known as are the virtues of the white pearl both in medicine and in magic, the black pearl is credited with greater powers. One jet black pearl, of brilliant lustre and of perfectly round shape, was found in a pearl oyster in the Tuticorin pearl fishery of 1927. It weighs 3.17 grs. (1.2 carats). The owner Mr. Kameswaraswami Pantulu, of Vizagapatam, stated in his evidence before the Fisheries Committee that he refused an offer of Rs. 2,600 for his pearl and is still awaiting better offers.

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E. April '33.

# INDIAN AFFAIRS

By "AN INDIAN JOURNALIST"

THE THIRD R. T. C.

THE opening of the Third R. T. C. has aroused little enthusiasm. Indeed, the present Conference is more in the nature of a small committee and could hardly be conceived as a continuation of the R. T. C. except in name. Apart from the absence of notable Round Tablers like the Rt. Hon. Sastri, Mr. Chintamani, Sir K. N. Haksar and others, the "fixed" agenda that is placed before the Conference is rather unpromising. One wonders if "Defence" in the agenda includes the question of the whole army and the problem of Indianisation on which public opinion in this country is so keen. What again is to be the position of Burma, and will the R. T. C. recognise the Allahabad Agreement? These are moot points on which there is need for enlightenment. . . .

We welcome the Prime Minister's assurance that the present R. T. C. will be more business-like and expeditious in its method, but the decision to dispense with verbatim records is to be deplored. For such records will certainly form useful material for guidance and reference in the future.

The absence of such good friends of India as Mr. Wedgwood Benn and the complete withdrawal of Labour Members from the British delegation must inevitably weaken the hands of the Indian progressives in the Conference. It therefore behoves the Prime Minister, Lord Saekey and Lord Irwin to throw in the whole weight of their influence and authority in the cause of India.

Above all, the exclusion of the Congress on the score of civil disobedience is most unfortunate as it is recognised on all hands that co-operation is imperative for working any constitution that may be hatched. We trust the Premier's reference to "the desirability of easing the present situation" is not a mere platitude. For, the release of Mr. Gandhi and his colleagues will at once create a new atmosphere of trust and goodwill. Mr. Gandhi already enjoys a certain amount of freedom in regard to propaganda against untouchability—a privilege which he is using to excellent advantage (though his threat of a renewal of fast on the Garuway issue is much to be deplored). Surely it would not be too much to ask the Government to release Mr. Gandhi and thus enable the leader of the Congress to take part in the shaping of the future constitution. We fear

Lord Saekey's appeal should rather have been directed to his colleagues in the Cabinet than to Mr. Gandhi; for it is certainly up to the Government not to ask for a public recantation of civil disobedience but trust to the time-spirit to respond to a gesture of peace and goodwill.

## THE UNITY CONFERENCE

Those who have been despairing of national unity must be heartened by the achievements of the Allahabad Conference. A great step forward has been taken in the direction of a communal settlement and it only remains for the ensuing All Parties' Conference to ratify the final conclusions. Evidently the same free spirit that inspired the settlement with the depressed classes is also behind the Hindu-Muslim-Sikh move. What seemed well-nigh impossible has at last been accomplished and the most ticklish of one problem, including the Bengal, the Punjab and Sind issues, have been satisfactorily solved. Agreement has also been reached on fundamental rights. The Agreement has behind it the bulk of public opinion in the country; for the Allahabad Conference was a representative and authoritative gathering with greater right to speak for the nation than many other conferences. It therefore remains to be seen if this agreement will displace the Premier's award.

The greatest credit for the settlement is due to Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya and Mr. C. Vijayaraghavachari, the two great old men of India, who have laboured hard to ensure the success of the Conference. But for Pandit Malaviya's courageous initiative and the patience and tact displayed by the President, such an agreement would hardly have been possible. A word of thanks is also due to Mr. Shaukat Ali and the patriotic Muslim Nationalists who were bent upon peace and unity at any cost.

But it is not to be supposed that any agreement, however satisfactory, could go unchallenged in the present circumstances of the country. Already the Executives of the Muslim League, the Muslim Conference and the Jamiat-ul-Ulema have issued a statement denouncing the agreement. It is idle to expect complete unanimity. In all such matters it is the dynamic forces of progress alone that should be the guiding factor, and it is up to the Round Tablers to choose right between the spirit of progressive nationalism and reactionary communalism.

## INDIANS IN THE TRANSVAAL

The passing of the Land Tenure Act, in the teeth of Indian opposition, has naturally stiffened the attitude of the Transvaal Congress which has declared passive resistance. But there is a feeling that the limits of negotiation are not exhausted and so the Rt. Hon. Sastri, Mr. Polak, and Mr. Andrews, and the new Agent General here all warned the Congress against precipitating a crisis. Mr. Mahatma Gandhi, who came to India at the time of his father's fast, has now discussed the situation with many leading Indians, officials and non officials, including Sir Fazl-i-Hussein and Mr. G. S. Bajpai. We are glad to learn from a statement of his to the Associated Press that our countrymen there do not propose to take any action until the results of the Commission that had been recently appointed were known. The Congress, of course, consistently with its resolution, would take no part in the Commission but that would not hinder others from giving evidence. We trust the Commission's findings will smoothen matters and give the relief sought for by our people in South Africa. Meanwhile the Government of India, we have no doubt, will watch with keen interest and solicitude the welfare of our countrymen in South Africa.

## PROGRESSIVE TRAVANCORE

A new chapter in the constitutional history of Travancore has opened with the young Maharajah's birthday gift to his people. For, the reforms adumbrated by the Proclamation mark a definite advance on the present constitution and show the desire of H. H. and his constitutional advisers for closer association of the representatives of the people with the administration of the State. According to the new scheme, the Popular Assembly, which since its inception in 1904 has been no more than a petitioning body, is now placed on a statutory basis. . . .

The new Constitution is an attempt to fit Travancore in the Federation that is to be and we congratulate the people on the very liberal scheme that has been inaugurated. It is possible, of course, to be very critical of any constitution. And the retention of the Second Chamber, the restrictions on the strength and powers of the popular house, the absence of adult franchise for so literate a people, and the over-riding powers in the hands of the Dewan, may be easily taken objection to. But no reform is final and as an earnest of far-reaching things to be, the present scheme is a distinct and welcome advance.

## THE LATE SIR ALI IMAM

Sir Ali Imam was one of the founders of the Muslim Nationalist Party, and his death, just at the time when fresh efforts are being made to bring about communal peace, is a severe national loss. His vast and varied experience, and his commanding position among the public men of the country, would have counted much in the councils of his co-religionists. He was an eminent lawyer, a great judge and a distinguished administrator. He succeeded Sir S. P. (afterwards Lord) Sinha as Law Member of the Government of India in the Minto Administration and later served H. E. H. the Nizam of Hyderabad as his Chief Minister. To either capacity he was distinguished by his versatility and his broad mental outlook: but he will be remembered even more for his invaluable public services in his non-official capacity. He was a genuine patriot, and as early as 1918 he gave the much needed lead to Muslim India by a remarkable statement he made as President of the first Session of the All-India Muslim League at Amritsar:

"We the educated Mussalmans of India," he said, "have no less love for the land of our birth than the members of the other communities inhabiting the country; we are tied to her by the sacred associations of ages. We yield to none in our veneration and affection for our Motherland."

Indeed, Sir Ali Imam was a staunch nationalist during the long years of his public career and was one of the signatories to the Nehru Report.

## THE INDIA LEAGUE DELEGATION

The visit of the India League Delegation, consisting of Mr. Leonard Matters, Miss Wilkinson, Mr. Whately and Mr. Krishna Menon, to this country was a welcome move on the part of those interested in the dissemination of correct information about India. The members spent altogether seven busy weeks in India, studying the rural and urban conditions of life at first-hand from all points of view. They talked to officials and non-officials, interviewed leading men of all parties, and observed the working of the Ordinances on the one hand and the Nationalist mind on the other. And what is the net result of their experiences in India? In a statement issued on the eve of their departure to England, they declared their conviction that there is complete unanimity of opinion in the country in regard to the demand for Self-Government and opposition to the Ordinances:



In our view, peace will emerge only when the present policy is abandoned, and the Congress and Mr. Gandhi are brought into effective co-operation for the purpose of a settlement; All other methods will fail. It is inconceivable that this country will settle down to work Great Britain's constitution when thousands of their following are in the prison and the voice of the people is either stifled or suppressed.

We regret that the Government persists in its mistaken view. The way of looking at the Nationalist Movement as an evil which must be put down is bound to fail. It is a tragedy that the Viceroy's Government is, by its policy, blocking every avenue to real peace. In the face of such a policy, it is little wonder that no Indian trusts British bona fides or believes in declarations of good intentions.

The Delegation testify to the extraordinary hold that Mr. Gandhi and the Congress have over the mind of the people. On their arrival in England the Delegation were unanimous in their condemnation of the present position and policy in India. Miss Wilkinson was emphatic in declaring that "no question of prestige should be allowed to stand in the way of the achievement of peace if Britain did not want another Ireland in India".

#### THE ORDINANCE BILL

The Home Member's motion for consideration of the Ordinance Bill has at last been carried in the Assembly by 63 votes against 39. That vote is tantamount to a second reading and the Bill will in due course become law. But the debate was remarkable for the outspokenness of the criticism and the defence. Sir Abdur Rahim plainly asked:

What is the game behind it? Is it that you want to have powers to protect the British trade against boycott and to place the Executive above the law? Do you really want that when power goes to the representatives of the people, the Executive should be armed with powers which you yourself did not possess for one hundred and fifty years?

Other elected members spoke in similar strain, but the Government knew their strength and outvoted the Opposition.

The point against the Bill is not merely that it is sweeping and oppressive but that an admittedly emergency measure should be made the normal weapon of the executive. Under such a regime even for a limited period of three years, public life would become intolerable. The Press can hardly comment with any freedom on matters of public importance. This is certainly not conducive to vigorous public opinion that is to fit the country for the new constitution whatever it may be. . . .

Indeed, we cannot see the wisdom of claiming success for the Ordinance and at the same time asking for their continuance.

#### THE OTTAWA AGREEMENT

The Ottawa Agreement, in so far as it affects this country, has been vigorously assailed from many quarters. On a resolution tabled by the Commerce Member, the Assembly discussed the terms of the Agreement for three days. Of course the subject lent itself to a good deal of controversy over issues not directly bearing upon the commercial aspect of the Agreement. Both Mr. Shasomkham Chetty and Seth Haji Abdoola Haroon, the Indian Members of the Ottawa Delegation, defended the Agreement with some warmth. But expert knowledge of how the tariffs on different articles will affect this country is a prerequisite for a proper estimate of the Agreement. As a result of the vigorous protests of non-officials like Dewan Bahadur Rangabariar, Sir Abdur Rahim and Mr. H. P. Mody, the Agreement has been referred to a Select Committee consisting of fifteen members, seven from the Government side and seven from the Opposition, with a neutral fifteenth Member in the person of Sir Zulfiqar Ali. But even the Committee can hardly assess the full implications of the Agreement in the absence of the actual text of the Bill which the Government propose to move. And so at their instance the Bill, which has hitherto been kept confidential, has since been supplied to them along with other confidential information. As we write, the Select Committee is considering these Agreements in detail with a view to discover how far the Agreement will be in the interests of India.

#### THE JUSTICE MINISTRY

Nobody who knows anything of the Justice Ministry in Madras, would attach any importance or significance to the dramatic re-constitution of the Ministry. There is here no question of principle or policy involved in this change from Tweedledum to Tweedledee. The statements and counter-statements issued by the disputants have only confirmed what is common knowledge, that it is all a matter of personal jealousies and squabbles. But the Party has been rent in twain and the threatened adjournment motion, and the sudden suspension of all Government business, indicates that the position of the new Ministry is by no means secure. But so far however, it has survived this session.

# WORLD EVENTS

BY PROF. A. J. SAUNDERS, M.A., Ph.D.

## CATALONIA

THE young Republic of Spain has successfully settled one large problem which may have proved a serious trouble to the whole country. With the overthrow of the Monarchy and the establishment of the Spanish Republic, the Province of Catalonia decided to work for independence and a separate local government. Catalonia was willing to remain a member of the Republic and to allow the Central Government authority in matters pertaining to national questions and international policy, but claimed for itself the right of self-government in all matters of local and internal interest. As one writer has stated:

By the terms of the new statute, Catalonia receives her local autonomy in an area comprising all the four Catalan provinces. She is to have her own Parliament, Executive Council and President, and to maintain her own local social services including local police, transportation and public works. On the other hand, the Catalan authorities will put into force the common legislation of the Spanish Republic with regard to railways, the press, and agriculture as well as all international conventions to which the Government of Madrid adheres. In all parts of Spain, Catalan and non-Catalan citizens are to enjoy the same personal rights. . . . The whole arrangement breathes a spirit of mutual good will and equal common sense; and, in making it, Spain has not only turned a dangerous corner in her own path of national reconstruction but has given a valuable and timely example to the world.

That this movement was generally approved is shown by the vote taken on the Catalan Statute in the Spanish Cortes which resulted in 314 votes for the measure against 24 out of a house of 470 members, and that result has been received with great enthusiasm throughout the whole country.

## ADVANCE IN IRAQ

One bright spot in an otherwise dull session of the recent Assembly meeting of the League of Nations was the reception of Iraq as a full member of the League. When the mandates were arranged after the Great War, Iraq was assigned to Great Britain; the expressed policy in connection with mandates was that the mandatory regime should last only so long as it was necessary to get a small country on its feet and until it was able to assume responsibility for

its own government. When that time should come in the opinion of the League, then the mandate must cease and the governing Power retire. Britain has used her power wisely and she has contributed valuable financial aid to the rapid growth of Iraq.

Iraq has now become the newest member of the League of Nations, and the first mandated country to attain independence. It will also strengthen the rather weak membership of Muslim country in the League which will tend to a needed balance of national interests. The young country is now free to work out her own salvation and advance; she will have many difficulties, but the best wishes of all the nations go with her in her advance to nationhood.

## RUSSIAN IMPRESSIONS

The following from a Correspondent, who has recently been touring in Russia, is of interest as showing how far the Russian Plan is succeeding:

There is ample evidence that the Five Year Plan is being at least partially carried out. The cities are filled with buildings just completed or under construction. Roads are being repaired or metalled for the first time. Factories are now working which a few years ago existed only on paper. The new administration building at Kharkov, the tractor factories at Kharkov and Stalingrad, the agricultural machinery works at Rostov-on-the-Don, the great Ford plant at Nizhny-Novgorod—these are only a few examples of what has in fact been done already under the Five Year Plan. Perhaps the Plan's outstanding triumph in European Russia is Dnieprostroi. This world-famous hydro-electric scheme, carried out where for former days the Zaporozhian Cossacks had their island fastness, comprises a great dam and lock, which together have raised the level of the Dnieper 150 feet and made the river navigable throughout its length; a turbine house where four 90,000 h. p. turbo-alternators are already working and five more are being installed; an industrial area, some 30 square miles in extent, in which coke ovens, blast-furnaces and steel furnaces, a ferro-alloy plant and an aluminium works are in process of construction; and a new city, already partly built, to house the numerous workers required by this great industrial complex. Dnieprostroi alone would be enough to give the Russian people a sense of the Five Year Plan's achievement.

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wh

which Russian pride exhibits to visitors, there can be no doubt at all that substantial strides have been made towards converting the Plan's industrial schemes from paper into brick and steel and stone. . . . .

#### WORLD ECONOMIC CONFERENCE

The proposed world economic conference is meeting with more response now than it did some time ago, because people see that more good can be expected from concerted action than by nations acting alone. There needs to be a co-ordinating body which will consolidate and apply the findings of the other great conferences—Disarmament, Lausanne, Reparations; it is hoped that the forthcoming Conference will be able to construct peace and prosperity for the nations. The Preparatory Committee has been chosen and are at work drafting the agenda. One item for consideration will be a great international programme of public works for the purpose of lessening the unemployment problem which is going to be worse this winter than ever before. Other items for the agenda will include:

- Monetary credit policy and the silver question.
- The matter of Exchange.
- Price levels and
- The movement of capital.

The Chairman of the Preparatory Committee is Mr. Leonardus Trip, President of the Netherlands Bank, who is anxious to speed up the work so as to make their report to the League of Nations Council by about the end of November. A suggestion has been made that the Conference be postponed until next summer; Premier Ramsay MacDonald is dead against any delay and says: "Anybody who talks of postponement deserved the strongest censure."

#### GERMAN ELECTIONS

The November elections in Germany have not relieved the political deadlock in that unhappy country. It is true that the support of von Papen has increased but not to give the Government a majority the Nazis have lost, but Communists have increased their seats to 100 and will be a power in the land. Herr Müller in a manifesto to his party says:

Ninety per cent of the Reichstag is against the von Papen Government. It is clear that Nazis must take the initiative in forcing the will of the people. This is the aim of the Nazis now.

Reuter summarises the principal features of the German political situation as follows:

- A definite decline in Hitlerism
- An advance in Bolshevism among the workers.
- The aversion of the middle-classes to Radicalism.
- Opposition of the great majority of the electorate to Herr von Papen.

#### UNITED STATES ELECTIONS

Like most other countries which have held general elections during the period of trade depression, the United States of America have voted for a change of government. Though of course Mr. Hoover cannot be held responsible for the present state of economic depression, yet he and his party have had to suffer for not averting the disaster, and the country has decided to give the Democratic Party a chance to see if they can better the situation. Mr. Roosevelt will take the place of Mr. Hoover on March 4 as President. His Administration will have the advantage over Mr. Hoover, in that the present Government came in on the downward trend, while the new Government will have the great advantage of returning prosperity and will get some of the credit of producing better times.

#### THE LEAGUE ASSEMBLY

The actual results of the League of Nations Assembly meeting this year have been disappointing, but three things should be recorded: The discussion of the Lytton Commission Report on the Far-Eastern trouble was postponed on the request of Japan. Some felt that it was most unfortunate that the Report should not be considered as soon as possible, but in deference to Japan the postponement was allowed; a special session now is necessary, and Japan has been given time to prepare her defence.

The Assembly was reluctant to accept the resignation of the Secretary-General, Sir Eric Drummond who has done splendid service for many years in the Secretariat of the League. M. Joseph Avenol has been elected to the vacancy. M. Avenol is 53 years of age, has held high posts of responsibility and conducted several important missions. He is cautious and impartial and may be expected to lead the League along safe paths rather than to embark upon untried and doubtful or too bold reforms.

A piece of constructive work done by the Assembly was the decision to set up a Permanent Commission on Slavery. For ten years the British proposal for the abolition of slavery throughout the world has been under consideration, but it is only this year 1932 years after the British Parliament made emancipation a policy throughout British territories that the League has formally resolved on "the suppression of slavery in all its forms throughout the world".

# TRADE AND FINANCE

By "SRIVAS"

## SLUMP IN STERLING

THE first notable development in the period under review is the one in which reference was made at the end of "Trade and Finance" in the last issue of *Indian Review*. Towards the close of October, sterling behaved in a manner that was most disconcerting and perplexing to those who in their day-to-day business had to consider its immediate tendencies. Go to put it more accurately, the authorities, with whom rested the responsibility and the capacity for maintaining sterling, acted in a manner which defied all attempts to gauge the *rationale* or objective of their actions. The first fall in the cross-rate was followed by the report that the British Government had given up for the moment the attempt to maintain the external value of sterling. Then within a day or two after it was understood that control of exchange was resumed; but this resumption was not for long and exchange was soon left to find its level for the moment at least. Such contradictory actions within the brief space of less than a week became naturally the subject of anxious scrutiny and earping comment in all parts of the world where sterling still counts for much in the world of business. In the first place it was not clear, and to this day it remains fairly obscure what exactly was the cause of the heavy slump in sterling. It is supposed that the Bank of England had been buying large amounts of dollars for the payment of British War debts due on December 15th. It may be added here that this report has to be judged in the light of the notes submitted by the British Government to the Government of the United States of America asking for the suspension of these payments with a view to a reconsideration of the problem of War debts and the uncertainty that hangs at the moment about the whole affair. In addition to the reported buying of dollars there is also the fact that November is part of the period in which usually sterling is depressed by the payments against imports from America. It is also possible that in consideration of the usual autumn slump in sterling Continental speculation had been rife and had contributed to and accentuated the decline. As mentioned in the previous issue the general inclination of the British Government towards the lower value for sterling has also to be taken into account. The real explanation has to be purely a matter of

conjecture and surmise as the authorities have not up to date felt called upon to afford any elucidation of this perplexing question.

## BRITISH TREASURY BONDS

The set-back in sterling has not—and there is no reason whatsoever why it should—interfered with the progress which the British Government have made in their programme of taking advantage of their improved credit and converting as much of their high-priced loans as possible into those on a lower rate of interest. Early in November the British Government came out with a 3 per cent. conversion loan for £300 million at an issue price of 97½ per cent., and redeemable at par in 1948-53. The object of the loan was to convert the £165 million of the 5 per cent. War Loan which remained unchanged into that historic conversion issue, £114 million of 5 per cent. Treasury Bonds and £14 million of 4½ per cent. unconverted Treasury Bonds. The total conversion programme so far accomplished with such signal success has meant the conversion of £2,530 million of British Bonds carrying a fairly high rate of interest into loans mostly on a 3½ per cent. basis and partly on a 3 per cent. basis. There has been a reduction in the borrowing rate of the British Treasury of nearly 2 per cent., an achievement which will do credit to any financier. The practical advantage of the whole scheme consists in the fact that nearly £38 million has been saved for the British budget in interest charges alone. Other attendant, though intangible, benefits are the improvement in gilt-edge prices—which it must be remembered is logically and chronologically both a cause and an effect of the improvement in Government credit—the relief to insurance companies and other financial institutions who will be enabled by the higher prices of gilt-edge securities to show a far better position in their next balance sheets, and last but not least, the encouragement afforded to other Government borrowers to effect similar conversions and similar savings in interest charges.

## LANDSLIDE IN GILT-EDGE

The issue of the £300 million Bonds, so good in itself, had however an unfortunate effect following it immediately. The applicants for the new issue presumably expected a very low rate of allotment and on that basis had applied for far larger amounts than they really required. But, as it turned out, the total amount of applications was

not up to the extravagant expectation; and the basis of allotment had therefore necessarily to be higher than the market anticipated. The obvious result of this was that many applicants had to dispose of their holdings, and within a day or two the new issue fell to a discount of about 2 per cent. This was naturally reflected in the giltedge market and there was very nearly a landslide in giltedge prices. India sterling stocks and India rupee stocks lost much ground,  $3\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. India Sterling Paper receding from £9.1 to £8.1 and  $3\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. Rupee Paper from Rs. 76 to Rs. 72-8. Recovery since that set back has been slow and arduous and so far as the Indian giltedge market is concerned, local factors are militating against any pronounced or permanent uprise. Indian Finance has ventured a somewhat ingenious diagnosis of the present situation. It believes that there is a general feeling that the improvement of the last few months in giltedge prices has been purely the result of external factors and developments and that, so long as the Government of India fail to give evidence of any strong policy of positive help to the giltedge market, a level of Rs. 75 for  $3\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. Paper must be considered for all practical purposes the higher limit of appreciation in giltedge. Given that feeling, it is quite understandable that as soon as that level is touched, large parcels of  $3\frac{1}{2}$  per cent Paper held by large classes of holders of moderate means and mediocre ability will come into the market for sale, with its obvious effect on the ruling prices. Those dealers who hold large blocs of this scrip would naturally try to bear up prices when they fall unduly low; but even they would not be interested in raising the quotations to a higher level than Rs. 75 as it would mean an irresistible inducement to holders of all kinds to dispose of their stocks. In the position thus hypothesised a kind of see-saw action in giltedge prices is indicated till a new and powerful factor comes into operation.

#### RUMOURS OF NEW LOAN

Before the set-back in giltedge, described and discussed in the previous paragraph, occurred, financial circles in the principal cities were being regaled with rumours of an imminent new loan operation of the Government of India. The high level of giltedge prices and the now state of the capital market both here and England, as also the repeated successes of British and Foreign Governments in the latter naturally provided the inspiration for such rumours. There was no reason to regard the credit of the Government of India

with its freedom from embarrassments at home, a comfortable cash position in India and a more than successful programme of remittance to the Secretary of State, should be considered to be lower than that of the British Government or any other Government. And as for the need for a new venture into the capital market, the fact that the next few years are years of large maturities of old loans clearly suggested the advisability of taking advantage of present conditions to institute a large and bold conversion scheme. On the strength of these factors, the financial press and the financial correspondents of the dailies helped to give currency to these rumours and to strengthen them with reasoned argument, though they were careful enough not to hazard any definite opinion as to what the Government of India would actually do. But as it turned out, the new loan never came; and the slump in giltedge made its prospects less and less rosy. It is still, however, believed that as soon as the Finance Member is free from the perplexing pre-occupations of the Ottawa Bill, he might take in hand the question of a new conversion loan and that the market's anticipations of a fortnight ago would prove to be not altogether unfounded.

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# FAMOUS INDIAN JUDGES

BY

MR. B. V. SRINIVASA RAU, M.A., B.L.

According to Prof. W. S. Holdsworth, the English Judges are the guardians of the supremacy of law and, hence, form an estate separate from and independent of the legislature and the executive. The legal status of the Judges to India is, of course, quite different. Not only is the tenure of office one that is held at His Majesty's pleasure, but a part of the Bench is drafted from the executive branch of the Indian Government. Notwithstanding this constitutional anomaly, it is perhaps in this field of higher judicial administration that the British ruler has made his greatest contribution to the Indian political reconstruction. The duty and privilege of the Indian Judge to be independent of all "official influence" has been by convention uniformly observed by the British ruler to the maximum extent possible of any government that yet has ruled an alien nation. This convention has enabled the Indian Judges to exercise their proper influence as guardians of law and to maintain its integrity.

In spite of the legal subordination of the Judges in India to the Executive Government, they have been, by an unbroken convention, accorded that independence which makes their influence unrestricted except by the law of the land. In the absence of a statute determining the law applicable to a matter in question, the Judges in India have, like the Judges of His Majesty in England, the duty to elicit and declare the law.

The book under review\* proves beyond all doubt with what great credit to themselves and lasting benefit to society, the Indian Judges have discharged their function as the guardians of the supremacy of law.

It is in the sphere of personal law that the influence of the Indian Judges on its growth is most felt. If, as Justice Mahmood said once that to the English system of jurisprudence, common law and principles of equity India was much indebted, we to-day owe to our Indian Judges an immeasurable debt of gratitude for their scholarly research into the ancient Hindu law and a most successful reconciliation of the wisdom of the ancient ages to the changed conditions of modern society. Such beneficial results are to be found in the

law relating to adoption, joint-family, inheritance, and the rights and status of a Hindu female. Both Mahomedan law and the law relating to land tenures grew under similar influence though on a smaller scale.

One of the merits of the sketches consists in giving not merely the gist of the more important decisions, but in throwing considerable light on the evolution of Hindu and Mahomedan law. Further, the general characteristics of the judgments of such as Mahmood, J., or Sir T. Mathusamy Iyer, J., are clearly pointed out. Also, for a student of law, the book forms a good and interesting introduction to some of the fundamental principles underlying the main branches of substantive law.

Nor are the sketches descriptive of merely the judicial influence and activity of the Indian Judges. Their lives are viewed as a whole, and the sketches are comprehensive and critical. The delineation of characters of such as Mahadev Govind Ranade and Sir Gooroodas Banerjee enables the reader to appraise their greatness. The views of the Indian Judges on education, social reform, and political work and organization are expressed with remarkable brevity and clearness. They are not merely of absorbing interest but are profoundly instructive. The sketches of the lives, especially, of Sir Subrahmanya Iyer, K. T. Telang, V. Krishnaswamy Iyer, Ranade, Sir Gooroodas, Sir Asutosh Mukerjee and Dwarkanath Mitter give to the reader an elevated and noble view of life. Above all, the social and political activities of the Indian Judges, their sacrifice and devotion to the cause of the country, ought to inspire any one who reads the book to a nobler vision of India's future.

During the admirable address delivered at the Calcutta University Institute on "The Moral Aspect of the Legal Profession", Sir Gooroodas Banerjee said: "You should not only study the law but should also carefully study the lives of those great lawyers who have shed lustre on their profession. Their examples should even be before your eyes to encourage and enlighten you. Every student of law should read Campbell's "Lives of the Chancellors" and the "Lives of the Chief Justices of England . . ." I should add, ". . . and the "Indian Judges" . . .

\* INDIAN JUDGES. Published by Messrs. G. A. Natesan & Co., Madras. Pp. 509. Price Rs. 3.



# THE WORLD BOOKS



**RRON.** By Maurice Genevoix. Translated by A. G. Rosmans. Putnam's Sons, Ltd., London.

This is a story for cat-lovers. It is the tale of a black cat, from the moment of its birth on a heap of sacks to a loft, through its life as a pampered kitchen pet, to its escape into the woods where it lives as a wild beast in increasing hunger, cold, and misery. At last it creeps back to its old mistress, starving, crippled by a trap and covered with sores, to be nursed back to health; but all her devotion is useless. The cat has tasted freedom and the life of the wild, and nothing else will do. In spite of the misery of that life, no sooner is it restored to health than it escapes once more, to the great distress of its faithful nurse who, however, soon consoles herself with a new pet.

The story is one which will only appeal to lovers of animals, and the thoughts and feelings of the cat are, perhaps, too human to be quite cat-like; but the tale is well written and most unusually well translated from the French.

**LOVE FETISH.** By Evans Wall. Werner Laurie Ltd., London.

This is a story of the Mississippi swamp country, illustrating the qualities of the people of mixed blood. A no-nation (as they are called) young man growing up amidst immoral surroundings, attracts several women who desire him with a stubborn passion. He carries on with them indifferently but cherishes a deep unspoken love for a girl far above his status whom he serves as a menial. A dark and wild world, in which the traditional ideas of sexual morality have been abandoned, is pictured in the book.

**"FOR SINNERS ONLY".** By A. J. Russell. Published by Hodder and Stoughton.

It is a remarkable story of the way in which harmony and strength are produced in mankind by the means of a simple but intense faith. The writer came into touch with the Oxford Group as it is known and bears testimony to its influence on his life. Its teaching is summed up in the following paragraph:

That the holy Spirit is still quick and powerful and sharper than a two-edged sword. That God still owns this world and still controls it although he has let it out to all sorts of inbredness. That God will guide and does guide his children, not sometimes but all times when they are surrendered to His guiding will. That it is safer to gamble on the unsearchable riches than to trust to bank balances.

Those who know some of the members of this remarkable Group can understand the secret of its influence; but those who do not, may achieve some appreciation of its work by reading this book.

**THE COURSE AND PHASES OF THE WORLD ECONOMIC DEPRESSION.** Published by the Secretariat of the League of Nations, Geneva.

This is a report presented to the Assembly of the League of Nations and contains much useful information. Prof. Oblin of Stockholm University, to whom the Financial Organisation of the League entrusted the general responsibility for the preparation of the material upon which the report is based, worked in collaboration with the International Labour Office and the International Institute of Agriculture and brought out this useful volume. Students of international finances will surely welcome this work.

**THE RAKONITZ CHRONICLES.** By G. B. Stern.  
Chapman & Hall, London.

The three-volume novel of a hundred years ago reappears to-day as the trilogy or the family saga. Miss Stern has followed the fashion here and collected into one volume her three books "Tents of Israel", "A Deputy was King", and "Mosaic", tracing the fortunes of the cosmopolitan Jewish family Rakonitz with its tribal adjuncts of Czelowar and Bettelheim in its migrations from Vienna to London and Paris. The sequence of the three books is not precisely chronological; the same characters and incidents reappear, seen through different eyes as in a collection of family reminiscences with the slight inconsistencies belonging to such memories; but the same family characteristics are there through the generations. The men of the family are charming, gay and generous in prosperity; but in adversity they collapse, leaving the burden of responsibility to be taken up by the women of the family.

The three books, in fact, centre round three women: Anastasia, the original matriarch of the tribe; her niece Berthe and her grand-daughter Toni. The instinct to rule the lives of the family is strong in all three; but the generational change and the effect is different. The tyranny of Anastasia is accepted with obedient admiration by the family of her day, but the same benevolent passion in Berthe for mending the lives of others meets with revolt in the younger generation. Less tribal in its outlook, and she is at last left alone with her patient sister; because every one else finds it impossible to live with her. - Toni, grand-daughter of the first matriarch, is herself of the younger generation and has an outlet for her managing instinct which the older women lacked; she founds and runs an important dress-making firm "Toni's" of Racoover Street. The matriarch of the older generation in the successful business woman of the younger.

The women of the family are all vividly alive, humorous and unforgettable. The men stand out less clearly differentiated on Miss Stern's crowded canvas; but the whole cosmopolitan chronicle is rich in incident, in vitality and humour.

**THE CALL OF THE SOUTHERN CROSS.** By A. S. Wadia. J. M. Dent & Sons, Ltd., London.

The author, Mr. A. S. Wadia, is a lover and friend of the British Empire and admirer of Israel "the one statesman of creative imagination and Imperial vision" according to him. Impelled by a desire conceived in the early years of life by a reading of the adventures of de Rougemont in the *Wide World Magazine*, he undertook the travel into Southern Continent which he describes as "The Call of the Southern Cross". The book is very fascinatingly written. Its general style, its appropriate extracts of poetry and the description of scenery and flowers, and men and things, and the narrative of incidents in the course of the travel, hold your attention so closely that you cannot lay down the book till you have come to the end. It is rather curious that a book of travels should have in its appendix Mr. Peter Freeman's description of a "Madras Assault on Fallen Volunteers". Turning over the book to discover the use that the author makes of it in the text of his book, you find that after giving expression to the feeling of pride and elation which he felt in belonging to a great Empire, the author goes on to add:

But that there is an ugly side and a very ugly side at that, no true lover of the Empire who has its long and honourable continuance at heart, can ever forget or gloss over. That it has been by turns a slave driver, an upstart, an economic exploiter and, last but not least, a law-and-order mania, its history, past and present, only too plainly and irrefragably bears out. To put it in more explicit terms, in its unbridled love of money it has traded in human flesh and blood; in its unrighteous greed of gold it has forced a most ruinous drag by a solemn treaty on a helpless people once the most civilized in the world; in its furious pursuit of industrial expansion it has thought nothing of bringing about the economic ruination of a great nation with an equally long civilization behind it; and finally in its recent righteous zeal for law and order, in that same great nation, it treated the fundamental rights of thousands of its most loyal citizens as so much dirt under its feet. In a complex, disunited, political aggregation such as India is, there must be strict law and order, else there is disorder leading inevitably to disruption and dissolution. Likewise there must be firm rule, else there is anarchy. All this is true and unexceptional. But it should not be forgotten that law and order are only means to an end, and what tragic results follow when they are made an end in themselves the recent events in India have made all too evident. The aim and ideal of the Empire in its sanest and most exalted moments have ever been and should always be justice and humanity. These have been the watchwords of the Imperial History at its best and these should be its battle-cries blazoned forth in letters of gold on the Imperial Standard, if the Empire on which the sun never sets is to be spared the fate of its past compeers.



**THE DAWN OF INDIAN FREEDOM.** By Jack C. Winslow and Verrier Elwin. With a Foreword by the Archbishop of York. Allen and Unwin. (Available of G. A. Natesan & Co., Madras. Price Rs. 3-6.)

The authors of this excellent book are the English priests who belong to a brotherhood which has dedicated itself to the service of India in the light of Christian *dharma*. They are earnest and devoted admirers of Gandhi's character and aims, and they put forward a vigorous if reasoned appreciation of the Indian political outlook. They are whole-heartedly in sympathy with the nationalist aspiration.

But the book is more concerned with the great moral and spiritual outlook underlying the recent political events: and the authors bring out beyond all doubt the Christ-like character of Gandhi and his methods.

"Since Tolstoy died," the authors quote Mr. H. N. Bradford, "there is no human being living to-day who commands, as he does, the veneration of mankind. Others are liked, respected and admired but he stands on a Mount of Transfiguration." Say the authors:

The personality of Mahatma Gandhi is of one piece with his teaching. He is the very embodiment of the spirit of Truth, Purity and Love—the three ultimate values of his philosophy. . . . He is one of the few perfectly disinterested men that have walked this earth. . . . His self-forgetfulness is the secret of his self-possession and his humble self-confidence. He is conscious of his mission and therefore he has no fear. He has conquered fear as he has conquered lust and pride and ambition. He is the incarnation of moral energy, he is interested in politics as a school, not of constitution-making but of character building. . . . he has created a new public morality. . . . He has introduced into human politics, says Romain Rolland, the strongest religious impulse of the last two thousand years. . . . If we are to compare him to the familiar figures of the West, we may say that in his love of poverty he resembles Francis Assisi, in his social vision he reminds us of F. D. Maurice, in his sincerity of Tolstoy, in his intellectual integrity of J. H. Newman, in the generosity of his international ideal of Romain Rolland.

An interesting feature of the book is the outline which the authors present of the future of the Indian Church. The Indian Church of the future, according to the authors, must have an "Indian and not a Missionary" mind. It is remarkable how clearly the two English clergymen have understood India and interpreted her genuine aspirations.

**SELECTED MODERN ESSAYS.** Second Series. Oxford University Press, Bombay.

A happy addition to the "World's Classics" is this collection of modern essays. Eight and thirty authors from "Mark Rutherford" to Virginia Woolf are represented in a selection which includes some of the best pieces of the last hundred years. Doubtless there is a variety of entertainment for the lover of literature; for essayists, more than every other class of writers, have a way of being intimate with their readers, and it is no small pleasure to be admitted within the curtain that "shuts us in" with them.

## BOOKS RECEIVED

**SHORT BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH OF VALLABHACHARYAJEE'S LIFE.** By N. G. Sra, B.A. Lalubhai Chhoganani Desai, Ahmedabad.

**WHAT YOUR HANDWRITING SHOWS.** By Robert Sandek. T. Werner Laurie, Ltd., London.

**SANJOS.** T. Werner Laurie, Ltd., London.

**THUS SPARKS ZASTHUSATSA.** By Thomas Commos. Geo. Allen and Unwin, Ltd., London.

**THE DEVELOPMENT OF RELIGIOUS TOLERANCE IN ENGLAND.** By W. K. Jordoo, Ph.D. Geo. Allen and Unwin, Ltd., London.

**THE REVUE OF ASTURO.** The Times of India Press, Bombay.

**TOWARDS A SYSTEMATIC STUDY OF THE VEDANTA.** By Saroj Kumar Das, Calcutta University, Calcutta.

**PRINCIPLES OF CIVIL GOVERNMENT.** By A. K. Ghosh. Taraporewala Sons & Co. Part I, Rs. 7. Part II, Rs. 6-8.

**INDIAN STATES' COMMITTEE REPORT (FINANCIAL).** Govt. of India Central Publication Branch, Calcutta.

**THE ORIGIN AND HISTORY OF THE ANTI-JAPANESE MOVEMENT IN CHINA.** (The Herald of Asia Library of Contemporary History.) The Herald Press, Tokyo.

**THE SHANGHAI AFFAIR.** (The Herald of Asia Library of Contemporary History.) The Herald Press, Tokyo.

**EMPIRE MARKETING BOARD, MAY 1931 TO MAY 1932.** H. M. Stationery Office, London.

**THE RURAL COMMUNITY AND THE SCHOOL.** By Dr. G. S. Krishnaswamy, M.A., Ph.D. With a Foreword by F. L. Brayne, I.C.S. Association Press, Calcutta.

**VIVEKA-CHIDAMANI.** By M. M. Chatterji, Ph.D. Theosophical Publishing House, Adyar.

**SATYA-SADARTHA.** Edited by D. Ganesanathi. With a Foreword by Sir S. Radhakrishnan. Theosophical Publishing House, Adyar.

**ADYAR PAMPHLETS: The Life and Teachings of Muhammad** by Anis Bessant. T. P. H. Adyar.

**SRI CHAITANYA.** By Dr. H. W. B. Moreno. Theosophical Publishing House, Adyar.

# INDIAN STATES

## Hyderabad

### TEMPERANCE IN HYDERABAD

As a counter attraction to the present liquor and toddy booths will spring up tea and milk shops in Hyderabad, according to a temperance scheme shortly to be introduced in the Nizam's Dominions.

The initiative in this temperance movement is being taken by Brigadier-General Keyes, the Resident, the Chief Justice of Hyderabad, and the Excise Commissioner of the Nizam's Government.

In outlining the scheme, the Excise Commissioner proposes to set aside Rs. 23,000 annually to be spent over the furtherance of the movement. Four centres are proposed to be established with a Committee consisting of a Muslim, Hindu, and a Missionary to look after each centre.

### HYDERABAD JAGIRDARS

The question whether the widows of deceased jagirdars should get maintenance from the jagira of their late husbands after their remarriage was decided by the Executive Council of the State, and a *firman* has been issued by H. E. H. the Nizam to give effect to it. According to the new law, the allowance allotted to the widow of a jagirdar will not lapse on her decision to remarry.

Recently the Executive Council was approached for an expression of views on this point, as up till now the maintenance of the widow of a jagirdar was stopped immediately she decided to remarry. After a prolonged debate in which opinion was expressed that through fear that allowance would be stopped the widows would not remarry and this would have an adverse effect on their morals and character, the Executive Council came to the conclusion that the allowance should be continued to the widow on her remarriage and recommended it to H. E. H. the Nizam for his sanction into a law.

### THE NIZAM'S GIFT

A Press Note has been issued by the Nizam's Government to the effect that His Exalted Highness the Nizam has sanctioned for the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona, a lump sum grant of Rs. 25,000 for the construction of a guest-house to be named "The Nizam's Guest House", and an annual grant of Rs. 1,000 for a period of ten years towards the expenses of printing and publishing the "Mahabharata", an important Hindu religious epic.

## Mysore

### MYSOKE PROTEST AGAINST SUBSIDY

In the Round Table Conference Federal Structure Sub-Committee and even in the Report of the Peel Committee, it was generally agreed that the federation of the future would have no room for dues or contributions of a feudal nature—a position warmly advocated by leading British Indian representatives.

Of the total subsidy paid by Indian States, the contribution of Mysore has been fully 37½ per cent—a state of things which had naturally evoked much justifiable resentment both in Mysore and outside. It was thought the Davidson Committee would go into this question thoroughly and arrive at an equitable solution. Much to the amazement of Mysore, they advocated the continuance of this tribute for about twenty years.

Other questions had agitated Mysore, namely, the retrocession of Civil and Military Station of Bangalore and the retransfer of the postal department.

The strength of feeling in the State was made manifest at the public meeting presided over by Sir K. Puttaswami Chetti, one of the elder statesmen of the State. His speech was a strong vindication of Mysore's claims.

### THE LATE MR. DORAISWAMY IYER

We regret to record the death of Mr. C. S. Doraiswamy Iyer, Chief Justice of Mysore High Court, on November 12th.

He was long connected with the Cantonment Bar and was one of its most distinguished members and was remarkable for his brilliancy as an Advocate and Judge.

## Miraj

### MIRAJ EDUCATIONAL TRUST

The Chief of Miraj (Seelur) has passed orders creating a trust to the value of Rs. 4,50,000 for religious and educational purposes.

The Chief has named the Dewan of the State, the Mamlatdar of Miraj, and the Government Pleader of Miraj as the Trustees, while Rao Saheb Parkhe Keshavdas Shedji, Mr. Chippalkatti and Mr. Deval are appointed as visitors.

## Travancore

### TRAVANCORE REFORMS

A liberal scheme of reforms for the Travancore State was announced on October 29 in connection with His Highness the Maharaja's birthday.

The popular assembly which hitherto functioned as only a petitioning body, has been converted into a statutory body with power to vote supplies, legislate, interpellate and move resolutions. Hitherto this power was being exercised with certain limitations by the Council which has now been converted into an Upper House with almost equal powers as the Lower House. Both Houses have a non-official majority, the election being on a basis of joint electorates which hitherto had been in force, while adequate representation is provided for minorities.

Women who have had equal franchise with the men since 1921 will continue to have the same privilege.

The Assembly (now the Lower House) whose functions have been enlarged and made statutory, will contain 72 members, 48 of whom will be elected non-officials.

The Legislative Council which will be the revising Chamber, will consist of 37 Members, 22 of whom being non-officials will be elected. The term for both bodies will be normally four years. The Dewan will be the President formally of both the Houses.

The budget will be presented to a joint sitting of both the houses. The Assembly will consider it in two stages: (a) the general discussion, and (b) the voting of supplies. The Assembly may assent or refuse its assent to any demand or may reduce an amount referred to in any demand, either by a lump sum reduction or by the omission or reduction of any particular item or items on which the grant is composed. But the Council (the elder house) besides the general discussion of the budget will have no power to reduce or omit any particular item of the demand but may assent or refuse its assent to the demand as a whole. In case of disagreement between the Assembly and the Council regarding voting on any demand, the matter will be referred to a Joint Committee of both the Chambers consisting of an equal number of members from each house. Similar joint committee sessions are provided in respect of disagreement on any legislative matter. Both the houses have a right to initiate and pass legislations.

## ECONOMIC DEPRESSION

The Travancore Government has ordered the suspension of all coercive proceedings in respect of land revenue for the year 1107 (corresponding to 1932-1933) including arrears until 16th November in view of the economic depression prevailing in the State.

### MISS WATTS

Miss D. H. Watts has been appointed a Member of the Travancore Public Service Committee. She was Principal of the Women's College, Trivandrum, at the time of her retirement from Government service.

## Bikanir

### PRINCES AND FEDERATION

On the occasion of a farewell dinner in honour of the Maharaj Kumar of Bikanir, His Highness, in proposing the heir-apparent's health, briefly referred to the forthcoming Round Table Conference. His Highness explained that the Princes this time had not found it possible personally to attend the Conference in London for which there were many cogent reasons. It was obviously impossible for Princes with all their work and responsibilities in their States to be away three years running for such long periods and instanced the fact of his having had to be absent from India for no less than nine out of fifteen months for the first two Conferences.

The Princes have, however, by their presence at the previous sessions given a lead and had already dealt with many of the important points in their broader aspects. It is for the ministers to fill in the picture. He repudiated any suggestion that Princes were losing their faith in federation and claimed that the views of the majority of the Princes, which the Chamber of Princes represented, had not undergone any change and that the federation still held the field subject of course to adequate safeguards, guarantees and assurances being forthcoming from the Crown and their being provided for in the Federal Constitution.

## Baroda

### MARRIAGE REFORM IN BARODA

The Baroda State Legislative Assembly at its last session carried by 11 votes to 5 a resolution recommending to the Government to delete the section invalidating the marriage of boys and girls below 8 years of age and to substitute a provision that if any of the contracting party did not approve of the marriage, he or she should within one year after attaining majority apply with the copy of the judgment to the court of law which held an inquiry into the offence under the Act and get the marriage nullified.

### BARODA MILL INDUSTRY

Industries in Baroda during the past year showed signs of revival. Thirteen cotton mills and one woollen mill were working during the year. All of them did fairly well owing to the increase in demand for Indian-made cloth, etc. During the year the Kalol Navjivan Mills completed erection and were ready to commence work at the close of the year. The construction of the new mill at Navsari made rapid progress and it is expected to commence work from October next year.

### BARODA TEMPLES

The Baroda State has issued an order throwing open all the State temples to Hindus of all castes without distinction.

## Dhar

### PROGRESS OF DHAR

Col. Ogilvie, Agent to the Governor-General in Central India, and Mrs. Ogilvie recently paid a farewell visit to the Dhar State on the eve of their departure to Rajaputana. The programme included a visit to the Anand College where the Principal read his report on the progress of the College during the year 1931-32. Col. Ogilvie, in presenting the prizes for the successful candidates, observed:

"I feel it a privilege to officiate at the prize-giving ceremony of an institution which has so much recent growth and expansion to be proud of as the Anand College can claim this year."

At the State banquet, the Agent-General spoke in warm terms of his affection for Dhar and its people and ruler. "Dhar is a State for which I have a peculiar affection. There is a charm and peace about the place which is rarely found nowadays anywhere in India."

## Kashmir

### KASHMIR POLITICAL CONFERENCE

The first session of the Jammu and Kashmir Political Conference was held in Srinagar recently under the presidency of Mr. S. M. Abdullah.

The President drew attention to the good points of the Glancy Commission Report but asserted that many of the recommendations were being shelved. He asked for the Ordinances to be withdrawn from the Mirpur area and also that liberty of press and platform be granted. He considered that a uniform law should be introduced for Kashmir and Poonch and asked for an independent Commission to inquire into the grievances of the latter State.

### TEMPLE-ENTRY IN KASHMIR

As a further step towards the upliftment of the Depressed Classes in the State, the Maharajah of Kashmir has issued a proclamation commanding that all State temples shall be thrown open to those classes for the purpose of darshan and prayer.

The proclamation was read out on November 2 in Hindi by the Minister in charge of *Devasthan* at the Shri Raghunathji Temple in Srinagar, and by the Director of *Devasthan* at the Shri Raghunathji Temple at Jammu.

## Kapurthala

### AN ENLIGHTENED STATE

Kapurthala the first State in the Punjab to establish a Representative Assembly with three-fourth elected members has been making admirable progress under the able administration of its Chief Minister, K. B. Dewan Abdul Hamid. Communal relations are extremely harmonious; peace and order prevail. The noble Maharaja, highly educated and widely travelled, inspires the whole administration, and the high-minded statesmanship of the Chief Minister fully ensures its efficient working for the welfare of the people.

## Kolhapur

### KOLHAPUR MUNICIPALITY

The Kolhapur Municipality has decided to postpone for the present consideration of a reduction in the salaries of its staff in order to meet a deficit of Rs. 27,000 in the budget. Arrangements are however being made to retrench expenditure in other departments such as watering streets and planting trees.

# Indians Overseas

## S. A. INDIANS & PASSIVE RESISTANCE

Mr. Manilal Gandhi's statement (son of Mahatma Gandhi) on the plight of Indians in South Africa is published elsewhere in this Number. Mr. Bhabani Dyal Sanyasi, an indefatigable worker in the cause of Indians in South Africa, has wired to the Imperial Citizenship Association, Bombay, as follows:

The Indian situation in South Africa is very critical indeed as will be evident from the fact that the annual session of the South African Indian Congress, held recently at Johannesburg, unanimously decided to start Passive Resistance against the three extraordinary measures which are aimed against the very existence of Indians in this part of the globe.

The first of them called the Transvaal Asiatica Land Tenure Act makes it obligatory on Indians in Transvaal to reside and trade only in areas specially set apart for them.

Equally drastic is another measure labelled as the Transvaal Licences (Control) Ordinance of 1931 which invests municipalities and local boards with arbitrary powers to refuse a trade licence without giving any reasons and even denying the right of appeal from the decision of the licensing authorities.

The third one in this series is the clause in the Immigration Act of 1931 which deprives the Indians of the right they had acquired under the Transvaal Registration Act.

After the resolution to embark on Passive Resistance was adopted, Mr. Sorabjee, President of the Congress Session, announced that the latest decision will be translated into action only after the findings of the Commission appointed by the Minister of Interior are known.

### THE TRANSVAAL LAND TENURE ACT

The Executive of the South African Indian Congress have decided on non-co-operation with the Agent in leading evidence before the Commission on the Tenure Act. It is pointed out to the Agent who is present that the law is inimical to the welfare of Indians and is a negation of the recognition of Indians in the Union as Nationals foreshadowed in the Capetown Agreement. The Members state they could not be a party to accepting anything to affect the rights of Indians living and unborn.

### UNEMPLOYED INDIANS IN S. AFRICA

It seems that the South African Union Parliament recently sanctioned five hundred thousand pounds for the relief of white unemployed, but that Indians were not included in the scheme. The Government of India made strong representation to South African Government contending that Indian citizens pay taxes like the white citizens and should therefore be entitled to consideration in the matter of unemployed benefits.

## GOVERNMENT'S HELP TO FIJI INDIANS

The Associated Press understands that the Government of India have sanctioned Rs. 2,000 for temporary relief to Indians who have returned from Fiji and elsewhere and are in distress in Calcutta. The relief will be distributed by the Bengal Government.

The Government of India's view is that, should these returned emigrants proceed to their native places they would ask local governments to give them assistance to settle down in the same manner as Indians who return under the assisted emigration scheme. There is no possibility of the Government of India conceding the demand that these destitutes be sent back to British Guiana, Fiji or elsewhere inasmuch as such a precedent would prove very costly besides involving a new departure in the Government policy.

### MR. BEHANAN IN U. S. A.

Mr. K. T. Behanan, who has been awarded a Sterling Research Fellowship by the Yale University, comes from the ancient Syrian Christian family of Keveor in Travancore. After taking his B. A. degree with distinction from the Calcutta University, he proceeded to Yale University in America where he had the rare honour of taking B. D. degree, Magos Cum Laude being the first and only candidate in this high rank. Since then he has been doing advanced work in the field of psychology. His work in this field was so well appreciated that he was taken on the Research staff and awarded the much coveted Sterling Fellowship to do research in the field of the psychology and physiology of Yoga.

### INDIAN STUDENTS IN ENGLAND

The report on the work of the Education Department of the Office of the High Commissioner for India for the Academic year ended 30th September 1931 shows that the total number of Indian students at Universities and Colleges etc. in Great Britain during the period was 1,891. Of these there were in attendance at Oxford 42, Cambridge 111, Glasgow 83, Edinburgh 138, University College, London 144, King's College, London 74, School of Oriental Studies 93, Sheffield 74, Trinity College, Dublin 13. The number of students on the books of the Inns of Court reading Law was 612.

# Topics from Periodicals

## BRITAIN AND INDIA

"The magnificent conception of a White Commonwealth of Nations under one Crown is easy enough to visualise. The far grander conception of a white and coloured Commonwealth embracing many languages and cultures, yet firmly knit to a common centre by some invisible spiritual tie, requires deeper faith and stronger imagination," says Mr. Arthur Moore in the October Number of the *Fortnightly Review*. The writer dwells at length on the attitude of the Britishers in India. They loved India enough and they could hold her against all comers and forces. "To the land we live in" is their toast and where their national will is set and where they have faith, there they would still go through.

In the beginning we went there for trade and not for government. We had no thought of the white man's burden and had no advance on love for land or people. Adventurous speculators dispatched adventurous spirits on hazardous voyages. The magical success of these ventures, their exotic character and the friendly attitude of the inhabitants towards our trade, quickly endowed India with the glamour of romance.

Inevitably therefore, India had by the middle of the nineteenth century established an affectionate hold on the romantic imagination of the English. Then came the Mutiny, and India lost nothing as a land of romance, and the conception of Britishers as traders grew dimmer than before.

But now

the Englishman's share in the business of governing is rapidly contracting while the Indian's is expanding. Does this mean that we are to revert in new conditions to the position in the seventeenth century when our business was trade only and not government? It is clear enough that according to plan, the British official element is meant to decrease rapidly and indefinitely in numbers and importance and that the business community of "unofficial Europeans" will have its importance increased. Such share in government as the British

retain will in fact fall into two divisions: that which will flow down through the Crown's representatives in Government Houses, and that which will well up through the unofficial Europeans as selectors in separate constituencies with representation secured to them in provincial and federal legislatures.

Mr. Arthur Moore believes that it would indeed be remarkable if Great Britain, which admittedly took over an India composed of disparate and conflicting autocracies, had now both welded the whole into one great harmonious nation completely capable of self-government and was also so conscious that her great task was done that she asked nothing better than to retire from the scenes and to enjoy from a distance the spectacle of the healthy functioning of the great separate organism which she had helped to create.

We may without shame admit that we have not fulfilled our high mission in India with the success with which the Indian Congressites credit us when they represent India as a welded nation fully equal to all the responsibilities of self-government. India is in a fair way to become a dominion with a responsible federal government of her own, but she will be a new type of dominion. She is still a huge composite of principalities and peoples and languages and periodically quarrelling communities. To that extent we have not yet succeeded, and we already see that those who have most at stake and no intention of letting us go away. They will insist on retaining white troops and on maintaining the reserve powers of the Crown, exercisable through the Viceroy and the Governors. So long as Britain accepts responsibility for the defence of India from foreign enemies and for preserving inviolate the territory of the princes, it is impossible to suppose that Britain's political mission to India is over.

In conclusion, Mr. Arthur Moore points out:

The Englishman still loves India, and it is still worth holding. But to hold it in the coming strain we shall have to build ourselves. We have never been indifferent to the masses, but we need to learn to add to the toast of "the land we live in" the phrase "and all its sons and daughters". To hold for the Crown a self-governing India will be a greater political achievement than any yet. The time may be near when the strain will come from without. The world is staggering along close to the edge of an economic abyss, and it there should come the clash of systems which the young generations in Russia are being brought up to believe inevitable and to visualise as a struggle between themselves and us, will not Central Asia be a battle-field and India an objective?

## THE LABOUR MOVEMENT

In our October Number we gave a summary of Mr. R. H. Tawney's article in the *Political Quarterly* on "The Choice before the Labour Party". In the current issue of the same journal, Prof. Alfred Zimmera, while accepting Mr. Tawney's exposition of the principles of socialism, differs from him in the matter of their application to the present circumstances of British politics. Mr. Tawney urged that the Labour Party in power should pursue its ideals irrespective of immediate success or failure. Labour leaders must be weaned from the snares of office and the seductions of high life. Says Prof. Zimmera:

To apply the principles that he has so finely set forth is not easy and was never meant to be easy. It is indeed immensely more difficult than a generation ago in spite of the huge advance made by the Labour movement in Great Britain and the very considerable social improvements for which it may claim credit. For the field in which we are to-day called to apply them is no longer limited—as it seemed to be then—to our own country or to our own Commonwealth, but extends to nothing less than the whole world. What is surprising, indeed almost stupefying, in Mr. Tawney's outlook and programme, is that he ignores the immense and far-reaching political, social and economic changes which, partly as a result of the war, have transformed the conditions of socialist thinking and socialist activity since the early "difficult" days of the British Labour movement. Throughout his article he treats the British Labour movement with its needs and its failings, as a thing apart, as though the sun would stand still and the stars be stayed in their courses whilst its zealots were eating locusts and wild honey in the desert. Has he forgotten how a tempest from the outer world burst in on the programmes and speculations of 1914, unseating the too narrow foundations on which they were based, sending many an "advanced" scheme for social and economic reconstruction (Guild Socialism, for instance) into limbo with the Romanoffs and the Hapsburgs? And does he not realize that the door so suddenly flung open on the world has never again been closed.

Yes; the economic problems of Britain, the lives of men and women in the colliery village and the cotton town are inseparably bound up with the happenings outside the British Isles—in the Ruhr valley, in China and America.

Mr. Tawney, replying to Prof. Zimmera's criticism, observes that that, however, was not the point at issue.

Indeed, the international aspect of Britain's economic and political policy was obvious to Mr. Tawney. But

the opinion which I attempted, no doubt very imperfectly, to advance is that at the present juncture the Labour Party is likely to serve the world best, not by suppressing its intention to pass socialist measures if returned to power but, by stating that it regards such measures as essential, working out in as much detail as possible their practical application and, when occasion offers, proceeding to introduce them, even if the result of so doing is loss of office.

## THE ADVANCE OF INDIAN WOMEN

Mrs. R. M. Gray's paper on the "Women of India" is published in the latest Number of the *Asiatic Review*. In it she says that the advance made by Indian women has been remarkable not only in its extent and rapidity but also in the obstacles which it has overcome. "The emergence of Indian women into the open has been far more dramatic and startling," says Mrs. Gray, "than the advance made by Western women during the War." She continues:

Some women's names have been much bruited on the lips of men, even outside India. Three women took an important part in shaping the new constitution for India at the Round Table Conference. Others have been Congress leaders and presidents of the War Councils. Mrs. Naidu, as poet and politician, is well known in Europe and America. Hundreds of women have gone to prison in pursuit of their nationalist ideals. Thousands have given up *pardah* and emerged from their homes in order to advocate social reforms such as the (Sarada) Child Marriage Restraint Act.

Though the advance has been rapid, yet it has not yet had time to produce many tangible results. What they have at present achieved, is summarised in the words of Mrs. Gray as follows:

Women have organized in India in order to assert their equality with the women of other lands, not in order to achieve equality with the men of their own country. Since women in India are nearly always married, form in any case a minority of the population and do not enter the professions or industry in large numbers, there is no economic and therefore no political rivalry between men and women. . . . In England political enfranchisement for women was with great difficulty achieved after sixty years of importunate demand. In India, it was given almost before women had realized that votes were worth having.

Thus the women's movement in India presents a marked contrast with the women's movement in the West, purged of course of the latter's evil consequences.

## THE GERMAN CONSTITUTION

Since the adoption of the Weimar Constitution on August 11, 1919, Germany's republican government has been of continuous interest to students of political institutions. The constitution itself was interesting, for it disclosed some new refinements of the theory of Parliamentary Government. Three Professors of the Columbia University discuss the structure and functions of the present government in Germany, especially the powers of the president and his cabinet, in the course of a lengthy article in the September Number of the *Political Science Quarterly*.

Those who drafted the constitution thirteen years ago were able to choose the kind of executive authority they desired. Indeed, the parties of the Left contemplated having no president at all. But a titular executive is of some importance internationally. And then there were a number of parties and a strong executive power was deemed indispensable in times of frequent changes. And therefore a president was decided upon.

The German president is not one on the American model. He is a titular executive. He stands to much the same constitutional position as that occupied by the president of the French republic, or by the British king. In the oft-quoted remark of Thiers (supplemented by Sir Henry Maine), the president of the United States governs but does not reign, the king of England reigns but does not govern, and the president of the French republic neither governs nor reigns. The constitutional provision that all orders and decrees of the president of the Reich require the signature of a minister, who thereby accepts responsibility, makes the German president a titular executive, however much the fact may seem to be belied by the dismissal of Chancellor Brüning in May 1932.

An elected president cannot reign, but can it now be said that the present president of Germany—Von Hindenburg—is governing?

Certainly, by his action in removing Chancellor Brüning, President von Hindenburg has governed to a greater extent than George V or President Lebrun would dare to attempt. Since the reign of William IV a century ago, no British sovereign has ventured to dismiss a minister who even nominally has had the confidence of the House of Commons. Such an act must be performed directly by the House of Commons; or, indirectly, resignation may follow a decision of the political parties supporting the Cabinet, or an adverse

verdict at the polls. Only once, in 1877, has a French president forced a Cabinet to resign, and the consequences of Marshal MacMahon's coup were such that no subsequent president has dreamed of repeating the manoeuvre. President von Hindenburg, however, even though a titular executive, has dismissed a chancellor possessing the (at least nominal) confidence of the Reichstag.

The justification which can be alleged for his action is twofold: the political situation in Germany and the intention of the framers of the Weimar Constitution.

Those who drafted the Weimar Constitution wanted to avoid the ministerial instability which had been characteristic of the French parliamentary system.

## REVALUATION OF VALUES

Under the above heading, Prof. Pramathanath Mukhopadhyaya contributes an article to the November Number of the *Buddha Bharata*. The writer says that the present age is generally supposed to be an age of criticism. But still appearances are commonly taken for realities, and conventions are still commonly assessed at their face value. He continues:

"It is a fact that we moderns are confronted with at least two sets of systems of values—one set broadly represented by the Present and the other represented by the Past. They agree and meet at some points, no doubt, but they differ and diverge at others also. The question of all questions is: Where shall we and how shall we find a durable and trustworthy, if not absolute, scale with reference to which we should be able to compare the divergent values of the past and the present? It is not a question of archaeological interest merely. We should profit by the legacy of the past if that legacy be found to be of real value to-day. And the legacy is not a dead legacy. Much of the older *ensemble* of ideas and institutions is still alive. If of value, we should not willingly scrape them as old, rotten and crumbling things. And if we mean sound business, we should see if necessity has not arisen for attempting to revalue all values, old or new."



## ANGLO-INDIANS

"Soon after the War, when many nationalists were demanding a fresh start and a different name to mark the circumstance, Eurasians, as they were then called, asked the Indian Government to give the official name of Anglo-Indian—a request formally granted. It is impossible now to offend a Eurasian more than by giving him that title: he is an Anglo-Indian, but he is still, definitely and decidedly, the under-dog," writes Mr. M. M. Bell in the course of an article on the "Problem of the Anglo-Indian" in the *Empire Review* for October. When the name of Eurasian was first given to these people, there was a general impression that they were mostly illegitimate. Nothing however could be farther from the truth:

In the early days of the East India Company, legal marriages between its servants and Indians were encouraged. It was hoped that business might thus be stimulated. There was also a strong objection on John Company's part to bring white women out to India, one of the reasons being plain to anybody who has studied the inscriptions on the tombs of the long-dissevered military cemetery at Delhi and seen the terrible toll which India took of women's and children's lives a hundred years ago. One unfortunate non-commissioned officer has recorded the loss of his wife and three sons within a few days.

The children of these mixed marriages encouraged by the East India Company were usually brought up in European style and ultimately received the name of Eurasian. Then, as now, they were sent to England for education when the parents' means allowed and up to the end of the eighteenth century, they returned to India to take up appointments under the Company.

About 1800, there was a sudden and disastrous change in the Company's policy. Pressure was put on the Directors of the East India Company to keep all lucrative appointments for young Englishmen.

The cause of the Anglo-Indians is being championed by influential people and they have formed an association of their own.

Much is being done to help on the education of Anglo-Indians, mainly by religious bodies. Excellent schools for them are found both in the hills and the plains, managed by Anglicans, Nonconformists, and Roman Catholics. The spiritual torpor of the English Church as a whole during the eighteenth century, causing it to enter the mission field later than other

religious bodies, has delayed its influence in this sphere for long, but it is now doing excellent work in the educational world of Anglo-India. The Indian Government makes grants to many schools managed by the religious communities but there is no saying how long such help may continue. The Church at home should realize this and send help to the Church overseas.

The writer concludes by saying "that more encouragement should be given to them from the Government and with support from the Church at home, the Anglo-Indian could surely shake off his racial and social handicaps and rise to be a happy and respected member of Society in the India that is to be."

## THE INDIAN CLERGY

The *Church Overseas* for October publishes the text of the memorandum on the need for a great increase in the number of the Indian clergy, written by Bishop Bloorjee of Lahore. He deals with the needs of the Punjab and observes:

"We have now gathered about 40,000 Christians scattered over a large area in the districts of Amritsar, Narowal, Gurdaspur, Gujra, and Multan. For the spiritual ministrations there are only 14 priests, viz., four European and ten Indian. This works out: one priest to administer 3,000 people. Consider the extensive area over which this population is scattered; in many cases a group of hardly more than eight or ten families in each village and these far apart. In one district I know that no two villages are nearer than two miles from each other. This would give some idea as to how many hundreds of miles each priest has to travel before he can reach his parish of 3,000 Christians. One priest told me that there is quite a large part of his district which he cannot reach more than once a year."

One main thing that mostly occupies the time of a priest at certain times of the year is the solemnisation of marriages. "Think how many hundreds of miles," says the Bishop, "that one priest has to travel and how much time he has to give in order to solemnise these weddings. \* \* Think of those hundreds and hundreds of Christian homes in whose home life a padre has no place, not even in a wedding."

"This is too serious a state of things," says the Bishop, "and ought to be at once remedied."

## BOOKS FOR LIBRARIES

A library is worth its name only when it has good books and journals. But the selection of good books and periodicals is a difficult task. Mr. Anulyadhan Mukerjee, writing in the *Modern Review* under the heading "Book selection for public libraries", observes as follows :

It is best to start the work of book selection with a properly classified catalogue. By a properly classified catalogue I mean one that can serve as a guide to the librarian in the matter of book selection, telling him what he possesses and what he does not but should have possessed. In such a classified catalogue the major, minor and subordinate classes should be so constituted that in a model collection for the particular community there will approximately be the same number of books under each co-ordinate head, so that the librarian trawling over the pages of his own catalogue will readily understand the strength and deficiencies of his library. I emphasise the phrase "for the particular community", because the needs of each community are different and therefore a mechanical adherence to an international system will be of little use to the type of libraries we are envisaging.

Where the resources of a library are limited, and when it is not possible to have an adequate number of books under every subject head, the best thing to do will be, says the writer, to have one standard work or a representative anthology in the place of a small number of unimportant books or pamphlets on a particular subject. He also suggests :

In order to make the library comprehensive though unambitious, dictionaries, encyclopaedias and other important reference works must be procured and that use popularized. A library after all is meant to complete the mental equipment of the citizens.

Mr. Mukerjee is of opinion that an Indian library cannot help being bilingual. For English is the key to world's knowledge and culture, which it is practically impossible for us to do without. English books should, therefore, be procured to supply deficiencies that cannot be made up by any work in the Vernacular.

## CONCILIATION IN INDIA

Commenting on "the drama in Yerawada jail" which ended with the ceremonial close of Mr. Gandhi's fast following the great pact between the Hindu leaders and the leaders of the untouchables, the *Spectator* points out :

It would not be easy to overstate the significance to India of the Poona agreement. It marks a epoch in the evolution of the world's most ancient, most elaborated and most rigid social system—a system which has maintained almost unaltered its unparalleled curbs imposed on one-fifth of the Hindu multitudes.

The agreement is a striking vindication of the method of non-violence but how far, asks the writer, will it help the Gandhi party to influence the desperate terrorists of Bengal? And how far can the new temper and feeling be turned to account in making a new basis for conciliation and co-operation?

This last question cannot be answered categorically. As things stand in India, it is essential to feel the way carefully, giving full weight (though never excessive weight) to the judgment of the men on the spot.

The hope that Mahatma Gandhi may now be willing to call off civil disobedience and that the Government may feel able to return to amity some or all of the men and women now in prison for non-violent offences frames itself spontaneously.

Nothing would herald the coming Conference in London more auspiciously. However that may be, the Government's business to-day is, as it has always been, to push steadily forward with the task of making the reform scheme a reality.

## THE ORIGIN OF DUTY

"The imperative of Duty, which is as real as anything that we know, more real than atoms or stones or electrons and ions, if it comes to a comparison, took its origin where other reals took theirs. To essay to construct a system of ethics on a preliminary denial of this is to flout the imperative of Truth," writes the Rev. Canon W. G. Edwards Rees in the *Contemporary Review*.

"To endeavour to collect from the conventions that men may hope to reach one day, the legislative and authoritative dynamic that is needed at the outset to give the conventions any validity is a futile waste of ingenuity. To establish as the law of right what men shall deem convenient is to set them on the road to perdition."

## TAGORE'S SHORT STORIES

Prof. N. K. Siddhanta discusses Rabindranath's short stories in an article in the journal *India and the World*. He observes that to appreciate Tagore's art as story-teller, one cannot do better than study and analyse the skill and workmanship in his *Master Mahasaya*—"Private Tutor". "In short stories," says the writer:

the creation of the atmosphere of a Forest of Arden or of "magic castles opening on the town of perilous seas" is practically impossible and fantasy appears legitimate only for introducing a symbolism or pointing a moral. Tagore, in "Hungry houses", has shown as the possibility of inducing such an atmosphere as would make the supernatural credible, but one is not sure if the appeal of this can properly be described as of a story or of a prose poem. While there may be acceptance as in "Foolish hopes" (Dharaka) or "Dallu", Tagore's stories generally deal with contemporary life in Bengal in its various phases of activity, in villages and in cities, within the circle of family life or in the world at large. Politics is rarely introduced in these stories though it may be present in the background of the comic "I crown the king" or the tragic "Clouds and Sunshine", social reform and propaganda may sometimes be vaguely evident, but usually the essence of these stories is in the tragedy or comedy of individual life.—The tragedy more often than the comedy of it; for this poet with his discerning eyes sees the conflict of his character with circumstances, conflict with impulses or social laws or prejudices or conventions—a conflict which almost invariably ends with the crushing of the individual and the vindication of the strength of the opposing force. One can think of so many of these weak men and women of the type of Kshiroda in "The Judge", Bicharak or Phashibala in "The Sister", Madi or Kulpada in "Rashmoni's Son", or Ullal in "The Private Tutor", truly tragic figures with all potentialities of goodness yet going under on account of certain errors and frailties or of the stress of external forces which prove too powerful for them.

Many of them may be held to be responsible for that fate in a more or less indirect fashion, yet one cannot say bow in the face of the adverse circumstances they could have acted otherwise and still retained our sympathies and respect. In concluding, the writer points out that:

many of these tales appear to be more pathetic than tragic and excite more of pity than of terror. Even if they do not impress us with a sense of injustice as the guiding principle of the world, they often suggest favorable forces and visible conventions which are unjust and tyrannical, responsible for the existence of so much of misery and pain as we see present round about us every moment of our lives.

## THE GOSPEL OF INSURANCE

"The gospel of insurance has for its keynote social service, and although apparently it is an individual's protection, there is also in it a common tie to the community and a philanthropic service to the less fortunate members of society," says Mr. K. B. Madhava in the course of a paper published in the *Insurer World*: "The proper conduct of insurance business requires understanding of the deeper wants and sentiments of men, of their psychology and their economy, and also requires a skill for exposition and expostulation." To this end, says Mr. Madhava, a sound general education is very handy, because culture gives knowledge and balance as well as ability and discipline.

A life insurance institution does not exist solely for the benefit of present policy-holders. It must be considered as having continual existence and be treated as a trust to posterity as it has been a heritage of the past and the absolute and permanent stability of the corporation selling it must in any case be secured. The declaration of a bonus rebate is the conversion of certain funds presently free into a definite liability, and improper bonus allotment may transform a surplus into a deficit. Accordingly the traditional policy has to face a loss immediately and to reveal a profit slowly. Especial care is necessary that the first step may never be taken since life insurance is the very antithesis of a speculative enterprise.

In concluding, Mr. Madhava observes:

The establishment of propaganda bureaus to educate the masses in matters of insurance to-day loudly begs to be asked. I know of one Indian insurance company at least that is taking round the villages a cinema film for that purpose, but I think that such work is best conducted as a central organization as the common work of all companies and also that the most beneficial returns out of them can be expected if that is entrusted to the insurance agents themselves. It is therefore very necessary that insurance companies train themselves suitably in this direction.

## INDIA IN PERIODICALS

**THE ORDISANCE IN INDIA.** By Sir Robert Holland. [The Asiatic Review, October 1932.]

**THE MEANING OF GANDHI'S FAST.** By Richard B. Gregg. [The World To-Morrow, September 1932.]

**THE INDIAN BUREAU'S RECORD.** By John Collier. [The Nation, October 5, 1932.]

**MEMOIRS OF INDIA AND INDIANS.** By Sister Devamata. [Prabodha Bharata, November 1932.]

**DEATH BARRING IN INDIA PROPOSED.** By T. L. Poonen, M.A. [Journal of the Madras University, July 1932.]

# MULTUM IN PARVO

NEWS

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DEPARTMENTAL

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NOTES

## Questions of Importance

### ALLAHABAD CONFERENCE'S DEMAND

The Unity Conference Committee which met at Allahabad under the presidency of Mr. C. Vijayaraghavachari on the 3rd November



MR. C. VIJAYARAGHAVACHARI

concluded its work at 7-30 in the evening on November 17. As a result of the deliberation, the Meeting unanimously accepted the principle of full responsible Government, that is, a National Government with full responsibility at the Centre with safeguards for short periods fixed by Statute demonstrably necessary in the interests of India. It has also been agreed that the various parts and agreements shall be interdependent and shall form one entity.

The following is the full text of the Resolutions:

In the absence of definite information as to the proportion, powers and functions of members returned by the Indian States to the All-India Federal Legislature which may come into existence, this agreement as to the reservation of seats in the Central Legislature is entered into with reference only to the representation of British India. It is agreed that in the Central Legislature, out of the total seats allotted to British India, 52 per cent. shall be reserved for the Muslims and 4 2/3 per cent. for the Sikhs.

This Conference is emphatically of the opinion that a Government at the Centre fully responsible to the people and possessing the full rights of a National Government will alone satisfy the needs of India and ensure the welfare of her people. The Conference, therefore, demands that the control over the Government of India should be transferred to the Indian people with only such safeguards for a short period fixed by Statute as may be shown to be demonstrably necessary in the interests of India. It is agreed that the various parts of this settlement are inter-connected and the entire settlement shall be regarded as one indivisible entity and shall be given effect to as a whole.

Pandit Govind Malaviya, General Secretary, Unity Conference, has sent telegrams to Messrs. Gandhi, Jawaharlal Nehru and others informing them of the great success of the Conference.

When the report of the Committee incorporating the agreements arrived at has been adopted by the Conference, the agreement will be placed before a larger All-Parties Conference which will meet at Allahabad on Monday the 5th December 1932.

### THE POONA CHRISTIAN CONFERENCE

The following is the final form of the statement of Fundamental Rights which, by agreement, was recommended by the Poona All-India Conference of Christians embodied in the New Constitution on October 29:

This Conference, after discussing the question of representation of Indian Christians in legislatures, finds that there is a general, though not unanimous opinion, in favour of changing the communal award.

It therefore appointed a Committee to meet the leaders of other communities with a view to adopting a suitable alternative to the Award.

## THE NEED OF THE HOUR

Sir S. Radhakrishnan, in his address at the Annual Convocation of the Nagpur University on November 19th, said:

"It is the function of the University to produce not only scholars with the prophetic vision but also leaders of the new democracy. Democracy



SIR RADHAKRISHNAN

is not rule by a rabble or a caucus. It is not submission to mass opinion or obedience to dictators. There is no finer definition of democracy than that of Mazzini, who said that it is the progress of all through all under the leadership of the wisest and best, not merely the best born. We want leaders who are not anxious to keep their seats of leadership but who are prepared to tell the truth and guide us to a right solution of our problems. There is a

temptation for an uneducated or half-educated democracy to put in places of power men of forceful ability, political dexterity or money power, such a temptation is difficult to overcome unless the electorate has intelligence and ability, public spirit and independence—qualities which cannot be got to order.

The Universities can provide us with men of disciplined courage, men who will be directors and not merely exponents of public opinion. It will not do in these troublous times to play for safety, demand secure careers and look out for soft. If you expect them, you will be disappointed. You must be prepared to go out of conventional grooves and take chances in life and be ready to do anything worth doing. Youth, if it is not anaemic or fossilised, will always be adventurous in thought and action. The message I leave with you, my young friends, is: Preserve the spirit of youth, of adventure and of courage. Equip yourself for the new era of social creators."

## THE IDEAL PARLIAMENT

"The fundamental problem of Government is: Is it possible to make decent planning compatible with existing institutions?" said Sir Arthur Selver, M.P., at the recent Liberal Summer School. "I personally cannot visualise," Sir Arthur went on, "a sudden reversal of all existing institutions. I am not encouraged by Italy and Russia. They have not known free government for very long. We should search for an alternative method to one which means the abnegation of the fundamentals of liberty."

I should like to see a Parliament, not meeting as now, but for two or three months in the year only. Its functions would be to review the work of the administration of the past year and change the administration if necessary and to legislate for the coming period.

But the legislation should not be in detail for which Parliament is unsuitable, not by clauses hammered not in detail by a committee of hundreds but a statement of main principles within which legislation could thereafter be made by Orders in Council. The Government should be unaggregated and unimpeded for the greater part of the year but it should be responsible to the people for carrying out its mandate.

That is not an impossible ideal. "I would like to see Parliament delegate but not abdicate."

## PRESS AND ORDINANCES

INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE  
ON INDIA

The value of world opinion in these days of growing international outlook can hardly be ignored. When, at the instance of Mr. Gandhi and the vigorous logic of non-co operation, the British Committee of the Indian National Congress was disbanded and the weekly organ *India* suspended, we deplored the decision as not calculated to do great harm to the country. For it is common knowledge that the truth about India seldom reaches foreign countries while some inconsequential abnormalities are featured in their press. This distortion has invariably acted prejudicially to our interests. How to counteract this ignorance and misunderstanding but by a counter propaganda? Lacking the means and the facility to carry on such a propaganda abroad, we welcome with gratitude, the efforts of groups of good men and women who are doing their bit for India, in Europe and America. It is gratifying to learn that at the recent International Conference at Geneva, delegates of no less than 26 Organizations from 15 different countries gathered together to discuss Indian conditions. The facts disclosed at the Conference show the extent of the world's sympathy for India and the international activities carried on to help her cause. We congratulate Mrs. Cousins who, as International Representative of the Women's Indian Association, has so far succeeded in her efforts to interest other countries in the affairs of India. The proceedings of the Conference show that striking speeches were made on the occasion by representatives of different countries—speeches testifying to their sympathy for Indian aspiration and their regard for Indian culture. In a statement issued by the Delegates, they say:

Since the problem of India is one in which world peace and world unity are involved, we appeal to the delegates to take any action possible to promote a better relationship between the people of India and Great Britain. We are convinced that peace can only be truly secured when India is in control of her own destiny.

A Conference of the Madras newspaper proprietors, editors and journalists was held recently at the *Hindu* office, Madras, to protest against the provisions of the Ordinance in so far as they affect the Press. Mr. N. C. Kelkar presided.

The following resolution was adopted at the meeting:

That this meeting is of opinion that the enactment as part of the normal law of the country of the provisions of Sections 18 to 20 of the said Ordinance is an infringement of the fundamental rights of the Press of India and are opposed to all principles of jurisprudence. They are calculated to place the Press as well as the Courts under the control of the Executive in a manner that is bound to obstruct the development of a free constitution in India and the exercise of the ordinary rights of citizenship by the people.

## G. D. CONVICTIONS

Sir Samuel Hoare stated in the House of Commons recently that the total number of persons convicted in connection with the Civil Disobedience Movement up to the end of September was 61,551.

The number of persons undergoing imprisonment at the end of September was 19,858 which, he observed, marked a decline of 1,561 from the number of persons in jail on the 31st August and a decline of 12,600 from the number of persons in jail on the 30th April.

## PRESIDENT FOR COUNCIL OF STATE

In the Commons at question time Mr. David Grenfell, Labourite, suggested that the President of the Council of State should henceforth be elected as in the case of the Legislative Assembly.

Sir S. Hoare said that he did not contemplate a revision of the existing arrangements pending the revision of the whole constitution.

## THE NEW MADRAS MINISTRY

The Raja of Bobbili, Mr. P. T. Rajan and Mr. Kumarswami Reddiar took charge of their offices on November 5. The Raja as the Chief Minister is in charge of Local Self-Government while the two others hold the same portfolios as before.

## LATE SIR ALI IMAM

Sir Ali Imam, who died last month, was born in 1869. He was appointed Law Member to the Government of India in 1910. He was regarded as the maker of Bihar having played an important part in its creation as a separate province in 1912. He was the Chief



SIR ALI IMAM

Minister of Hyderabad in 1917-20. He was one of the signatories to the Nehru Report and a leader of the Moslem Nationalist Party in India.

His work in connection with the rendition of Berar to the Nizam is well known. An affable host, his house in Patna was open to one and all. He was very unassuming by disposition.

Sir Ali leaves behind him Lady Imam and five sons, all of them Barristers practising in Patna. Lady Imam is well known for her great work in connection with the women's movement and was a member of the Bihar Franchise Committee.

## BRITISH OFFICIALS IN THE R. T. C.

The following form the British Parliamentary delegation at the Third Round Table Conference which resumed constitutional discussions in London, on November 17. The Government Delegates are: Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, Lord Sankey, Sir Samuel Hoare, Viscount Hailsham, Sir John Simon, Lord Irwin, Mr. J. C. C. Davidson, and Mr. R. A. Butler. The Non-Government Delegates are: Lord Peel, Lord Winterton, Lord Reading and Lord Lothian.

The Labour Party was invited to nominate representatives but preferred to defer participation in the discussions until a later stage. The Lord Chancellor will take the chair in the absence of the Prime Minister.

## MADRAS CORPORATION

At a special meeting of the Madras Corporation, on November 2, Mr. M. A. Muthiah Chettiar, the Kumara Rajah of Chettinad and the son of Raja Sir Annamalai Chettiar, was unanimously elected as President of the Corporation for the ensuing year. The new President on his elevation to the presidential *gadi* assured the House: Now that he had been elected as President, he was above all parties and personalities and would serve and conduct himself in such a manner as to erase the impression that he was a party man.

## THE NEW AMERICAN PRESIDENT

Mr. Franklin Delano Roosevelt, Governor of New York State, known to his friends as "F. D.", aged fifty, is a distant relation of the famous Mr. Theodore Roosevelt whose second cousin he has married. He has four sons and a daughter. He was elected Governor of New York State in 1928. Mr. Roosevelt is now elected the President of America defeating Mr. Hoover.

## THE ENGLISH AND THE FRENCH PRESS

"The popular papers in France," says Mr. Robert Dell in *Current History* for November, "are more serious than the popular papers in England which means that the public, to which they appeal, take a greater interest in serious questions than the English public. One has only to compare, for instance, the *Petit Parisien*, which has the largest circulation of any daily paper in France, with one of the English popular papers to see how superior the former is. The English popular papers are full of trivialities, sensational stunts and appeals to every form of snobbery. No French popular paper fills its columns with portraits of film stars and fashionable brides, gossip about duchesses, highly colored accounts of trivial incidents, discussions by Bishops on the advantages or disadvantages of short skirts, or by actresses on the existence of God."

## NOBEL PRIZE FOR MR. JOHN GALSWORTHY

The Nobel Prize for Literature has been awarded to Mr. John Galsworthy.

Mr. John Galsworthy was born in 1867 and was educated at Harrow and New College, Oxford. He was Honorary Fellow of the New College, Oxford; Hon. LL.D. St. Andrews; and Hon. Litt. D. Manchester, Dublin, Cambridge, Sheffield, Oxford and Princeton. (An article is published elsewhere in this number).

## SIR OWEN SEAMAN

Sir Owen Seaman, who is retiring from the editorship of *Punch*, succeeded Sir F. C. Burnand in the editorial chair in 1906. Although he is himself a brilliant parodist and a versifier, who has sometimes come very near to being a poet and was once Professor of English Literature at a college in the north of England, his editorship of *Punch* has been a career in itself.

## MISPRINTS

"Woe, no doubt, to those through whom offences come, nevertheless they must come . . ." writes Mr. J. C. Squire in the *London Mercury*.

"The classic in the kind has been going the rounds lately as a new one but really dates from just after the American Civil War. It concerned a newspaper in Atlanta, Ga., or some such place, who referred to a local colonel as 'a battle-scarred veteran'. The gentleman insulted burst into the office with a gun and threatened to shoot up the whole staff unless a revised version were immediately published. The result was in the next number another slip of the printers and the more complimentary appellation of 'battle-scarred veteran'."

## BOOKS RECEIVED

LOVE IN NATURE. By James Hinton. George Allen & Unwin, Ltd., London.

ADMINISTRATION OF MEDICAL TESTS. By K. N. Venkatasubba Sastry, M.A. George Allen & Unwin, Ltd., London.

SHAKESPEARE THROUGH EASTERN EYES. By Ranjee G. Shabani. Herbert Joseph, 9, John Street, Adelphi, London.

INDO-CHINA CONNECTION. By V. K. Rajaratnam. Sagorahy Press, Malacca.

THE LAW OF TORTS. By Rameswami Ayyar, M.A., M.L. Butterworth & Co. (India) Ltd., Madras.

A FEW PRE-HISTORIC RELICS AND THE ROCK PAINTINGS OF SINGAPORE. By Amer Nath Datta, M.A., B.L. Published by G. C. Boral, M.A., B.L. Hindustan Bazarjee Lane, Calcutta.

UP FROM POVERTY IN RURAL INDIA. By D. Spencer Heath, M.A., Ph.D. With a Foreword by H. E. the Earl of Willington. Oxford University Press, Bombay.

PASSEY INDIA, PART I. Kumar Brothers, Amritsar.

A HINDU'S HOLIDAY. By Victoria Cross. T. Werner Laurie, London.

THE ALABASTER NIXON. By June Boland. T. Werner Laurie, London.

THE MESSAGE OF THE GITA. By D. E. Sarma, M.A., Professor, Presidency College, Madras. Publishers: M. R. Nathan, Triplicane, Madras.

VANMALA OR THE FLOWER OF MALWA IN THREE ACTS. By C. K. Subramaniam. The Mohan Printing Press, Bombay.



## MODERN UNIVERSITIES

In the *Universities Review* for April, published by the Association of University Teachers, the discussion on "What is wrong with the Modern Universities?" is continued in articles by Prof. F. A. Cavenagh and Mr. J. F. Duff. Prof. Cavenagh quotes Mr. H. G. Wells's warning that the break-up of universities may be at hand in their very phase of maximum expansion; the undergraduate body may melt away quite suddenly. He is especially concerned to defend the education departments of the modern universities claiming that a large amount of valuable work, psychological and historical, has issued from these departments. Within the last thirty years or so, educational theory has been transformed; education is on the way to becoming an accredited science and in this progress the universities have played a worthy part. Mr. Duff suggests that more care should be taken in the right choice of course and that more attention should be given to social efficiency in contrast with intellectual efficiency. It is not merely a question of economic position which gives the preference to Oxford and Cambridge graduates. The presidential address to the Association by Prof. Tattersall, of Cardiff, reprinted in the same number, suggests that students should be divided into groups, each under a moral tutor to whom the student could appeal for help and advice.

## EUROPEAN EDUCATION

In a memorandum to the Secretary of State for India, Sir Henry Olden, on behalf of the Anglo-Indian community, prays for the reservation of European education in India as a Federal subject.

Sir Henry wants a special All-India Department to be created for the control of European education under the Education Minister of the Government of India and a special officer to be appointed Director of European Education.

## LITERACY IN RUSSIA

Whatever else may be said about the Communist dictatorship, the liquidation of illiteracy stands out as a great positive achievement. By the end of this year all Russians under 45 are scheduled to be literate.

"Schools in the Soviet Union," says a Communist pamphlet, "are expected to be not a shelter from life but a part of the life around them, attached to factories, plants and giant farms for the study of their productive processes." In liquidating illiteracy, the Government is building an army of industrial workers.

Soviet education is divided into two main branches: political and technical. Cultural studies are not stressed and when taught are confined to the narrow limits of communist philosophy. When a child enters school at the age of eight, he or she immediately becomes a potential lover in the Soviet political and industrial plan.

## CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY

Miss E. F. Malcolm-Smith, late Fellow, Newman College, Cambridge, writes in the course of an interesting article in *Prabuddha Bharata*:

It must be emphasised that a Cambridge education means something much wider than mere learning. The zealous student who spends all his or her time in lecture rooms and libraries, misses the best that University life can give—the companionship of his fellows and the wide range of interests that go to make up culture. Even in her examinations Cambridge is concerned that they should echo the majesty and the spaciousness of learning.

## MYSORE PHILOSOPHICAL CONGRESS

Prof. Sir S. Radhakrishnan, Vice-Chancellor, and Dr. Sankarwar Sen, M.A., Reader in Philosophy, Andhra University, have been deputed as delegates of the University to attend the next Indian Philosophical Congress to be held at Mysore on the 19th, 20th and 21st December 1932.

## ONTARIO RADIUM REFINERY

It is announced that private interests will establish at Port Hope, Ontario, a radium refinery, the first in Canada. The ore will be brought 3,500 miles from Great Bear Lake in the north-west territories.

The announcement of a definite move towards the establishment of a radium refinery comes a little over two years after the discovery of radium in pitchblende in north-western Canada. The lure of radium and the rich silver ore have attracted a great number of prospectors and hundreds of mining claims have been staked.

Some twenty tons of pitchblende ore were brought out last year during the season of water transportation in the north. This ore will be transported to the refinery when it is ready for the first radium production operations. By the time the refinery has been equipped, the larger quantities of ore being brought out in the present year will also be available for treatment.

## INCREASE IN DOCTORS

The *British Medical Journal* reviews the numerical strength of the profession and states that on December 31 last there were 55,601 names on the Medical Register compared with 23,801 half a century ago. This means that there is now a doctor for every 1,000 of the population. There has been a steady increase in the ratio of doctors to population which was accelerated during the years immediately after the War.

## NOBEL PRIZE FOR MEDICINE

The Nobel prize for 1932 in Physiology and Medicine has been divided between two British Scientists, namely, Sir Charles Sherrington of Exford and Professor Adrian of Cambridge for their research into neuroses.

## MISS KELLER AND THE DOCTORS

"Deafness in the young is a much worse misfortune than blindness," said Miss Helen Keller at a meeting of doctors. "It means the loss of the most important brain stimulus—the sound of the voice which awakens the impulse to speak and keeps us in the intellectual companionship of man. I do not mean to say that speech is essential to mental development, but language is of supreme importance and every incentive should be utilised to make the deaf child feel joy in acquiring language."

A satisfactory education may be gained through books and the hand-alphabet and the doctor can do much to start the child on his silent way to knowledge and some measure of happiness by suggesting the right method or school or special training that will develop the child into an intelligent and useful human being."

## BEEES CURE RHEUMATISM

To suffer oneself to be stung no fewer than 150 times by bees in order to be cured of rheumatism seems a drastic form of treatment, yet this is what one Christchurch resident did in order to be rid of the disease to which she was a martyr. It was 30 years ago that she did this, but the announcement that doctors in Vienna had discovered the efficacy of treatment by bees' venom reminded her of what she herself had undergone. The idea was not new, she said. It was certainly effective in her case, for she had been completely cured. The first 30 or 40 stings had hurt but after that she had not noticed them.

## REDUCTION OF DUTIES

The Karachi Chamber of Commerce has forwarded two resolutions to the Secretary of the Associated Chambers of Commerce for inclusion in the agenda of the forthcoming annual general meeting. The first resolution proposes a reduction of the import duties on motor cars in order to give every opportunity for developing the internal communications of the country. The Chamber thinks that the reduction will be amply repaid by the increased returns from the petrol-tax.

The second resolution recommends a reduction of the air mail postage rates. The rates from India to the United Kingdom, the Chamber says, are already higher than those from the United Kingdom to India and suggests a reduction at least to the level of the United Kingdom-India rates.

## MR. L. M. CHITALE

Mr. L. M. Chitale, A.R.C.A., A.M.T.P.I., the consulting architect to Andhra and Annamalai Universities, was a student of architecture and town planning at the London University and has received several prizes. He was qualified as an architect in 1923 and as a town planner in 1925. Ever since he was working with Messrs. Lanchester, Lucas and Lodge, a firm of leading architects and town planners in London for a number of years.

He has travelled all over India, England, France, Belgium, Germany, Austria and Italy with a view to study the varied problems in architecture and town planning and their application to the Indian conditions economically and efficiently. He has been Assistant Consulting Architect to Madras Government and has now been appointed as Consulting Architect to Andhra and Annamalai Universities.

## PROTECTION FOR IRON WORKS

The Mysore Iron Works, jointly with the Bengal Iron Co., Ltd., Kulti, have submitted a joint memorandum to the Government of India asking for protection against foreign competition for the pipe industry in India.

The memorandum points out that the industry is still in its infancy and is not able to face foreign competition from older firms in the field. Besides, very few people in India have ventured on iron industry owing to the risks they have to run. The Mysore Iron Works were doing their best to stabilise their position, but the present market conditions for the products is not in favour of such concerns. Hence the immediate necessity for affording protection to these pioneers in the field is urged.

The Mysore Chamber of Commerce, at its meeting, considered this question and has unanimously decided to support the Bhadravathi Iron Works and the Bengal Iron Co. in their representation for protection for the pipe industry in India.

## BRITISH TRADE WITH INDIA

A meeting of influential shippers of Manchester which met on October 21, has unanimously favoured a scheme for better and more direct selling methods in India. A further meeting will be convoked comprising all Manchester shippers. It is suggested that the new concern will be styled Anglo-India Corporation with a capital of half a million to a million sterling.

## SWADESHI

"We must make it a point of honour to buy nothing but swadeshi. He who knowingly uses *bideshi* in preference to *swadeshi* is guilty of high treason against his Motherland," said Sir P. C. Ray speaking on Swadeshi in the Lajpatrai Hall at a meeting held, on October 31, under the auspices of the Lahore Swadeshi League.

## AN AGRICULTURAL EXHIBITION

In the Bombay Presidency Agricultural Exhibition which was held in Pandharpur last month, the Hon. Mr. Kamli, Minister of Education and Agriculture, distributed the prizes and certificates. Several prizes were awarded for exhibits of jowar, bajri, wheat, cotton, groundnuts, linseed, til, gram, maize, rice, fruits and vegetable. The Cooper Engineering Works of Satara received awards for ploughs, power oil mill, and power sugar mill. Messrs. Kirloskar received prizes for steel furniture, bullock sugar mill, and hand and power pumps. The Tata Iron and Steel Company won the prize for steel implements. The Department of Agriculture won a prize with their improved seed drill and groundnut digger. Mr. Bhatt, Assistant Horticulturist to Government, received a medal for the lime juice extractor devised by him, while Mr. Rahatore, Mechanical Assistant to the Deputy Director of Agriculture, received a medal for his hand-cane crusher and strainer. A Japanese rope-making machine attracted much attention. The McCormick-Dering Tractor which drew crowds daily during demonstrations, received the award for the best tractor in the Show.

## PANDHARPUR CATTLE SHOW

There was a cattle show in Pandharpur. Mr. Bruen, Live Stock Expert to Government, has had an unenviable task and it was only his popularity with the villagers that enabled him to carry out his task successfully. Contributions for prizes in this section were collected mostly through the generosity of cattle-loving people in Bombay. More than 100 prizes were awarded. Mr. S. D. Bagal of Gadgaon, the most persevering premium bull holder for the last 10 years, was promised help with Rs. 150 towards the purchase of a bull.

## IRRIGATION CESS IN TANJORE

The increased rates of the irrigation cess to be levied on the Mirasdars in the Tanjore district, with retrospective effect from July, have resulted in a representation by them to the Government.

The Mirasdars questioned the contention of the Government that the water of the Mettur Project would benefit irrigation in the deltaic areas and considered the Government's decision to enhance the cess as an untenable position. They complained that the rates were highly excessive and apprehended a vast curtailment from the present extent of dry cultivation which would cause loss of revenue to the Government consequent upon the decreased yield to the Mirasdars. They objected to the retrospective operation of the rules and petitioned for their total withdrawal.

They asked for a large reduction in land tax and for permission to pay the reduced tax in grain instead of in money as, owing to the economic depression, their paddy did not realise enough for them to convert it into money.

## AEROPLANES FOR FARMERS

A request to the Soviet Government to buy aeroplanes for agricultural purposes abroad has, it is learnt, been made by the Soviet Agricultural Commissary. The new machines are wanted for chemical war against vermin in field and forest.

## TRACTORS IN RUSSIA

Lenin's dreams of 100,000 tractors to alter the whole face of Russia has already been surpassed, according to the latest Moscow Report which states that the total number of tractors now in use, including those imported from abroad, is 150,000.

## A ROCKET TO THE MOON

Many inventors are filled with the idea of sending a rocket to the Moon. No one knows why, for it would be impossible to tell whether the rocket had reached its destination and certainly it would not come back again. One of the latest to announce a solution of the problem is Dr. D. O. Lyon, an American expert, who is working at Vienna.

He has evolved an explosive many times more powerful than any yet known and hopes to make his rocket reach the speed of seven miles a second.

The rocket will be made in a number of sections. The first shoots out its stream of gases, ignites the second and falls off when its work is done. Thus the rocket goes on getting lighter and lighter and travelling faster and faster as it moves upwards. Once it has left the earth's atmosphere, there is no reason why the rocket should not travel out into space. If properly aimed at the Moon which is about 250,000 miles away, it should arrive in rather less than ten hours, but it would require more than three years to reach our next nearest neighbour Venus, and something like 4,000,000 years to arrive at the nearest Fixed Star.

## A TALKING CLOCK

One of the latest inventions in the field of scientific invention is that of a talking clock which is being installed at the Observatory of the Bureau of Longitudes in Paris. It automatically answers telephone enquiries for the exact time.

When it is desired to know what o'clock it is, it is no longer necessary to ask a living operator who looks at the clock and gives the information. Instead, a time-call will be connected automatically to the clock. That instrument will then repeat into the telephone the hour and minute of the day and the proper fraction of a minute by ten-second intervals.

## ACADEMY OF SCIENCES

The most recent development is the formation of the Academy of Sciences of the United Provinces with its seat at Allahabad. The main object of the Academy, of which Prof. Saha is the first president, are the encouragement of science in its various branches, more especially in the United Provinces and the publication of the results of scientific research either in its *Bulletin* or in the form of transactions and memoirs. The membership of the Academy, as in the case of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, is divided into two classes: fellows elected for their scientific eminence the number being limited to thirty, and ordinary members of whom no special qualifications are required.

## WASTE GLASS FOR ROAD MAKING

Remembering such phrases as "slippery as glass," the idea of making roads of glass to stop slipping seems rather absurd, but it is a perfectly serious proposal which is being considered by the British Ministry of Transport.

A young inventor has discovered a process whereby waste glass can be made into blocks suitable for road surfaces. One effect of the process is to make the blocks so hard that they are practically indestructible no matter how heavy the traffic. Skid prevention is secured by a scored pattern on the upper surface of the blocks.

## TO PREPARE CRUCIBLES

Two Pennsylvania pottery makers have constructed a solar furnace ten feet in diameter which will produce a temperature of 5,000° Fahrenheit at the focal point. When augmented by a magnifying glass between the furnace and its focal point, an even more intense heat can be produced. It was designed for experiments in fusing zirconia with a melting point of 5,200° in making laboratory crucibles.

## THE NIZAM'S RAILWAY

The Nizam's Railway Administration has appointed a Joint Committee consisting of three representatives of the Railway Management and two representatives of the Nizam's Railway Employees' Union to look after the welfare of workers now stationed in the Railway Health Camp Colony. The Committee will meet fortnightly to inspect the camps, make suggestions and listen to complaints. The subjects with which the Committee may deal are: (a) water supply, (b) sanitation generally, (c) lighting, (d) application for extension of plots, and (e) any other matters which affect the general health and welfare of the staff living in the camps on account of the present plague epidemic. On representation by the Union Members of the Committee, the Agent has agreed to sanction reimbursing staff earning less than Rs. 50 per mensem who purchased material for construction of their huts before the Agent's circular sanctioning free provision of materials was received.

## ELECTRIC TRAINS IN MADRAS

The South Indian Railway have, it is understood, a proposal under consideration to improve the Electric Train Service over the Madras-Tambaram suburban section.

The distance between Madras Beach and Tambaram is 18 miles and the electric trains now cover the distance in 50 minutes stopping at each of the 12 intermediate stations from 30 seconds to 2 minutes according to the importance of the stations. There are now 50 passenger trains running each way.

The proposal is, it is stated, to increase the number of trains to 70 each way making a total of 152, and to accelerate the speed so as to cover the distance in 40 minutes after stopping at all the stations as at present.

## ELECTRIC RAILWAYS FOR 2,000 MILES

The Railway Division of the French Ministry of Public Works is stated to have prepared a ten years' plan for the electrification of about 2,000 miles of railway system.

The French Railway Board has recommended the electrification of the main line between Basle, Strasbourg, Mulhouse, and Belfort in connection with a scheme for the construction of an Alsatian Rhine lateral canal for the utilisation of water power. The proposal is said to be in conjunction with the anticipated electrification of competitive lines on the Baden side of the frontier. Altogether, Alsace-Lorraine is aiming at converting 2,900 km. of line to electric traction.

## FRENCH RAILWAYS

Electric locomotives which will be tested at 115 miles an hour on the Paris Orleans Railroad of France are planned by Westinghouse Electric and Manufacturing Company. The railroad contemplates buying 25 of the locomotives.

To meet specifications it will be necessary to produce a locomotive weighing 138 tons and developing 4,400 h.p., or 50 per cent. more continuous power for each ton of weight than electric locomotives and nearly three times more than steam locomotives. Maximum speed in actual operation of trains would be 87 miles an hour.

## ROME'S UNDERGROUND STATION

Rome's first underground railway station will be inaugurated shortly. The underground station is 500 yards long with a quadruple track capable of accommodating 2 trains entering and 2 leaving with rapid service every 5 minutes. The whole line was planned and carried out in 2 years.

## THE AVERAGE SPEED OF CARS

A new Speed Detector for motor vehicles is being used in Connecticut. This consists of a box in which a mirror is placed at an angle to each opening, one of which points directly across the road, the other being directed toward an observer stationed at a distance. The observer, looking parallel to the road and into the open end of the box, can see in the mirror directly across the street from the point where the box is set. An approaching car, as it passes the box, makes a distinct flash or flicker in the mirror which is readily seen by the observer. The instant he sees this flash, he presses the stop watch.

When the car passes the point at which the observer is stationed, he stops the watch and records the interval of elapsed time. The base line, or distance along the road from the mirror box to the observer, may be any reasonable length so long as it has been accurately measured.

About 100 readings can be made within half an hour. When these are plotted out, the exaggerated cases of speed either fast or slow will at once show on a diagram and from it, apart from the extremes, the average reasonable rate at which people travel will be apparent.

## TOURING IN FRANCE

A feature of the times in France is the great attention which all the leading railways in the country are now devoting to the encouragement of motor touring in that country, by arranging for the conveyance of cars at cheap rates on the chief trains of the day to the various touring centres. In this way tourists are able to secure quick conveyance by rail from Paris or other French towns to the selected touring centre.

## OVER A MILLION CARS IN BRITAIN

The Home Market Analysis of Motor Vehicles shows that the popularity of the saloon car dates from the year 1928. In that year the percentage of new registrations of these models in Great Britain was 70 compared with 46 in 1927. Last year it was 92.

There were then in use in Great Britain 1,103,715 private cars of all types: 954,471 in England, 44,218 in Wales, 84,765 in Scotland, and 20,258 in Northern Ireland. Of these 17 per cent. were light cars up to 8 h.p. Excluding London, there were more new car registrations in Lancashire than in any other county in England in 1931. Of the new sales of goods vehicles in 1931, 80.56 per cent. were under two tons.

In England there were 39.1 persons per private car, in Wales 58.7, in Scotland 57.1, and in Northern Ireland 63.0, giving for the United Kingdom a figure of 41.7. In 1925 the net imports of private cars and chassis were 41,422 dropping to 9,751 in 1930 and to 2,118 in 1931. In the case of commercial vehicles and chassis the peak was reached in 1929 when the net imports amounted to 16,234, dropping to 1,527 the following year and 1,490 in 1931.

## WORLD MOTOR SPIRIT

Statistics issued recently by the United States Bureau of Mines show that the world production of natural motor spirit totalled 43,877,000 barrels, each of 42 gallons, during 1931 representing a decline of 15.6 per cent. from the record total of 52,111,000 barrels reached in 1930. Whereas, however, the 1931 production of the United States dropped by 16.4 per cent. as compared with that of 1930, the aggregate production in other oil-producing countries increased by 6.6 per cent. in the same interval.

## DIVIDENDS ON INVESTMENTS

The extremely meagre yields on the best class of investment have turned the attention of investors to public utilities, banks and good industrialists. A comparison of prices since July 1st is very interesting and it will be seen that the appreciation has followed the rise in the Government Securities.

	1st July.	1st November.
	Rs.	Rs.
3½ per cent. G. P. Notes ...	63.4	74.3
Andhra Valley ...	870	1,130
Tata Hydro ...	118.12	135
Ahmedabad Prantaj Rly. ...	595	635
Imperial Banks ...	1,002.8	1,276.8
Bombay Burma ...	300	375
New India Assurance ...	17.4	20

The only section not to show any improvement is the cement.

## RESERVE LIABILITIES

"Many investors fight shy of a share which has a reserve liability—one which is only partly paid," writes Mr. Pal Fry in the *Times of India Weekly*. "They do not like to think that one day they may be called upon to pay a sum of money and they may not be in a position to do so. Whilst fears on this account are in some cases justified, in others I must explain that there will probably be no need on the part of the directors to make a sudden demand at any time.

In certain instances of banks and insurance companies, the reserve liability is retained mere for the purpose of assuring depositors and policy-holders than for a means of obtaining additional capital. Some time ago we had the case of the Central Bank when it was decided that the reserve liability on these shares would only be available for the purpose of liquidation at any time—a contingency which is probably extremely remote."

## CO-OPERATION IN BANKING

Mr. Montagu Norman, Governor of the Bank of England, delivered his first speech in public since the financial crisis of last year and this was on the occasion of the Lord Mayor of London's banquet to the bankers.

"There is one point which refers to bankers whose business lies largely overseas. They have, to my knowledge, been generous lenders on short credit overseas. They have done this each for themselves and without any co-operation or any knowledge by one of what the other was doing.

The result has been that in many instances, some of which have come before me, concerns have been able to borrow on short credit sums which, had the various lenders been aware of it, would have been quite out of the question and which have come as a surprise to all of them, both in this country and abroad.

I wonder whether that cannot be done in future on some basis of general co-operation to the interest of all?"

## ON ADMINISTRATION OF BANKS

Mr. Richard Dobson, General Manager of William Descon's Bank, Ltd., in his inaugural address as the new President of the Manchester and District Bankers' Institute, said among other things that "there is nothing to prevent any banker from investing practically the whole of his depositors' money in Government stock, but he should employ most of it in a many far more useful investments to the community.

Bank funds are composed of a mass of assets and a mass of liabilities and depend for their value on a million activities and a million contracts which, in turn, depend upon good faith being kept by millions of people. Destroy this good faith and the looters might as well make one good fire of the whole—there would be left the silver and copper coin, but what they would buy no man can tell."



## INSURANCE A NECESSITY

"How much life assurance ought a man to carry in order to make reasonable provision for his wife and children in the event of his death?" is the interesting question put by Mr. F. G. Culmer in the *Times Chronicle*.

"It is every man's duty to reduce to a minimum the risk to his dependents of the loss of his income through any unforeseen contingency. There is always, of course, the certainty that sooner or later he will be called to his last account.

It may be reckoned that a man who devotes one-sixth of his income to life assurance is taking a proper view of his home responsibilities. That evidently is the considered opinion of the Legislature, since the taxpayer is relieved from payment of income-tax in respect of life assurance premiums to the extent of one-sixth of his total income.

The standard set up by the Income Tax Acts is regarded as a reasonable measure of the value of a man's life for the purpose of assurance. Under the Workmen's Compensation Acts, the widow and children of a man whose earnings amounted to £4 a week, may be entitled to as much as £600—practically three years' earnings.

I consider therefore that the Workmen's Acts standard should be adopted as the absolute minimum."

## PROGRESS OF INSURANCE COMPANIES

Indian companies have captured half the business on life assurance side.

The total new life assurance business effected during the year amounted to 145,000 policies assuring a sum of nearly Rs. 27½ crores and yielding a premium income of Rs. 1.6 crores. The share of British companies in respect of new sums assured was Rs. 4 crores and of Indian companies Rs. 15½ crores. The net annual premium income of all companies under insurance business other than life assurance during 1930

was Rs. 2½ crores of which the Indian companies' share was about half a crore only. Thus the bulk of business in this line went to non-Indian companies. There is, however, one redeeming feature in this sphere. Indian companies earned about a crore in premium by business outside India in these lines.

## ALLIANZ UND STUTTGARTER

The Allianz Und Stuttgarter Insurance Companies Ltd., which is the largest insurance group in Germany, has recently issued its annual report. The concern operates in India and has its head office in Bombay. The premium income has risen from Rs. 23.8 crores in 1930 to Rs. 30.8 crores within the year under review. The total assets including life funds exceed Rs. 73 crores. The number of claims paid in connection with the general business was 411,319 with a daily average of 1,140 and the amount for which they were settled came to Rs. 8.7 crores. With regard to life insurance, the policies in force at the end of 1931 amounted to Rs. 300 crores. The Companies' dividends are again 12 per cent. and 16 per cent. respectively.

## SIR JOSEPH BURN ON INSURANCE

"Insurance, and life insurance in particular, is truly national in its influence on our existence as a community," writes Sir Joseph Burn in the *New Statesman* and *Nation Insurance Supplement*. "It is inseparable from our every activity, but while there is widespread recognition of this fact it is unfortunate that sufficient consideration is seldom given to the amount of assurance called for in individual instances. Much missionary work remains to be done before men can be made to realise their true financial value to their dependents and this is one of the tasks to which all social reformers should devote their attention."

## UNEMPLOYMENT IN GREAT BRITAIN

Mr. John Bromley, in his Presidential Address to the recent Trade Union Congress, made a powerful attack upon the Government for their failure to cope with the problem of unemployment. He said that it was no exaggeration to say that there were well over 3,000,000 unemployed workers in the United Kingdom to-day. The Government stood condemned by the fact that there were now a quarter of a million mere workless people than when it came into power. And when the Government's claim to credit for having balanced the budget was advanced, it should not be forgotten that the claim was fictitious to the extent to which the burden of maintaining the unemployed had been thrown off by the National Exchequer. Local authorities and private charity, the impoverished relatives of unemployed persons and the unemployed themselves were bearing the burden which the Government threw off in their iniquitous economy legislation.

Mr. John Bromley pointed out that the number of people in receipt of outdoor relief (Poor Law) had risen in a year of National Government by 40 per cent. His deepening conviction was that this state of affairs could be solved only by bold and drastic action for the reorganization of industry on the basis of a shorter working day and working week without reduction of wages. To the objection that the working day could not be shortened without increasing labour costs when industry could not even now pay its way, he urged the reply that general economic conditions demanded an increase of purchasing power which might well be given to the wage-earners additionally employed as a consequence of shortening the working day in the form of wages on the credit of the State itself. More spending power was needed. Without it the existing conditions of technical overproduction would continue, intensified by the additional production resulting from the re-employment of the workless.

## G. I. P. RLY. WORKERS' UNION

The Officiating General Secretary of the G. I. P. Railway Workers' Union writes to the *Advocate*, the labour weekly, published in Bombay as follows:

"The Executive Council of the G. I. P. Railway Workers' Union met on the 6th November when it was decided to organise mass meetings and demonstrations on the line, protesting against the Agent's act of victimising the office-bearers of the Union such as Messrs. Kalo, Oasgal and Tikker as also for the withdrawal of the recognition of the Union.

A programme was drafted for the whole of the line and it was decided to send out organisers to all important centres so that the membership of the Union may be raised at least to 40,000 by the end of December. Mr. Kale was re-elected Editor of the *Independent Railwayman* and Mr. D. B. Kulkarni was appointed treasurer in the place of Mr. Chandawadkar who had resigned his office.

The meeting also passed a resolution assuring of their support to the Perambur Workshop workers of the M. & S. M. Railway in their strike."

## HANDLOOMS FOR LABOURERS

Handloom weaving is of great importance in the national economy of India. A report on the survey of the industry instituted by the Bombay Government is now published. There are no fewer than 990 places in the Presidency, excluding Sind, the States and Agencies where 2 to 5,000 or more handlooms are at work. Though the handloom weaver has to ply his shuttle under the shadow of mills in big centres like Ahmedabad, Bombay, and Solapur, etc., the industry is living a healthy life which is capable of much progress under proper management and guidance through the aid of the Government.

## WOMEN AND EDUCATION

Lady Abdul Qadir, presiding at the All-India Constituent Women's Conference at Lahore, referred to the awakening among Indian women and said that women are working for a common nationality in India.

The courage displayed by many Indian women who stepped into the arena of politics, had not only startled India but also impressed the whole of the civilised world, and their self-sacrifice and courage elicited admiration.

Dealing with the system of education imparted in the schools, Lady Qadir said :

"That hitherto instruction imparted to girls had been the same as that given to boys. Shorter and more useful course was needed for them now, when men themselves were realising even for their own purposes that the present system of education was defective and required changes." She asked: "Why should women be dragged along with men in the same beaten path and why should they not carve out for themselves new paths which might lead them to their goal?"

## STATUS OF TURKISH WOMEN

The recent election of a Turkish girl as the 1932 International Beauty Queen is but one token of the revolutionary change that has been effected in the status of Turkish women by Kemal Pasha's regime of modernisation. The degree to which the emancipation of women in Turkey has proceeded in the last few years may scandalise the hide-bound ultra-orthodox Muslims in India; but thanks to that emancipation, Turkish women have been enabled to render a great service to their country in almost every sphere of national life whereas in India, says a writer in the *Bombay Chronicle*, Muslim women are yet unable to get rid of the *purdah*—a barrier from the hygienic and other points of view. It is very gratifying indeed to learn that in Turkish cities thousands of girls are now employed in Banks

and other business houses and that they have also begun to enter professions like Medicine and Law. "We wish Muslim women in India—indeed the entire womanhood of India—could peacefully revolt against the many irrational restraints imposed upon them by society."

## BOMBAY WOMEN'S CONFERENCE

Doctor Sakhtankar, in the course of her Presidential Address at the Bombay Women's Conference which met recently, said: "We women constitute nearly half the total of the population of this country and if we bestir ourselves, we shall be adding enormously to its strength and power among the countries of the world. Heavy responsibility therefore lies on us. We should realise and put forth our supreme efforts to make the lot of ourselves and our brothers and sisters happier and nobler than it has been in the past. No reform either social or educational is possible unless there is peace in the country and there can be no peace unless and until the two communities—the Hindus and the Muslims—are united. 'United we stand divided we fall' was learnt by us as children. Let us not forget it but, by persuasion as wives, sisters and mothers, bring this message of peace to husbands, brothers and children."

## C. P. WOMEN'S CONFERENCE

The sixth session of the C. P. (South) Women's Conference passed resolutions urging *inter alia* the introduction of a free Compulsory Education Act, deciding to start adult education classes, asking local bodies to support it and requesting Government to open more high schools in the district. The conference was attended by 500 women including 200 delegates from the districts.

One of the resolutions urged Government to recognise the Matriculation Examination of the Poona Women's University.

### THE RENAISSANCE THEATRE

A new theatre has come into being in Madras—The Renaissance Theatre—an association formed on the 13th October by a group of enthusiastic and talented actors of Madras, who met together at the Central Y. M. C. A. availing themselves of the opportunity of the presence of Mr. Walter Hunt from Australia, a great Shakespearean actor and producer, in their midst.

The ideal of this newly formed association is to collect the floating waves of the surging Renaissance in the Dramatic Art and give an authentic interpretation to them by combining into a harmonious whole the intense realism and the mechanics of the Western Theatre with the subtle charm and interpretative acting of the East. Its immediate object is to build up a representative repertory of good plays and to make drama something more than casual entertainment—an art worthy to rank with the other fine arts.

The Renaissance Theatre has made arrangements for the production of *Hamlet*—the most universally appreciated among the four great tragedies of Shakespeare—and *Twelfth Night* which is Shakespeare's crowning achievement in Comedy with Mr. Walter Hunt as the producer and chief actor.

### TO SING A LOVE SONG

"Baritones for heaven's sake fall in love before you sing a love song," said Mr. Roy Henderson, himself a distinguished baritone, to the competitors in one of the classes which he adjudicated at the final session of the Buxton and North Derbyshire musical festival.

"If you can't think of some girl, it is a poor look-out for you," he continued. "If you are married, you must think of your wives, and if that doesn't help—somebody else. Picture somebody, even if it is an imaginary person, when you are singing a love song."

### SILENCE AND MUSIC

From pure sensation to the intuition of beauty, from pleasure and pain to love, and the mystical ecstasy and death—all the things that are fundamental, all the things that, to the human spirit, are most profoundly significant can only be experienced, not expressed, says Aldous Huxley in *Music at Night*. The rest is always and everywhere silence. After silence that which comes nearest to expressing the inexpressible is music. And significantly, silence is an integral part of all good music. Compared with Beethoven's or Mozart's, the ceaseless torrent of Wagner's music is very poor in silence. Perhaps that is one of the reasons why it seems so much less significant than theirs. It, says less because it is always speaking.

### GANDHI'S PORTRAIT

A portrait of Gandhi is one of the bequests in the will of Mr. Emile John Horsman of Barford Priory, Barford, Oxfordshire. The will directs that this portrait with his copyright in it should be offered to the National Arts Collection Fund for disposal as they may think fit.

The will says: "Although not a political follower of Pandit Gandhi, I consider his importance in the history of the Indian Empire such that in the year 1929, I purchased in Paris his portrait in oils done by Moodelliar Amerasekara of Ceylon, reputed to be the only portrait then existing of the said Pandit Gandhi taken from the life."

### AN ANDHRA ARTIST

Mr. K. Ram Mohan Sastri, an eminent artist of Andhra, called for Marseilles with a view to study Western Art and interpret Indian Art to the West.

He is going with the good wishes of eminent South Indian citizens and hopes to stay in the West for about one year.

## INDIAN OLYMPIC HOCKEY TEAM

Mr. Henry Kirk Greer, President of the Field Hockey Association of America, pays a high tribute to the Indian Olympic Hockey Team. He says: "What impressed me most was the marvellous stick handling and perfect ball control; the nimble footwork and steady hand stopping; the accurate passing and quick deadly shooting; and by no means least important the calm demeanour and conserving of energy."

India should be proud of the team which has represented it so nobly on what must be one of the most extended hockey tours in history. The following detailed results of the tour will be read with interest:—

At Bhopal	a. Aligarh University	...	10-0
	r. Bhopal State	...	8-2
At Bombay	r. Bombay City	...	6-1
	r. Bombay Presidency	...	6-1
	r. Bombay Customs (rain stopped play after 20 mins.)	...	3-0
At Bangalore	r. Bangalore City	...	3-1
At Madras	r. Madras City	...	4-2
	r. Madras Presidency	...	7-4
At Colombo	r. Colombo City	...	21-1
	r. Ceylon	...	17-0
At Singapore	r. British Malaya	...	7-0
At Kobe	r. Kobe City	...	22-0
	r. Resident Foreigners (seven nations)	...	15-0
At Tokio	r. Japan	...	11-0
	r. Waseda University	...	5-3
Olympic Games	r. Japan	...	11-1
	r. United States	...	21-1
At Philadelphia	r. United States	...	13-1
At Essen	r. West Germany	...	5-1
At Amsterdam	r. Holland	...	9-1
At Hamburg	r. North Germany	...	14-2
At Berlin	r. Berlin H.C.	...	4-1
At Leipzig	r. Middle Germany	...	8-3
At Munich	r. All Germany	...	6-0
At Vienna	r. Austria	...	6-1
At Prague	r. Czechoslovakia	...	12-0
At Budapest	r. Hungary	...	5-0
At Colombo	r. Ceylonese	...	11-0
	r. Europeans	...	11-0
At Madras	r. All-Ceylon	...	8-1
	r. Madras Indians	...	4-0
	r. Madras City	...	10-2
At Bombay	r. Bombay City	...	2-1
	r. Bombay Customs	...	0-0
At Delhi	r. Delhi	...	12-0
At Lahore	r. Punjab	...	2-2

Total 534-33

## ITALIAN TENNIS TOURISTS

The Italian lawn tennis team will be visiting India in the cold weather, and they will visit all the leading tennis centres of India provided the Provincial Associations come to satisfactory terms with the All-India Lawn Tennis Association.

All the tourists will take part in all the events in the championships in which it is expected that, as in the past years, all the leading players in India will take part. It is believed here that Madan Mohan, the Cambridge tennis captain, will be in India for the cold weather and that he, too, will be taking part in the tournament. The visit of Mlle. Valerio being a new departure, will give an opportunity to India's best to play against one of Europe's best lady players and it is hoped that Miss Jenny Sandison, Miss Leela Row, Mrs. Gough and other up-country ladies will make a special effort to take part. After the championships a match will be played between Italy and India.

## 73 HOURS IN WATER

When Miss Ruth Litzig, 19, broke the world duration record for women by swimming continuously for 73 hours and 47 minutes, her first reward was a fine of five shillings.

She did her endurance test in the Herze canal where swimming is strictly forbidden. For three days she defied the Prussian law and when she came out of the water, the canal authorities imposed a fine upon her.

## S. AFRICAN WRESTLERS FOR INDIA

Preliminary arrangements have been completed to send a team of South African non-European wrestlers and boxers to India on a four months' tour, says the *Indian Opinion*. It is believed that Kunwar Maharajah Singh the Agent and other prominent Indians are interested in the tour which, they believe, will be a great success.

### EVEREST AIR EXPEDITION

That Lady Houston who financed the last British entry for the Schneider Trophy and other spectacular national ventures, is accepting the entire personal responsibility to finance the Everest Air Expedition, was divulged by the Marquess of Clydesdale, M.P., in a speech to his constituents at the Renfrew.

The success of the flight, he said, would have a great psychological effect on India, to dispel the fallacy that Britain was undergoing a phase of degeneration and would instil the truth that Britain was ready to pass through a process of regeneration and show that we are still virile and active and can overcome difficulties with energy and vigour, both for ourselves and India.

### FILM OF AIR ROUTES

The British Instructional Films Company are undertaking, in collaboration with the Imperial Airways, a picture which, if properly produced, will provide a most excellent film entitled "Contact". The film is to be a dramatic survey of the network of air highways which are rapidly growing up and which are helping to establish closer contact between the widely separated populations of the Empire. The Trans-African and Trans-Asiatic routes are to be covered from end to end and the resulting picture will bring three Continents into review. It is hoped to make this film in the very latest Atlanta monoplane which are to be used on the Empire lines.

### AIR FORCE IN SPAIN

Spain is to have an air force, according to a *Daily Herald* report. "Within five years," said Senor Azana, the Premier, "our aviation Budget will attain £6,000,000." At present Spain spends about £320,000 a year on air detachments. The Premier declared that Spain was vitally interested in a long era of peace, but she realised that should war break out, she would be unable to maintain neutrality.

### MILLIONAIRE PILOTS

German aviation has created special distinctive honours for the pilot who has flown at least one million kilometers. They are entitled to wear a badge composed of a pair of outspread wings rising out of a ring on which are inscribed the words: "1 Million Kilometer". In the centre appears the familiar device of the German *Luth. Hammer*.

One million kilometers represents really an achievement; it means having flown a distance equivalent to 25 times round the earth.

So far three German pilots have earned this distinction: Kahlow, Noack and Polte. Kahlow, the eldest of the trio, was the founder of the London to Berlin air route when, on the first Dornier-built all-metal plane, he first conveyed four passengers from the German to the English capital.

### NEW WONDER PLANE

If tests, now being carried out, prove successful a specially designed and built Farman aeroplane will eventually attain the sensational altitude of 50,000 feet or nearly ten miles. Constructed to attain a theoretical speed of 500 miles per hour, the plane might cross the Atlantic in no more than six hours.

Built entirely of duralumin, it is a high-winged monoplane with a total surface of seventy square metres (753 sq. ft.), the weight per square metre (10 764 sq. ft.) is thirty-six kilograms (79 pounds) compared with the average of 100 kilograms (200 pounds) in ordinary machines.

### WORLD'S FASTEST AIRCRAFT

The world's fastest military aircraft which has passed the most exacting tests, will be shown at the International Aero Exhibition, Paris. It is a British Fairey Firefly single seater with a super-charged engine developing 800 horse-power and a speed of four miles a minute. It is also equipped with an uncanny device called "the automatic pilot".

## BERNARD SHAW'S FIRST PICTURE

Mr. George Bernard Shaw's first full-length talking film, "Arms and the Man", lately shown at Malvern, has been cut and condensed and the author has washed his hands of it so far as collaboration goes.

At a conference after its reception, Mr. Arthur Dent, of Wardour Films, advised certain alterations, and Mr. Shaw was finally persuaded to give his consent to them.

"Do whatever you like to it," said G. B. S. "but don't let me know what you're doing."

The film is therefore shorter and in a form that, in the words of Mr. Dent, "will give it general appeal".

No incident of importance has been cut from the picture.

The long speeches have been trimmed. While Mr. Shaw's lectures are effective on the stage, they are far less so on the screen.

## CHURCH AND THE CINEMA

"The Church presents one code; the cinema another. A few respect the former; the millions applaud the latter," writes the Rev. Herbert Cretney in the *Inquirer*.

"Yet the future depends more upon the few than upon the many, for they are still the cement which holds the solid blocks of human masonry together in the structure of society. And as for my part, I would far rather preach to ten people a gospel of personal decency and social righteousness than present to tens of millions the bloody exploits of a Chicago assassin, or take part in the sickly sensational intrigues of a degenerate Californian vamp. I would rather live in penury and die in obscurity than roll in the flaunting vulgar prosperity which flourishes on the exploitation of lust and greed."

## FILMS IN THE BRITISH COLONIES

"Upon the native mind (and the greater part of our colonial empire is peopled by native races) the influence of the film", says Sir P. Conliffe Lister in the *Morning Post*, "must obviously be profound. It is capable of use in every phase of the development of races—economical, educational, and cultural."

It would be impossible to exaggerate the importance of ensuring that this influence shall be well and wisely used. We must remember that the film is the mirror by which Western civilisation is reflected to native eyes. They are in no position to judge between the true and the false."

## MOTION PICTURES IN JAPAN

In Japan to-day the hegemony in the amusement world is held by motion pictures. The circus, drama and variety show have all had to submit to the new-comer and, according to *Pasent Day Japan* special Number, the total number of spectators at all regular picture halls and temporary picture houses in Japan in 1931 was as follows:

Adults	...	146,194,651
Minors	...	51,980,796
Total	...	198,175,447

Of the pictures shown in Japan, those imported from foreign countries now have far less influence than those made at home.

## EDUCATIONAL FILMS

The Educational Cinemas, a newly started concern, have taken over the Educational Moving Picture Co., Madras, the producers of the first temperance film in India. Mr. Jiten Banerjee is the cameraman. They propose to deal with subjects such as adult education, health propaganda, etc.

## TOOTH-BRUSH AND TEETH

Dr. J. Menzies Campbell, a dental surgeon at Matlock, discussing the interdependence of teeth, diet, and health, says:

"The conclusions gained from dietetic investigations in different parts of the world were," he said, "that the protective foods against dental decay were fresh fruit, uncooked and conservatively cooked vegetables, salads, milk, butter, eggs and cheese. Such foods, after digestion, left an alkaline-ash residue whereas meat and cereals had an acid ash residue."

"If our bodies become too acid," he added, "Nature extracts mineral salts from the bones and teeth which thereby suffer in an effort to maintain a healthy balance. Although the tooth-brush is a necessity because of the regular eating of so much sticky refined foods, it is a unnatural means of trying to right the wrong of unnatural feeding."

I am convinced that the mouth acts as a barometer of the changes occurring in the body, and that the state of the gums is one of the most valuable clinical symptoms for indicating the success or failure of the body's fight against disease."

## PASTEURISED MILK

You may be drinking milk these days which has been pasteurised, not by heat from fire, but by the passage of an electric current.

Apparatus which guarantees the safety of milk in this electrical manner has already been installed in seventeen plants in America and in two foreign countries. Prof. C. G. King of the University of Pittsburgh reported to the Electro-Chemical Society.

Tests by health officials for organisms responsible for tuberculosis, undulant fever, sore throat and typhoid fever were said to have proved the efficiency of the process.

## FRUIT JUICES

Fruit and vegetable juices form an exceedingly useful part of the diet. They may be taken at meals or diluted with water and taken between meals.

Apples are recommended for indigestion and sluggish liver; carrots and cabbage for purifying the blood; oranges, lemons and pine-apples for rousing the stomach.

Celery, lettuce, radishes and parsnips are good for nerves; blackberries, leeks, onions and turnips for colds and catarrh; grapes, raisins, strawberries and asparagus for kidney troubles; cherries, grapes and tomatoes for rheumatism.

When the raw juices cannot be obtained, the fruits or vegetables should be steamed and strained.

## THUMB-SUCKING

Dr. Winifred de Kok writes in the *New Health* on children's habits in thumb-sucking. He says: "Thumb-sucking and allied habits are very common in babies. The infant usually sucks the thumb when tired or about to go to sleep. Thumb-sucking is said to be harmful, because it interferes with the development of the jaw and caucas adenoids. It is feasible that if a child sucked his thumb almost ceaselessly during the years of babyhood and childhood, some change might take place in the bony structure of the jaw, but it is seldom that one meets with such confirmed thumb-suckers."

## EGGS AND HEALTH

Mrs. Dora Meyers died at her Jersey City home at the age of 116, having survived three husbands and all her 11 children save one, who is in feeble health at the age of 89.

The father of all her children was her first husband who was killed in action in the American Civil War 70 years ago. Her last husband died of old age 30 years ago.

She attributed her long life to the fact that she always ate 12 eggs a day.



## KINGSLEY HALL

It appears from a communication of the special correspondent of the *Star*, that the cell which Mahatma Gandhi occupied at Kingsley Hall, London, during his last visit to England, has become almost a place of pilgrimage. He writes:

Gandhi's cell is now a definite sight of London for overseas and country visitors. His spinning wheel remains in the corner and his sandals have survived the calls of the souvenir hunters. In the walls are various drawings and memories of his visit. He should, of course, have left a special spiritual aura about the place, but I am told by an expert in psychic matters that the only spiritual emanation is a subtle note of irritation due to the succession of subsequent tenants who have been disturbed in their afternoon meditations by visitors who wanted to view the honoured spot.

## TSAR'S STAMPS

Both stamp collectors and collectors of historic *objets d'art* will be interested in the sale of the Tsar of Russia's collection of artists' proofs, colour trials and essays made in preparation for the *laure* in 1913 of a set of stamps to mark the Tercentenary of the Russian Imperial family, the Romanoffs. The set took four years to prepare and the cost of production was at least £50,000.

Sixteen denominations, ranging from 1 *kopek* to 5 *roubles* were issued to the public in 1913, but the Tsar's collection consists of no fewer than 1,271 separate proofs in a variety of delicate colours and designs. The history of the set is complete, a record having been made of the names of all the well known artists and engravers who were engaged on the designs. The collection is unique and can never be duplicated, all the original dies and plates having been destroyed at the time of the revolution in Russia.

## SMALLEST RADIO SET

The claim that he has made the smallest wireless set in the world is made by Dinodi Corbentaldo, a youth of 18, living at Treviso, Italy. He says that his set fits into a nutshell. It took Dinodi many months' work to build his set and then it did not work. So he took it to pieces, built it again and tinkered with it again and again. One day a strange noise was heard in his work-room. Dinodi felt like an astronomer who had discovered a new planet. The strange noise was Radio Roma Napoli. Now Dinodi can get half a dozen other stations and he has a certificate assuring him that his wireless set is the smallest in the world.

## MOSCOW TRAMWAYS

A scheme whereby intending passengers by the tramways can be kept informed of the movement of trams is being organised in the tram terminus outside the three main Moscow stations. A tower has been erected in which a controller will be stationed and will be able to inform passengers by means of loudspeakers fitted up by the tram stops. He is to inform the passengers of the approach of trams, the places where they will stop, their routes and the number of places available and will also give warning in the event of breakdowns and modifications in the service.

## TOUR ROUND THE WORLD

Sir Jehangir B. Kotbati returned to Karachi after his eighth tour around the world. The tour which included such far away places as the Falkland Islands, Central America, the North Polar Ice Pack, the Cannibal Islands and Russia occupied a little over three and three-quarter years. Of this period, eighteen months were spent at sea. Sir Jehangir thinks that on the whole Japan possesses perhaps the most attractive climate together with charming scenery and delightful people.